THE ECONOMIC ASPECTS
OF THE
HISTORY OF THE CIVILIZATION OF JAPAN

821
.T25
1930a
V. 1

YOSOBURO TAKEKOSHI

THE ECONOMIC ASPECTS
OF THE
HISTORY OF THE CIVILIZATION OF
JAPAN

VOLUME ONE

10-90

63593

NEW YORK
THE MACMILLAN COMPANY
1930

CONCORDIA COLLEGE LIBRARY
BRONXVILLE, N. Y. 10708

All rights reserved

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN BY
UNWIN BROTHERS LTD., WOKING

PREFACE

When Viscount Motono, who was Japanese Ambassador in Paris between 1901 and 1906, met Mon. Gustave Le Bon, a distinguished evolutionist, the latter referred to the recent rise of Japan as marvellous and unparalleled in the world's history, and compared her progress to that of a comet which flashes across the sky, but pursues an irregular orbit, is dangerous to approach and extremely uncertain as to its appearance and disappearance. Japan, he further commented, like the comet, may some day abruptly pass away from sight yonder beneath the horizon. In reply, Viscount Motono pointed out that Japan had not appeared on the sky with any such abruptness as Mon. Le Bon appeared to think; that, on the contrary, she had, through her long history, passed through various stages of progress till finally she emerged on the stage of the world's theatre fully prepared and ready to play her part. Her rise had only followed its natural course. Mon. Le Bon thereupon urged the publication of a work dwelling upon Japan's progress, and when subsequently Viscount Motono was home on leave, he told me of his interview with Mon. Le Bon, and suggested that I should write a Japanese history to enlighten not only Mon. Le Bon himself, but many others in Europe who might entertain a similar idea regarding Japan, promising at the same time that, should I complete such a work, he would himself take up the task of translating it into French and publishing it. Moved by Viscount Motono's arguments, I agreed, but shortly after I got involved in the political crisis brought about by the much disputed question of two additional army divisions. I was busy touring and speech-making, and the Dissolution and General Election which followed so occupied me that I had not time to touch the history, and the voluminous papers connected with Mon. Le Bon's requests and propositions which had been translated by Dr. Uchida remained unused in my desk.

Now comes on the scene the late Mr. Eiji Asabuki, my senior college mate and a broad-minded man with a profound interest in Japanese history. For instance, he had always regretted the slur cast upon the memory of Mitsunari Ishida, a lieutenant of Hideyoshi, by the literature of the Tokugawa period, and endeavoured to remove it by divulging the truth in a biography of Mitsunari, which he caused to be compiled by well-known scholars. Mr. Asabuki felt distressed at the fact that there was nothing but records of wars and conspiracies in Japanese history, and eager to see a history viewed from the point of the economic development of the nation, he urged me to write one. My readers will see that his purpose exactly coincided with that of Viscount Motono, but owing to the political career I was then pursuing, I could not find time to comply with Mr. Asabuki's suggestion.

In 1915, however, I was defeated at the General Election, and Mr. Asabuki renewed his suggestion, which I accepted. As a preliminary step, an association was organized for the purpose of compiling an economic history of Japan, at a meeting promoted by Mr. Asabuki at the Kojunsha Club, Tokyo, on June 20, 1915. There were present at the meeting, beside Mr. Asabuki, Baron Go, Messrs. N. Ikeda, S. Imamura, T. Hayashi, T. Wada, K. Kagami, M. Naruse, Y. Muto, M. Kushida, and Baron K. Morimura. The charter members assembled elected Mr. Asabuki the chairman of the association, and Mr. Ikeda the auditor, and with the support of some seventy prominent men of Tokyo, Osaka, and Kobe, a start was made for the goal by entrusting me with the work of compiling the history.

Thus it was that I opened editorial rooms in November 1915, and have now completed this work after some five years' labour. My hearty thanks are due to those friends of mine who have lavished large sums of money to the end that I might accomplish this great task. From the very start I made up my mind to repay them by doing my best, and that end I have sought by shutting myself up in my study since the opening of the editorial rooms, avoiding visitors of all kinds, abandoning my intention to stand for Parliament in the General Elections, and preserving an absolute silence over the serious problems arising from the Great War in Europe, even sacrificing the chance of attending the memorable Peace Conference at Versailles, to which Prince Saionji invited me. I have been at my desk at 8.30 every morning, and in the evening perused histories and old documents till far into the night, at the cost of impairing my eyesight. My friends and supporters, I hope, will fully appreciate my undivided efforts rendered uninterruptedly for the past five years. My deepest regret is that Mr. Asabuki died in January 1918, that is, before the completion of this work. A comforting thought, however, I have had in the fact that I was enabled to take a finished portion of the work and show it to Mr. Asabuki some four weeks before his death. I read to him passages on Japanese abroad from the MS., and told him of the progress of the work I was pursuing. Further misfortune, however, was still waiting for me, for the death of Mr. Asabuki was not long after followed by that of Viscount Motono, which occurred in September the same year. Human life is indeed like bubbles of water, it passes away like a shadow, a phantom, or a dream. From my story it will appear that although the work of compiling the *Economic History of Japan* was not perhaps directly inspired by Viscount Motono himself, yet a side-light will undoubtedly be thrown upon the questions asked by Mon. Le Bon through the Viscount.

Those who believe that a history is built on a basis that can be, like the physical sciences, verified at any time will neither be satisfied with a poetic or chronological record, a genealogy, nor a biography of heroes in its place. Hardly any of our histories may be considered other than the kind mentioned above. There are several opinions respecting history: some regard it as a mere mockery of human society; others consider the turning-points of history are the deeds of heroes; while still others think that history is the path left by the progress of a certain natural law, and that men, great and small, are but puppets manipulated by the unseen hand of Nature. These views, however, when closely investigated, will be found to be nothing more than an impression obtained from a casual glance upon the glittering crest of the undulations constantly passing over human society. The true power that actually causes these undulations lies elsewhere; for as man is said to be an inborn social animal, so he may be called an inborn economic animal. It is man's inherent nature to seek food when born, clothes to cover his body, a house to shelter himself when grown, and good food, good clothes and better shelter when more fully grown. The origin of a state and legal enactments may be traced mainly, if not solely, to man's economic demand. Thus a single individual's economic need is the need of the millions, and it is these needs that give rise to social institutions and legal enactments. Because of the existence of man's economic need, nations have suppressed their internal foes and waged wars against and conquered foreign nations. Most of the great law-givers who have cherished the welfare of their people, and the great men and heroes who have led their races, have been impelled by the economic need of the millions. The leaders in these movements have been unconsciously driven on to do what they did by this human need. At all times and in any state, therefore, the true key to history must be found in man's economic activities.

In Shakespeare's great tragedy of *Julius Cæsar*, Brutus assassinates his friend Cæsar because he loved the country and his people more than he did his friend. History generally tells us that Brutus's motive for the assassination was political. Study by modern historians of the old literature and records, however, has revealed that Brutus was not acting according to current belief. There was a capitalistic class in Rome, who usurped political power and loaned their money to the people at a high rate of interest. Cæsar, backed by popular support, tried to annul the people's debts, adopting a policy of benevolent administration. This led to a feud between the two classes, for the capitalistic class perceived that unless Cæsar were got rid of they would lose what they had. Brutus, who was a capitalist, and represented that class, came forward and slew the leader of the people, the debtors, in the Senate House.

Thus, even what history has termed the romantic act of a hero, had for its real motive the economic problem. As for Japanese history, when the Emperor Gosanjo directly ruled the country without the help of the Fujiwara family, who owned many great manorial lands, establishing a registry and escheating the manors, those historians who believed it the best policy to extend the royal authority unrestrictedly admired with one accord the new administration and panegyrized his spirit. But the administration of the Emperor Gosanjo made the local authorities, the owners of the manors in the country, submit themselves to the authority of the Minamoto family, and not only hand over their manors to the Minamoto to save themselves from being deprived of them, but even present their own bodies to the family in order to be free from exaction. Thus the royal authority fell to the ground instantly. This, too, shows that the dramatic history of the rise and fall of the powerful family is an economic problem. I do not deny the power of moral causes in history. I do not deny that the dramatic act of a hero is a centre of public emotion. But I do not hesitate to say that man is above all an economic animal (as the first desire of human kind lies in the economic existence), and the first cause of history lies in the economic cause. In writing this book I have been greatly impressed by the fact that the strata of human history are nearly common throughout many countries, many races, and many languages. In the slave economic age of Japan, England, Italy, and China were also in the age of slave economy. It is equally true throughout the world that after the disappearance of the slave economic age, the age of land economy followed, and after the land economic age the money economic age cropped up. With the appearance of the money economic age, all the countries in the East and West alike began to form commercial systems and build up organizations. At the time when Spain and Portugal made political expeditions abroad and carried out mercantilism economically, Hideyoshi turned his attention to Formosa and the Philippine Islands, attempted an expedition to Korea, and carried out a gold-collecting policy vigorously. The age when Hamburg and Bremen became free and independent cities as members of the Hanseatic League was that of the za-merchants of Japan, who built up a kind of interior Hanseatic League, making the provinces around the Imperial capital its centre. From this point of view I cannot help believing that all the world is really one state and a big house for human beings, and the Japanese history is nothing but a part of the world history. Only as it was later than other nations of the Continent that the Japanese race founded the state, the end of any age of other nations was the beginning of the same age in Japan; and though the historical stratum was equally common, the stratum might have some inconformity. For instance, Japan had many kinds of guild systems along with the feudal system as well as England. But in England it was from the 14th century to the 15th century that the guild system was most powerful, and in the 16th century the guild system changed to the system of regulated companies. In Japan the system of za, which corresponds to the guild system, wielded certain influence in the 15th century and during the mid-Ashikaga period. Later, za became nakama, and then unions; yet it was in the 17th century, the latter half of the Tokugawa age, that za exercised the most extensive power, and it was in the 18th century that they began to turn into something like companies. In these circumstances it is not all a hasty conclusion to say that Japan started economically two or three hundred years later than Europe. When the Japanese came into contact with all the countries in the world for the first time under the treaty in 1853, and entered the race for mastery, the nation was burdened with a handicap of two or three hundred years, and for the next sixty or seventy years strove to overcome it. Don't forget that it was the result of this handicap that the politics, production, and communication of Japan were very much complicated, and Japan has a just cause for pride in the fact that she keeps pace with European and American countries, although owing such a handicap.

In issuing this book I tried to get material from original archives, not second-hand, and attempted in this point to be as scientific as possible. For example, in the question of taxation, I studied it in the water-books of the villages, but the result sometimes proved to be the same as described in already issued books, therefore it seemed to be of no use from one point of view. Nevertheless, I did not grudge this useless labour, but tried to obtain first-hand materials. My great trouble was that the materials were not easily obtained. Though there are many reasons for the change in the standpoint regarding history, the study of the old archives was most important of all. When, in 1821, L'École de Chartres was established in Paris, and opportunity for the study of the old archives was given, all the scholars and literary men made light of it and took no interest in it at all. But in 1826 Dr. Ranke, a German historian, issued a book of material for a history of the mediaeval age of Europe, by which he astonished the world, and at the same time in France, under the inspiration of Mignet and Guizot, the work of issue and explanation of the old archives was undertaken in earnest. English historians were finally influenced by this tendency, and in 1857 a book of historical materials for the mediaeval age of England, called the "Rolls Series," was published. Japan felt the effects of it, too, and for these twenty years past many studies of the old archives have been published, which have upset not a few established beliefs and brought condemnation on many acts which have hitherto been lauded. In addition, the fresh proofs extracted from the old documents have confirmed us in the credibility of many things for which we had no evidence. But most of the old archives already published are political documents and only a very few offer materials for economical histories. One reason is that the nobles in the old times were heedless and neglected finance, so there are few such documents, but another reason is that the investigators of the old documents knew little about economics and lacked the interest to dig out the economical truth of history. For instance, a *Book on Communication*, which was based on documents left by an official of the Shogunate, is good material for the trade in Nagasaki, though it is fragmentary. In the chapter on To-komo-gin-roku of the book, only the amount of gold and silver collected is stated and not the rate at which it was exchanged into the current money at that time. By this small point the value of the whole precious volume is vitiated. Fortunately I know the value of the amount collected, as I have a note-book kept by an official of the Shogunate. Such being the case, I was eager to have access to the old documents possessed by the nobles and the old families, but under various pretexts many refused me the privilege. It was in the 28th year of Meiji that I published the *Two Thousand Five Hundred Years' History*, when I was thirty-one years old and in high spirits. In spite of certain defects, there are some scholars who credit me with being the first to take the right method of painting the history of the Japanese nation. Now I am fifty-three years old; the evening shades are falling and my spirit is not what it was. Nevertheless, my work is very great and the time is not so long to do it. I know I cannot escape from censure on this book for being incomplete and full of defects. But I shall be satisfied if later scholars correct and supplement my work on my method and compile another history. I have only served as the master-mason, and for decoration must look to my successors.

Lastly, I must take the opportunity of naming those who assisted me to complete these volumes. Mr. Naoe Hirota took charge of the finance of the Shogunate and the feudal lords; Mr. Kaname Matsuura, Bachelor of Commerce, the rice-field system and taxation system since the monarchic age to the modern times; Mr. Tetsuzo Ota, Bachelor of Commerce, the money and currency by the foreign communication; Mr. Sogo Kimura, the economical system of the age of the Tokugawa Shogunate; Mr. Tempo Imazeki, the relations with China.

Y. TAKEKOSHI

AT TOGUKARO, HIGASHI OKUBO
November 25, 1920

CONTENTS

PREFACE vii

CHAPTER I

CONDITIONS OF LIFE IN THE EARLY PERIODS

PAGE
Japan as described in Chinese History 1
Japan as described in the "San Kuo Chih" 2
Why was China an object of admiration ? 3
Influx of foreign civilization 4
Chinese titles conferred upon Japanese Court 5
Civilization with the River Yodo as the centre of prosperity 5
Japan denominated "Nippon" 6
Japanese History as divided into Seven Main Periods 6

CHAPTER II

THE REFORMATION OF TAIKA

Far-reaching effect of the Statutes of Taika and Taiho 11
Relations of Japan with Korea prior to the Taika Reformation 11
Clash between progressive Umako and conservative Moriya 12
Downfall of conservatism and influx of foreign civilization 13
Regency of Shotoku Taishi 14
Relations to Emperor Yo of Zui 15
Establishment of the Capital on Yodo River 16
Substance of the Reformation of Taika 16
Prince tendered his private estate and people 18

CHAPTER III

JAPAN IN THE REIGN OF EMPEROR TENCHI WHEN THE ASCENDENCY IN KOREA WAS DESTROYED

Defeat in battle with China and withdrawal from Korea 20
Inauguration of the Taiho Statutes 21
History of land system in Shu, Shin, and Kan 22
Land System of Shin, Zui, and To 23

CHAPTER IV

LAND SYSTEM PRIOR TO THE TAIKA REFORMS

Distribution of the rice plant 25
Land system in remote ages 26
The land system without ownership 27
The elder of a village became its chieftain 27
The method of cultivation in remote ages 28
The origin of land ownership 29
The origin of taxation 30

CHAPTER V

LAND SYSTEM IN THE STATUTES OF TAIHO

Common cultivation 31
What was private land? 32
Kubunden for peasants 33

PAGE
References quoted in making the Taiho Statute 34
Proof of the realization of the Handen system 34
No execution of the Handen system without the census registration . . . 35
How Handen system was put into practice. 36
The general division of lands every six years extended to terms of thirty or forty years 37
Reform of the Handen system 37
Kubunden of the dead and runaways were impounded by wealthy families . . 38
Females were used as security when pledging kubunden 39
System of slavery became extinct owing to establishment of manors . . . 39
Incidence of tax on farmers for the kubunden 41
The tribute besides the land-tax 42
Why census registration was necessary in imposing taxation 42
The institution of forced services 42
The institution of Zatsucki of sundry services 43
Exception in taxation 44
Beginning of the tax usurpation by governors 44
The Keiun revision of taxation 45
Monetary taxation. 45
System of tenancy of official land 46
The system of Koeiden 46
Governors cultivated official land by forced labour 47

Chapter VI

THE PERIOD OF SLAVE ECONOMY

The period of slave economy 48
System of slavery in remote ages 48
Twofold constitution of society after Emperor Jimmu 49
Relation between the Tenson and Bukyoku races 49
Foreign industry imported together with aliens 50
Change of family system 50
Origin of slaves 51
Subjugated slaves 51
Slavery by birth 52
Slaves by debt 52
Slaves by plunder 53
Slaves by naturalization 53
Minor classification of slaves 54
Traffic in slaves 54
Present of slaves 55
Children of slaves 55
The Register Book of slaves 55
Necessity of slave system 56
Release from slavery 57
Number of slaves 58
Method of collecting slaves 60
Number of slaves in comparison with the whole population 61
Price at which slaves were sold 61
Pariah (Eta) race at the present time. 62
Folks were great treasures 62

Chapter VII

NARA AGE

Seven eras in Nara 64
Beginning of Fujiwara dictatorship 65
Buddhism represented civilization 65
Height of the Buddhist influence 66

PAGE
Industrial arts born of Buddhism 67
Gyoki's method of instructing people 68
Kibi, the Prime Minister, and Gembo, a priest, extend their influence . . 68
Rebellion of Hirotsugu Fujiwara 69
Nakamaro Fujiwara in favour with the Empress 70
Buddhist Government appears besides Emperor's Government 70
Nakamaro makes preparations for defence against the invasion by Anrokusan . 71
Dôkyo's downfall and the restoration to power of the Fujiwara families . . 72
Colonial policy in north-west 72
Intercourse with China in the reign of To 73
Japanese long for the civilization of To 73
Difficulties in circulating money 74
Thatch-roofed city becomes a tiled city 74

CHAPTER VIII

MONASTERIES ESTABLISH A STATE WITHIN THE STATE

Discrimination between taxed land and free land 76
Permanent right of possession of Kuden 77
Enforcement of the system of the allotted land 77
Temples found a state within the state 78
Fiefs of the shrines 78
The fief houses of the Todaiji 78
Temples as great capitalists 81
Temples were equal to the great feudal lords 82
Census registers possessed by temples 83
How land became untaxable 83
Temple land and manor were extra-territorialities 84
Standing armies of temples 84
Temples trained in military power 84
Hostilities between Kofukuji and Enryakuji 85
Priests rush into Kyoto 85
Enryakuji Temple attacks Onjoji 86
Imperial Court provided an armed force as protection against the temples . . 87
Priests drive a local governor away 87
Minamoto family comes forward 88
Kofukuji Temple threatens ex-Emperor Toba 88
Kofukuji drove away a governor of Yamato 89
Temples and the Taira families 89
Temple lands of two kinds, distant and near 90

CHAPTER IX

EARLY PHASE OF THE HEIAN DYNASTY

Accession of Emperor Kwammu 92
Beginning of Heian Era 92
Construction of Heian Castle 93
Market of the Heian Castle 93
Scarcity of money in Nara Dynasty 94
Money exchange in small quantities carried out 94
Price of goods decided by rice 95
Unavoidable reason for slavery 96
Conquest of the savages of the north-eastern provinces 96
Expedition against the north-eastern provinces checked 97
Antagonism between ex-Emperor Heijo and Emperor Saga 98
Mototsune dethrone the Emperor Yozei 98
Fujiwara family becomes related to Imperial House 99

PAGE
Fujiwara become prosperous and Imperial Family decline 99
Increase of temples 100
Difficulties of priests in crossing the sea to China 101
Priests' difficulties on land 102
Temples found a state within a state 102
Death of Regent Mototsune 103
Promotion of Michizane Sugawara 103
Personality and opinion of Tokihira Fujiwara 104
Michizane did nothing and was a commonplace 105
Grandson of Prime Minister became a pirate 105
The so-called glorious reign of Tenryaku 107
Fujiwara family checked the advancement of other families 108
Fujiwara intrigues and jealousies 108
Retirement of Emperor Kazan from the world 109
Three emperors came from the Houses of Michinaga 110

Chapter X

AGE OF THE MANORIAL SYSTEM

Temples the first to break the Statute of Taiho 112
Manors originated from shokuden 113
Manors from kuden, shiden, and kanden 113
Manor from konden 114
Two kinds of manors 115
Two currents in the growth of manor 115
Productive power in agriculture 116
Tax on work other than tillage 117
How much profit a farmer received *per diem* 117
Change in the system of Yo 117
A farmer's labour for a year 118
Odd jobs or fatigue duty 118
Development of reclaimed land and manors 119
Advantages and disadvantages of centralized monarchical system 119
Farmers became wanderers 120
Scattering of the Hida carpenters 121
Farmers made a rush to enter the manors 121
Farmer's hardship consisted in odd jobs 122
After the farmers ran away, official land fell to waste 122
Many manors and little public land 123
Incidence of taxation upon the farmer in the manor 123
The sale of land to temples was a pretence 123
The myoden system 124
Alliance of great farmers 124
Manor became economical centre 124
Military clans spring from the manor 125
Encroaching upon private and official land 125
Government orders issue from several sources 126
Emperor Gosanjo's failure in the adjustment of manor 126
Appearance of Minamoto clan 127
Military class arises in manor 127
Shimazu manor of Satsuma the largest 128
Manors of Taira family were mostly in the neighbourhood of Kyoto . . . 130
Origin of manors 130
Military service of the intendants of manor 130
Freemen and slaves on manorial land 131
No existence of manor without manorial people 131
Japanese manor and English manor 133

Chapter XI

DECAY OF THE FUJIWARA CLAN

PAGE
Glorious Michinaga 134
Invasion by Toi barbarians 134
Desperate fight of Kyushu warriors 135
Temple threatens Court 135
Dependence of Court on warriors for protection 136
Land as a powerful factor 136
North-eastern expedition of Minamoto Yoriyoshi 137
Grandees of Kanto districts tender estate to Yoshiie 138
Local grandees brought under control of Minamoto and Taira 138
Emperor Gosanjo checks the Fujiwara 139
Emperor Shirakawa reigns independently 140
State affairs conducted by the Emperor in person 141
Reign of the ex-Emperor 141
The Triumvirate 142
Shrines also threaten Imperial Court 142
Growth of military class 144
Enmity between Court lady and ex-Emperor 145
Internal disturbances of Hogen 145
Disturbance of Heiji 146
Kiyomori obtains the reins of government 147

Chapter XII

RISE AND FALL OF TAIRA AND MINAMOTO CLANS

Taira clan rises rapidly into power 149
Kiyomori's attempt at reorganization. 150
Trade with China 150
Power of Taira clan 151
Kiyomori, a Nature's son 151
Kiyomori rejoices at Fukuhara 153
Maritime policy rouses opposition from priests 153
Prince Mochihito rises in arms 154
Yoritomo overthrows Taira clan 155

Chapter XIII

THE SHUGO SYSTEM OF THE MINAMOTO AND THE HOJO REGIMES

Yoritomo might have led a life of leisure 157
Ambition of Yoritomo small at first 157
Kwanto was like old Germany 158
Office of generalissimo was not granted by Imperial Court 159
Jealous Yoritomo killed many members of his own family 159
Cause of Yoshiiye's confinement and assassination 160
Hojo clan satisfied the desire for land of provincial families 161
Conflicts between Imperial Court and military class were of an economic nature 162
Objects of the establishment of Shugo and Jito 163
Shugo and Jito system affected an entire change in country 164
Powers of Shugo 165
Extension of Shugo's authority 165
Shugo were mostly local settlers 166
Presence of deputy-Shugo 166
Incomes of Shugo 167
Conflicts between Shugo and Jito 168
Dawn of the feudal system 168

PAGE
Shugo were like feudal lords 168
The Government machinery of the high constable 169
Lands outside the jurisdiction of the high constables 169
Origin of the exemption from the Shugo system 170
Lands outside the Shugo jurisdiction became lands free from taxation . . 170

CHAPTER XIV

JITO SYSTEM IN MINAMOTO AND HOJO REGIMES

Function of the land stewards 172
Allowances of land stewards 172
Land stewards not dependant upon farmers for rice 173
Yoritomo secured the position of Lord High Constable on a compromise with the Court 173
Disturbance of Shokyu caused by struggles for interest. 175
Encroachment of high constables and land stewards upon royal estates after the war of Shokyu 175
Land granted to newly appointed land stewards 176
Private officials dependant upon manors 177
Conflict of interests between land stewards and manor officials 177
Manors owned by temples excepted from control of land stewards . . . 177
Temple manors usurped by manor officials 178
Conflicts between high constables, land stewards, and manor officials . . . 179
Distribution of confiscated lands 180
Securing of power by land stewards from manor owners 181
Contract system of land stewards 181
Post of land-stewards put up for sale or made a gift 182
Female land stewards 182
Confusion of land system dispelled by war of Onin 182

CHAPTER XV

THE HOJO EPOCH

President of Military Republic Government 184
Disturbances of Shokyu originated with a dancing girl 184
Personages of Government and position 185
Exile of Emperor and Ex-Emperors 186
So-tsuihoshi, Shugo, and Jito 186
Why Hojo dethroned the sovereign 187
Hojo clan eagerly set up institutions 188
Culture of Hojo clan 189
Removal of the Shogun by Tokiyori 189
Disturbance at Kamakura 190
Itinerant tour of Tokiyori 190
Tokimune also deposed Shogun 191
Emperor of Yuan Dynasty wanted to have Japan under his suzerainty . . 191
Tokimune made no reply to the Yuan Emperor 191
First Mongol invasion 192
Tokimune intended to invade China 193
Second Mongol invasion 194
While the fate of the country trembled in balance, the Imperial Family were quarrelling 196
Conflict between two lines of Emperors 197
Kamakura Government weakened owing to the war with foreign country . . 197
Sadatoki's instructions to greedy officials 198
Emperor Godaigo succeeded to the throne 199
Decline of Hojo influence 199
Success of Godaigo and defeat of Takatoki 201

CHAPTER XVI

OUTLINE OF THE ASHIKAGA EPOCH

PAGE
Movements of Takauji 202
Yoshisada ruins the Hojo clan 203
The restoration of the Kemmu era and the Emperor's personal rule . . . 203
Lavish rewards given by the Emperor Godaigo 204
The admiration of military men centres upon Takauji 205
Nippon is divided into South and North 207
From the Muromachi period to the Higashiyama period 208
Characteristics of the Ashikaga period 209

CHAPTER XVII

FOREIGN TRADE IN THE ASHIKAGA EPOCH CARRIED OUT BY THE CO-OPERATION OF THE SHOGUN, TEMPLES, GREAT LORDS, AND MERCHANTS

Buddhist priests and foreign trade 211
The Mongol sovereign gained access to Japan 211
The origin of the Tenryuji ship 212
Buddhist priests as commercial agents 213
Ashikaga Yoshimitsu received title from China 214
Yoshimitsu's motive in receiving the Ming title 215
Yoshimitsu wore a Chinese costume and rode in a Chinese palanquin . . 216
Yoshimochi broke off relation with China 216
Yoshinori resumed intercourse with China 218
The privilege of the Tenryuji temple-ship was transferred to the merchants of Sakai 218
Flotilla of merchantmen called tributary ships 218
The system of tributary ships 219
Commodities carried to China 220
The Shogun's profits from the tributary ship 220
Expenses of various goods for Ming 220
Kinds of merchandise in the last Shogun's times 221
The list of the tributary articles 221
The trade articles of the Shogun 221
Chinese ruler's return presents for the Shogun's tributes 222
Profits of the trade ships 222
Ships and their crews in the Ashikaga epoch 222
Salaries and profits of the sailors 223
Expenses of a return voyage 224
Preparation for a tributary ship 224
Contract money of a trade ship 225
Diaries and records of voyages during the times 225
Decrease in trade profits gave rise to conflicts 226
Account keeping in copper coin was replaced by that in silver coin . . . 227
Account-book in silver in the China Sea 228

CHAPTER XVIII

THE INTERNAL HANSEATIC LEAGUE IN THE ASHIKAGA EPOCH

Commercial system of the Ashikaga epoch 230
Za system already existed in the Hojo epoch 230
The trade with China 231
Relation between za and the market 232
Merchants of za in the market 233

PAGE
Origin of the za . . . 233
Origin of the za was connected with religion . . . 234
Rights of the za and the free passage of merchandise . . . 235
The za of oil and leaves . . . 236
The regulation as to Yamazaki . . . 236
Protection of the za . . . 237
Duty of the za towards the lord . . . 237
Lawsuits regarding the rights of the za . . . 237
Special rights of the za as to its business . . . 238
Presence of barriers was a hindrance to trade . . . 239
The power of the merchants destroyed barriers . . . 240
The za began to usurp the public highways . . . 241
The league of the za in the Ashikaga epoch corresponded to the Hanseatic League . . . 241
Constitution of the za . . . 242
Relations between the za and self-governing body . . . 243
Market was established at the Shikuba or post station . . . 243
Market system of the Hojo epoch . . . 245

Chapter XIX

THE ASHIKAGA EPOCH

Advance of literature in the Ashikaga epoch . . . 246
Metal experts and sword forgers flourished in great numbers . . . 247
Progress of painting and pottery . . . 248
Food of the nation . . . 248
Income of the Muromachi Bakufu . . . 249
Taxation was levied upon high constables . . . 250
Shogun the richest man in Japan . . . 252
Domains of the Shogun and lords . . . 253
Population and area of arable land in the Ashikaga epoch . . . 254
Miscellaneous taxes of the Ashikaga epoch . . . 254
Population of Kyoto . . . 256
Some peace in the country . . . 256
Luxurious life of Yoshimitsu . . . 257
Great retainers of the Ashikaga epoch vied with one another . . . 258
The Ouchi family held ground at Sakai . . . 258
Rise of Sakai . . . 259
Yoshimitsu received a Ming title . . . 259
Disturbances arose from the Tokusei or the Benevolent Administration . . . 260
Suspension of highways in the time of Yoshimasa . . . 260
Shortage of coins . . . 261
Financial difficulties of the Government . . . 262
Fall of the Old Power . . . 264
Farmers made appeals to their lords . . . 265
Farmers had no liberty in cultivation . . . 266
People of Kyoto on the point of starvation . . . 266
What was the Tokusei ? . . . 268
The edict of the Tokusei . . . 268
Cause of the Tokusei . . . 269
Tragedies and comedies due to the Tokusei . . . 269
The Tokusei gave rise to gambling . . . 270
The benevolent policy of Hojo Soun . . . 271
Advantages and disadvantages of the monarchical system and the feudal system 272
Temples opposed to the Tokusei Law . . . 274
Insurrections of the Buddhist Ikko sect . . . 275
Reason why common people sided with the Ikko rioters . . . 276
Extravagance of Higashiyama . . . 277

PAGE
Causes of the Onin War 277
Disturbance in the Ashikaga family 278
Ouchi became the Kanryo 279
Political power falls into the hands of lower class 280

CHAPTER XX

THE ARRIVAL OF THE PORTUGUESE

Portuguese came for the first time 282
Intercourse between Europe and the Orient in the Middle Ages 283
The Arabian Empire 283
The civilization of the Arabians 284
Marco Polo's journey to the Far East 285
The far-eastern route via Africa 286
The expedition of Vasco da Gama 286
The people of the Island of Tanegashima asked for reinforcements against Portuguese 287
Cannons were devised 287
The great change caused by the gun 288
The classes of samurai and farmer separated from each other 288
Small local magnates fell, and great one's rose 289
The first Catholics in Japan 290
Japanese surprised with the greatness of the world 291
The condition of Kyushu 291
The state of Kyoto 293

CHAPTER XXI

EFFECT UPON KYUSHU OF THE PORTUGUESE CIVILIZATION

Rise of the Ouchi clan 295
Roman Catholicism was welcomed in Nagato 295
Bungo becomes Christian 297
New civilization in the city of Oita 297
The scramble for the silver mine at Iwami 298
Yoshitaka ruined himself by his luxury 299
The Matsuura family of Hirado invited Roman Catholic priests 300
The carrying trade of the Portuguese 300
The Lord of Hirado invited Ochoku, the leader of Chinese pirates . . . 301
Pinto, a sea adventurer, came 301
Pinto on Tanegashima Island 302
Hanjiro was the first to become a Roman Catholic 302
Matsuura learned from the Portuguese how to make firearms 303
Hirado was a clearing-house of Western civilization 303
The Spaniards came to Hirado 304
The fleets of Portugal and Spain swept away the Chinese pirates . . . 305
Portuguese were not on good terms with Matsuura 305
Omura of Hizen Province became Christian 306
The war between Omura and Matsuura 306
Portuguese found out Nagasaki for the first time 307
Nagasaki was sold for 100 kwamme of silver 308
Matsuura reconciled with the missionaries 308
Matsuura fought with the Portuguese 309
The courage of the Portuguese at sea 310
The price for the right of navigation 310
Portuguese profits in minting 310
Portuguese civilization in Nagasaki 311

PAGE
Christian names of the lords in Kyushu . . . 312
Portuguese profit in trade at Nagasaki . . . 312
Price of foreign goods at that time . . . 313
Exports from Japan . . . 315

Chapter XXII

THE FALL OF THE ASHIKAGA CLAN

Shogun Yoshiharu died of indignation . . . 317
Growth of Ashigaru . . . 317
The Miyoshi family firm believers in the Hokke sect . . . 318
Shogun Yoshiteru killed . . . 319
Personality of Chokei Miyoshi . . . 320
The Emperor and the Shogun were poverty stricken . . . 321
Yoshiaki relied upon Nobunaga . . . 321
Personality of Nobunaga . . . 322
Administration of Nobunaga . . . 323
The Hongwanji and of Sakai were taxed . . . 324
Fall of the Ashikaga family . . . 325
The Nobunaga Shogunate . . . 326

Chapter XXIII

APPEARANCE OF THE GREAT FEUDAL LORDS

Feudalism improves the state of the nation . . . 328
The Ikko forces were only farmers . . . 329
Feudal lords were afraid of the farmers . . . 329
The Takeda family in Kai Province . . . 330
Personality and the administration of Shingen . . . 331
The militarism of Shingen . . . 331
System of taxation in Kai . . . 332
Miscellaneous taxes of Shingen . . . 333
The wealth of Shingen . . . 333
Everything concerning gold mines was kept secret . . . 333
Price of gold and silver in Kai Province . . . 334

Chapter XXIV

JAPANESE PIRATE FLEET SPREAD ALL OVER THE ORIENT

Historical strata of the world are common . . . 336
Origin of Japanese pirates . . . 336
Japanese pirates first harassed Korea . . . 337
Korea made peace with Japanese pirates . . . 338
The pirates turned to China . . . 338
The vessels of pirates . . . 339
Preparations of pirates for both peace and war . . . 339
Tribute and plunder . . . 339
Chinese are partly to blame . . . 340
Wako was a joint undertaking . . . 341
Wako's weak point lay in the smallness of its ships . . . 341
Wako proved the beginning of foreign trade . . . 342
Money was at the root of everything . . . 343
Yoshimitsu's real intention of getting profit by foreign trade . . . 344
The greatest wako invasion . . . 345
Wako captured a castle . . . 345
Gold and silver plundered by wako . . . 346
A tribute messenger in name and a wako in reality . . . 347
Japanese pirates and the Ouchi family . . . 347

CHAPTER XXV

NOBUNAGA THE DESTROYER

PAGE
Nobunaga's stratagem of subjugation . . . 349
Evacuation of the Hongwanji Castle . . . 350
Hideyoshi fought with Mori . . . 350
Mitsuhide's personality . . . 350
Mitsuhide murdered Nobunaga . . . 352
Nobunaga's work . . . 352
Hideyoshi and the flooding of Takamatsu Castle . . . 354
Hideyoshi defeated Mitsuhide . . . 354

CHAPTER XXVI

THE PORTS OF SAKAI AND HAKATA, ETC.

The history of Sakai . . . 356
Sakai in the Ashikaga age . . . 357
Development of the power of Sakai . . . 357
Four kinds of cities . . . 358
The port of Muro . . . 358
Economic system of Muro with the Myojin god as its centre . . . 359
The power of Muro over the neighbourhood . . . 360
The power of self-governing of Sakai people . . . 361
Trade relation between Southern barbarians and Sakai . . . 362
Nobunaga oppressed Sakai . . . 363
The civilization of Sakai . . . 364
Talents of Sakai . . . 364
Trade between Sakai and Portugal . . . 365
Sakai people called Dutchmen to Nagasaki . . . 366
Decline of Sakai . . . 367
Hakata in the past . . . 367
Shimai . . . 368
Hakata was made a free port . . . 368
Importation of pig-iron started an industrial revolution . . . 369

CHAPTER XXVII

THE APPEARANCE OF THE FREE CITY AND THE FREE PORT AND THE ORIGIN OF FREE TRADE IN THE END OF THE ASHIKAGA AGE

Nobunaga removed the barriers . . . 371
Nobunaga abolished the monopoly of roads by the za . . . 371
Merchants outside the za tried to break them . . . 372
Feudal lords protected the market . . . 372
Appearance of free ports and free markets . . . 372
Townspeople in Hongo . . . 374
The reasons for the appearance of a free city . . . 375
Rules of the ordinary market . . . 375
The remains of the za in the north-eastern provinces . . . 375
Rules of the union of fellow-traders . . . 376
Nobunaga is the forerunner of the modern nation . . . 377
Who taught free trade? . . . 377
Liberalism in foreign trade . . . 378
Petition from the Captain of a Portuguese Ship . . . 378
Trade profits for both sides . . . 379
Rules for the ships sailing to Annam . . . 379

CHAPTER XXVIII

GOLD AND SILVER COINS IN THE ODA AGE

PAGE
First legal tender of gold 381
Gold and silver coins before the coinage of Tensho gold coin 381
Gold gradually comes into circulation 381
Gold coins were most highly prized 383
Koshu gold 383
Silver coins 383

CHAPTER XXIX

UNIFICATION BY HIDEYOSHI

Hideyoshi's boyhood and youth 385
Characteristics of Hideyoshi 385
Hideyoshi's large-mindedness 387
One-half of the country under Hideyoshi's rule 388
Hideyoshi's regency as Kampaku 388
Hideyoshi's Government completed 389
Subjugation of the Kyushu Provinces 390
Sasa Narimasa in trouble with insurrections 391
Construction of the Osaka Castle 392
Grandeur of the Osaka Castle 393
Expenditure for the construction of the Osaka Castle 394
Interior ornaments of the Osaka Castle 395
The City of Osaka 396
The Shuraku Mansion in Kyoto 396
Hideyoshi's popularity at the Imperial Court 397
Construction of the Great Image of Buddha and its Temple 399
Schedule for the work of construction 399
Grand tea-party 401
Greatness of Hideyoshi attributed to the greatness of the age 403
War giving unique opportunity to production 405
Movement from farm villages to towns 405
Desire for gold and silver coins 407
Rewards made in gold and silver 408
Commerce among armies 409
Odawara and its old-fashioned manners and customs 410
The Hojo family defy Hideyoshi 412

CHAPTER XXX

DISTRIBUTION OF LAND IN THE TOYOTOMI AGE

Total amount of rice paid as land-tax in Japan 415
Hideyoshi's revenue 415
List of the feudal lords and their possessions of land in the era of Tensho . 418
Division of land among farmers 421
Account-book of the cultivators 423
What was Hideyoshi's chief object of land-surveying ? 427
Hideyoshi's financial system 427

CHAPTER XXXI

LAND SURVEYING BY HIDEYOSHI

Hideyoshi's land surveying increased the area of arable land by 10 per cent. . 429
Origin of kwan valuation of fiefs 429
The origin of the kwan 430

PAGE
There was no fixed ratio between the kwantaka and the koku amount . . 432
Land survey was in accordance with the spirit of the age 432
Land-survey regulation 433
Land survey brought about an increase of area 434
Farmers of Aidzu protest against their lord 434
Rate of conversion of the Kwantaka into the Kokutaka 435
Amount of land-tax paid in rice 435
Young men conscripted as soldiers and agricultural land left to ruin . . . 436
Warning to feudal lords 438
Effect of Hideyoshi's land survey 439
Farmer's son oppressed farmers 440

Chapter XXXII

BEGINNING OF THE PERSECUTION OF THE CATHOLICS

Number of Catholics reached two millions 441
Hideyoshi's good will towards the Catholics 442
Hideyoshi beginning to alienate the Catholics 443
Origin of the interdiction against the Catholics 444
Banishment of Takayama Ukon and other Catholic believers 445
Hideyoshi's generals secretly sheltering the Catholics 446
Hideyoshi's anger subdued 447
The mission dispatched by the lords of Kyushu returned 448
The envoy granted an interview with Hideyoshi 448
Catholics distinguished themselves in the expedition to Korea 450
Hideyoshi invited the Governor-General of the Philippines to express his submission 451
Philippine envoys slandered the Portuguese at Nagasaki 451
Harada pretends to be an envoy 452
Missionary blood shed for the first time 454
Martyr's clothes cut up by their fellow-believers 454
Interdiction enforced and relaxed 455

Chapter XXXIII

INVASION OF KOREA

Hideyoshi's work was quite a revolution 456
Hideyoshi's unlimited ambition 456
Hideyoshi sent his envoy again to Korea 457
Hideyoshi to be pitied 458
Preparation for the Korean invasion 459
Requisition of coolies 460
Regulation with regard to a day's march of the army 460
Japanese army in Korea 461
Number of the Japanese army too small 462
Victory of the Korean navy 462
First peace conference 463
Treaty demanding trade between China and Japan 464
Stoppage of commerce produced war 464
Japanese concession made due of distress 465
Konishi Yukinaga was deceived and defeated 466
Great battle at Kaijo 468
Defeat of Rijosho revived the problem of the peace treaty 469
Hideyoshi was tired of the foreign expedition 469
Peace conference was broken up 470
Second invasion of Korea 471
Hideyoshi put his nephew Hidetsugu to death 473

Chapter XXVIII

GOLD AND SILVER COINS IN THE ODA AGE

PAGE
First legal tender of gold . . . 381
Gold and silver coins before the coinage of Tensho gold coin . . . 381
Gold gradually comes into circulation . . . 381
Gold coins were most highly prized . . . 383
Koshu gold . . . 383
Silver coins . . . 383

Chapter XXIX

UNIFICATION BY HIDEYOSHI

Hideyoshi's boyhood and youth . . . 385
Characteristics of Hideyoshi . . . 385
Hideyoshi's large-mindedness . . . 387
One-half of the country under Hideyoshi's rule . . . 388
Hideyoshi's regency as Kampaku . . . 388
Hideyoshi's Government completed . . . 389
Subjugation of the Kyushu Provinces . . . 390
Sasa Narimasa in trouble with insurrections . . . 391
Construction of the Osaka Castle . . . 392
Grandeur of the Osaka Castle . . . 393
Expenditure for the construction of the Osaka Castle . . . 394
Interior ornaments of the Osaka Castle . . . 395
The City of Osaka . . . 396
The Shuraku Mansion in Kyoto . . . 396
Hideyoshi's popularity at the Imperial Court . . . 397
Construction of the Great Image of Buddha and its Temple . . . 399
Schedule for the work of construction . . . 399
Grand tea-party . . . 401
Greatness of Hideyoshi attributed to the greatness of the age . . . 403
War giving unique opportunity to production . . . 405
Movement from farm villages to towns . . . 405
Desire for gold and silver coins . . . 407
Rewards made in gold and silver . . . 408
Commerce among armies . . . 409
Odawara and its old-fashioned manners and customs . . . 410
The Hojo family defy Hideyoshi . . . 412

Chapter XXX

DISTRIBUTION OF LAND IN THE TOYOTOMI AGE

Total amount of rice paid as land-tax in Japan . . . 415
Hideyoshi's revenue . . . 415
List of the feudal lords and their possessions of land in the era of Tensho . 418
Division of land among farmers . . . 421
Account-book of the cultivators . . . 423
What was Hideyoshi's chief object of land-surveying ? . . . 427
Hideyoshi's financial system . . . 427

Chapter XXXI

LAND SURVEYING BY HIDEYOSHI

Hideyoshi's land surveying increased the area of arable land by 10 per cent. . 429
Origin of kwan valuation of fiefs . . . 429
The origin of the kwan . . . 430

PAGE
There was no fixed ratio between the kwantaka and the koku amount . . 432
Land survey was in accordance with the spirit of the age 432
Land-survey regulation 433
Land survey brought about an increase of area 434
Farmers of Aidzu protest against their lord 434
Rate of conversion of the Kwantaka into the Kokutaka 435
Amount of land-tax paid in rice 435
Young men conscripted as soldiers and agricultural land left to ruin . . . 436
Warning to feudal lords 438
Effect of Hideyoshi's land survey 439
Farmer's son oppressed farmers 440

Chapter XXXII

BEGINNING OF THE PERSECUTION OF THE CATHOLICS

Number of Catholics reached two millions 441
Hideyoshi's good will towards the Catholics 442
Hideyoshi beginning to alienate the Catholics 443
Origin of the interdiction against the Catholics 444
Banishment of Takayama Ukon and other Catholic believers 445
Hideyoshi's generals secretly sheltering the Catholics 446
Hideyoshi's anger subdued 447
The mission dispatched by the lords of Kyushu returned 448
The envoy granted an interview with Hideyoshi 448
Catholics distinguished themselves in the expedition to Korea 450
Hideyoshi invited the Governor-General of the Philippines to express his submission 451
Philippine envoys slandered the Portuguese at Nagasaki 451
Harada pretends to be an envoy 452
Missionary blood shed for the first time 454
Martyr's clothes cut up by their fellow-believers 454
Interdiction enforced and relaxed 455

Chapter XXXIII

INVASION OF KOREA

Hideyoshi's work was quite a revolution 456
Hideyoshi's unlimited ambition 456
Hideyoshi sent his envoy again to Korea 457
Hideyoshi to be pitied 458
Preparation for the Korean invasion 459
Requisition of coolies 460
Regulation with regard to a day's march of the army 460
Japanese army in Korea 461
Number of the Japanese army too small 462
Victory of the Korean navy 462
First peace conference 463
Treaty demanding trade between China and Japan 464
Stoppage of commerce produced war 464
Japanese concession made due of distress 465
Konishi Yukinaga was deceived and defeated 466
Great battle at Kaijo 468
Defeat of Rijosho revived the problem of the peace treaty 469
Hideyoshi was tired of the foreign expedition 469
Peace conference was broken up 470
Second invasion of Korea 471
Hideyoshi put his nephew Hidetsugu to death 473

PAGE
Last days of Hideyoshi 474
Japanese withdrawal from Korea met great difficulty 475
Expenditure on the Korean War 475
Economic results of the Korean invasion 476
Progress in Japanese industries as a result of the invasion of Korea . . . 477

Chapter XXXIV

JAPANESE EXPAND ABROAD

Disappearance of the Japanese pirates followed by the activities of the Red Mark Ships 480
Japanese Merchandise in China 480
Japanese adventurers in the South Seas 481
Combined fleet of the Japanese and Chinese pirate ships 482
Hideyoshi's desire to take the Philippine Islands 483
Japanese settlement at Manila 484
Chinese revolt at Manila 485
Collision between Japanese and Spaniards at Manila 486
Gohei, the Japanese 487
Captain Davis killed by Japanese pirates 488
Japanese Catholics escaped to Manila 488
Japanese in Batani 488
Englishmen knew Japanese for the first time 489
English failure in trade 490
Yamada Nagamasa in Siam 490
Strife between Yamada Nagamasa and Siamese Queen 492
Withdrawal of all Japanese from Siam 493
All the Japanese expelled 494
Eight remaining Japanese 494
Reason why Japanese were gathered in Siam 495
A Greek was promoted Chief Minister of Siam 496
Phaulkon's wife was a Japanese woman 496
Japanese in Java 498
Japanese in Cambodia 498
South Sea Islands, the second home for Japanese adventurers 499
Traits of sea adventurers of that day 500
Tenjiku Tokubei, the trader 500
Other sea adventurers 501
What these Japanese adventurers hoped for 501
Last lamenting cry of the Japanese abroad 502

Chapter XXXV

FOUNDATION OF TOKUGAWA FAMILY

Forefathers of Tokugawa Iyeyasu 504
Iyeyasu's family constitution on a democratic basis 504
Iyeyasu acknowledged Hideyoshi's supreme power 505
Hideyoshi entrusted his son Hideyori to the Five Great Lords 506
Iyeyasu succeeded Hideyoshi 506
What was the cause of Iyeyasu's victory ? 507
Hideyoshi's power embraced heterogeneous elements 508
The most ingenious neutrality 509
Lukewarm samurai spirit of this age, and decline of the old spirit of fervent loyalty 510
Iyeyasu fixed his capital at Edo 511
Expenditure of gold and silver for the reconstruction of the Hokoji Buddhist Temple 511

PAGE
Feudal lords declined, but the soldiers of fortune answered Hideyori's call . 513
Kinds of soldiers in Osaka Castle 514
Osaka Castle falls and the Toyotomi family is destroyed 515

Chapter XXXVI

BEGINNING OF EDO AGE

Edo before the Tokugawa family's settlement 517
Construction of Edo Castle by Iyeyasu 517
Iyeyasu ordered the feudal lords to contribute for the construction of Edo Castle 518
Amount of money expended by the feudal lords on Edo Castle 520
Accumulated wealth of the feudal lords all used up 522
Streets and markets in Edo 522
Prohibition of sword wearing 523
Police Act 524
Mode of living of farmers in the first period of the Tokugawa Shogunate . . 525
Amount of fief of the feudal lords in the early days of the Tokugawa Government 526
Income of the old families other than the feudal lords 532
Constitution governing both Court nobles and feudal lords 534
Laws and policy to make feudal lords counter check one another . . . 534

Chapter XXXVII

EARLY PHASE OF THE TOKUGAWA AGE

Family of Hidetada, the second Tokugawa Shogun 536
Why Hidetada was a sober and vigilant man 536
Honda family prospered 537
The citizens well treated 537
The exemption from the Jishisen tax for the citizens of Osaka and Sakai . . 538
Tokugawa Shogun distributed silver among the Edo citizens 539
Death of Iyeyasu 540
The great work accomplished by Iyeyasu and its accompanying evil . . . 540

Chapter XXXVIII

FINANCIAL BASIS OF THE TOKUGAWA SHOGUNATE

Edo civilization only an imitation of the civilization of the south-west . . 542
Was there anything characteristic about Edo Castle? 542
Completion of Edo Castle led the nation into a state of national economy . . 543
Gold-producing provinces of the east all came unexpectedly into Iyeyasu's possession 545
Inflow of gold into Edo 546
Reason why the Tokugawa Shogunate imposed no tax upon the feudal lords . 548
Amount of gold and silver taken from Osaka Castle by the Tokugawa family . 549
Tokugawa's method of accumulating gold 550
Gold and silver flowing into the Tokugawa Treasury from the mines . . . 551
Iyeyasu's view of money 552
What was the revenue of the Tokugawa family? 552
Abolition and establishment of the fiefs of the feudal lords 553
Decline and fall of the Tokugawa Shogunate largely due to the fact that it did not impose taxes upon the feudal lords 554

THE ECONOMIC ASPECTS
OF THE
HISTORY OF THE CIVILIZATION OF JAPAN

Economic Aspects of the History of the Civilization of Japan

CHAPTER I

CONDITIONS OF LIFE IN THE EARLY PERIODS

Japan as described in Chinese History.—Though the conquest of the eastern districts by the Emperor Jimmu marks the beginning of the chronicles of the Japanese people, the history of their civilization must be said to have commenced from about A.D. 300, when the Emperor Ojin located his temporary palace at Osaka, and the next emperor, Nintoku, selected the same place as his capital. In the early stages, when Korea had not yet consolidated into a kingdom and chieftains were ruling independently over their respective tribe, the southern part of the peninsular, afterwards called Mimana, and comprising the districts now covered by Fusan, Kinkai, and Shinshu, was Japanese territory. Shiragi on the north, Kudara on the east, and Koma at the northern extremity were all in awe of Japan and preserved friendly relations, in consequence of which frequent and close intercourse followed. The influence of Chinese civilization reached no farther than Peking in the north, and Japan and Korea, with the extensive wild plain of Manchuria lying between, remained untouched. But with the establishment of order, and with the progress attained by the Chinese people under the Han Dynasties, their civilization gradually found its way through northern Korea. In course of time it invaded Japan, where a commingling of the refined continental civilization with the primitive native civilization was effected. However, this was not the first occasion on which Japan came into touch with China: in his chapter on "The Eastern Barbarians," Fan Kua, a Chinese historian who flourished early in the 3rd century, writes thus of Japan:—

> The country of Dwarfs is situated in the ocean to the south-east of Korea, and is a land of mountains. It consists of over one hundred states, of which more than thirty have been paying homage to Han since the overthrow of the Korean Kingdom by Emperor Wu. Each state has a king of an unbroken family line. The men, without exception, are tattooed on their faces and

> bodies, the size and position of such tattoo marks being fixed according to the social station occupied. Garments worn by men are made of strips of cloth sewn together. Women have their hair plaited and hanging about their shoulders. Their dress is similar in style to our summer clothes, and has a hole in it for inserting the head. They paint their bodies in the same way as our women decorate their cheeks with powder. People have always a sitting-room in a house exclusively to themselves, not even parents or brothers are ever seen living in the same room. No discrimination, however, is made between the sexes on occasions of meeting in public. When eating or drinking, they use the fingers only, and wooden wares instead of plates and jars. People generally go barefooted, and show their respect to others in the form they adopt in squatting. They are by nature addicted to drinking, and most of them are long-lived ; indeed, to meet with men of over one hundred years is a matter of daily occurrence. Women exceed men in number, and a man of high social position keeps four or five wives, while others have each two or three. Women are faithful, and jealousy is never heard of. Cases of larceny and lawsuits are rare, and it is provided that a whole family suffers for the violation of laws by a member thereof, and that when a serious offence is committed both the family and its branches are exterminated. When a member of a family dies, the bereaved remain in mourning for more than ten days, during which period they continue to weep and live in total abstinence, while their relatives and friends sing and dance merrily about them. When making a sea voyage in parties, a man is chosen from among themselves as a sacrifice. He must neither trim his hair, have a bath, eat meat of any kind, nor touch the other sex. When they reach their destination without mishap they reward him generously, but in case they meet an unlucky accident they kill the sacrifice forthwith, for the alleged reason that he has not strictly observed abstinence.

The above description may furnish a rough idea as to the conditions of the Japanese people living a primitive mode of life consisting chiefly of hunting and fishing. In the same book mention is made also of the King of " Idsu," to the effect that the Emperor Kobu formally conferred upon a chieftain the title of king in compensation for the homage which he paid by special envoy to the Emperor of Han in the 2nd year of Chung Yuan. As Idsu is supposed to be at the southern end of Japan, it may correspond with the districts now covered by Higo and Chikuzen Provinces and their neighbourhood.

JAPAN AS DESCRIBED IN THE " SAN KUO CHIH."—Ch'en Shou, a famous historian of China, in his *San Kuo Chih*, which was written in the 3rd century, writes as follows of the state of Japan in the era of the Empress Jingo :—

> The country was under the rule of kings, but in the course of seventy years under the control of those kings the country became disorderly and civil wars ensued. Amid the disturbance a woman was chosen to ascend the throne, who was entitled Himiko. This queen enchanted the people into submission by means of witchery. Though fairly advanced in age, she was unmarried. At the outset she was able to govern the country successfully

with the aid of her brother, but later, when she ascended the throne, she could achieve nothing particularly notable. She had one thousand maids to wait upon her and only one man about her, who humbly served her with food and drink. In June of the 2nd year of Keisho the queen dispatched an embassy, with Nanshomai at its head, to Gun, for the purpose of paying homage to the Emperor. Governor Ryuka, of Taiho Castle of Korea, led those messengers to the capital with his officials. In December of the same year the Emperor sent an edict to the Japanese queen which reads as follows :—

"The Japanese Queen, Himiko :—

"Your chief messenger, Nanshomai, and vice-envoy, Toshigyuri, have arrived under the charge of the official Ryuka, Governor of Taiho, with your present of four male slaves and six female slaves and two rolls of cloth.

"In appreciation of the loyalty which prompted you to send messengers all this way and pay me due homage, I am pleased to appoint you Queen of Japan, and confer upon you a Gold Seal and a Purple Cordon, which you will receive of the Governor of Taiho. You are in duty bound to exercise great care to keep your people contented and submissive.

"Further, in recognition of the trouble and hardships to which your messengers were subjected in their long voyage, I have conferred the title of general and colonel, respectively, upon Nansho and Gyuri, and also given them a Silver Seal and a Blue Cordon. I extended special courtesy to them, received them in audience, and went so far as to give them entertainments in return for their trouble.

"I am making you a present of dragon-embroidered silks in return for your tribute, and, in addition thereto, a special present of blue silk, white silk, gold, a sword 5 feet long, pearls, and red pigment—which, when you receive them from your messengers, Nanshomai and Gyuri, you are required to display before the people of your Island Kingdom by way of making known at large the special condescension with which I have given you such a valuable present."

It was about the last decade of the 3rd century of the Christian era, or during the period of Emperor Ojin, that the *San Kuo Chih*—record of three dynasties—was compiled, and Keisho and Shoji, which this record mentions, are the names of the eras in the period of the Emperor Mei of the Gi Dynasty which correspond with the period of the Empress Jingo of Japan, covering from A.D. 237 to 240. It will readily be seen, therefore, that Queen Himiko, to whom the above reference is made, must be identified with Empress Jingo. The charge of witchcraft made by the people of Gi against Queen Himiko may be responsible for the then prevalent belief that in affairs of importance she relied upon divine inspiration.

WHY WAS CHINA AN OBJECT OF ADMIRATION ?—Though communication was carried on between Japan and China during early periods of our history, it was conducted indirectly by way of Korea and Manchuria, as will be seen from the fact that the Emperor Mei of Gi Dynasty sent his Imperial message to Japan through the Governor of Taiho; that is to say, the district north of the modern Seoul. At this period the seat of government in Japan was not permanent, but was moved about from time to time, chiefly within the borders of Yamato, Kawachi, and Settsu Provinces. Imperial messengers commenced their journeys from these capitals and, by means of boats of a very primitive type, proceeded to Hakata in Kyushu, and thence on to the capital of China via Karatsu of Hizen, Iki, and Tsushima, travelling through Korea by land. The journey was naturally attended with many difficulties and hardships hardly imaginable nowadays. What made them seek communication with China in the face of such difficulties?

Plants and trees which are not endowed with reason bloom of their own accord in spring; birds which cannot speak migrate northwards and southwards across wide seas as the seasons change. Without instruction they all act upon their natural instincts. Likewise a nation stretches outwards for civilization, not awakened to its particular necessity nor compelled by any other nation, but mostly actuated by natural instinct. China of those days was possessed of the highest civilization of the world. The Emperor Wu was seen riding proudly on a horse equipped with trappings which had been humbly presented by Indians as a tribute, and General Baen subdued Annam in the era of the Emperor Kobu of the late Han Dynasty. She ranked foremost among the empires of the world of the day in the vastness of her sphere of influence, and as naturally as the magnet attracts the iron, China attracted the admiration of a small backward nation.

INFLUX OF FOREIGN CIVILIZATION.—As communication with foreign parts, which began thus with Korea and China in the early period, grew more frequent, it was felt how inconvenient was the site of the Japanese Imperial Court, located far from a seaport, and, consequently, the Emperor Ojin established temporarily a palace at Osumi in Settsu. Osumi, thus made capital of the Empire, corresponds with the present village of Daido in Nishinari county, near Osaka, by the River Yodo, the palace surviving in the form of a Hachiman shrine.

It was solely for the convenience of carrying on communication with Korea and China that Emperor Ojin placed his capital at this place.

Later, however, when the Emperor Nintoku succeeded his father Ojin, he transferred the palace to Takatsu of Naniwa, in the vicinity of the present remains of Osaka Castle.

The frequent intercourse resulted in the employment of learned Chinese and Koreans by Japan as officials and the naturalization of a number of Koreans. Those people, together with the prisoners brought back by our army from expeditions, helped immensely in the introduction of the arts and literature of China and Korea, which constituted one of the factors of the subsequent rise of the Yodo River civilization.

Chinese Titles conferred upon the Japanese Court.—Later, again, another messenger was dispatched from Japan to present a tribute to the Emperor An of the Shin Dynasty. In the Sosho, dating from the 6th century, is an edict issued by Emperor Wu in the 2nd year of Eisho (A.D. 420), in which the Chinese Emperor confers upon the Japanese Emperor the title of a Chinese general. Furthermore, in the 14th year of the Emperor Enkyo, he sent a message to the Emperor of the So Dynasty of China and requested him to recognize the self-assumed Chinese title of the "Governor-General of Japan and all the Provinces of Korea." The gap that then yawned between the civilization of China and Japan is readily imaginable from the attitude of humiliation adopted by the proud Emperor, who deemed it a special privilege to become a subordinate of the Chinese Court and receive a title from it.

Civilization with the River Yodo as its Centre of Prosperity. Chinese capitals of the preceding dynasties had for the most part been located in the north-western districts, but, after the war between West Shin and East Shin, various centres of power grew up along the Yangtse River, and Kenko remained a capital through many dynasties. The contiguity of this place to our Kyushu helped on the ever-growing influx of Chinese influence into Japan. Many history books of those days record cases of employment by the government and naturalization of the people of Go, a state on the coast of Southern China, the capital of which was Kenko.

From the fact that the Emperor Yuraku, in the 7th year A.D., appointed Atai of Yamatoaya superintendent over chinaware makers, harness makers, painters, weavers, and interpreters, who were stationed between Kobe and Osaka, it will be gathered that people engaged in those occupations were coming over in frequent succession, and even immigrant interpreters of the foreign language could practise their profession as officers of the Japanese Court.

In the 14th year of the same era, when Muranoshi-no-ao and his party stopped at Sumiyoshi-no-ura of Settsu on their way back from Go, with an official messenger from the country and many weavers and tailors, the Court placed these artisans at Hikumano, and gave them hospitality. Again, in the 5th year of the era of the Emperor Jinken, an official of Hitakayoshi presented to the Court a tanner whom he brought back from Korea.

In the early period of our history Japanese civilization was yet in its infancy, primitive tribal conditions obtaining, and high as the Court held itself in the matter of position, Japan was looked upon as a mere tribe by the name of " I." Unrivalled as the Japanese people were in bravery, their arts, industry, and scientific knowledge remained on so very low a plane that they had to draw upon foreign countries for their advancement in these lines.

The continental civilization entered Japan mainly through various ports in Kyushu, such as Hakata of Chikuzen, Karatsu, and others in its neighbourhood in the province of Hizen, and in the Main Island, in the locality along the Inlet of Yodogawa, these points being in direct commercial contact with China and Korea. Ships, bearers of foreign civilization, voyaging from the Inlet of Osaka and along the Yodo River, even reached Eguchi, which is situated at the junction of the Yodo River with the Kanzaki River. The Osumi palace of Emperor Ojin stood to the south-west, and the Ajifu palace of Emperor Kotoku to the north-east of the place. The civilization brought by these ships did not stop here, but further made its way by river boats up the main course of the Yodo River, and then proceeded to the right into Yamato Province via the Kizu River, and to the left into Yamashiro Province via the Uji and Katsura Rivers, and later gave birth to the civilization of the Nara and Heian periods, respectively. The Yodo River may, therefore, be called the channel by which civilization entered from the Yellow River and the Yangtse-Kiang, and Japanese civilization in and about the Nara period be justifiably denominated by the Yodo River civilization.

JAPAN DENOMINATED NIPPON.—The country hitherto called " I " was denominated Nippon for the first time in the era of the Emperor Tenji. Though diverse opinions are maintained as to the period when the name was first used, no record in our country throws light on this matter. That the country began to be called Nippon in the age after the era of Suiko, and before the Nara period, can be presumed only on the ground that the name in question is found nowhere in the *Kojiki*, which is a historical chronicle covering the ancient age down to the Empress Suiko, but appears for the first time in the Nippon Shoki, compiled in the Nara period which ends with the era of the Emperor Jito. On the other hand, however, in the Korean chronicle *Togokutsugan*, mention is made of the derivation of the name of our country to the effect that Idsu was re-denominated Nippon (a country from where the sun rises) in the 8th month of the 10th year of (the Korean) King Bunbu, because the people of their own country as being the nearest to the rising sun.

JAPANESE HISTORY AS DIVIDED INTO SEVEN MAIN PERIODS.—To speak briefly, it was only after the reformation effected in the Taikwa era of the Emperor Kotoku that Japan assumed a certain degree of statehood, and the history of civilization following this era can be divided into seven main periods.

The first period extends over three hundred years, from A.D. 645 (the 1st year of Taikwa of the Emperor Kotoku) to A.D. 956 (the 10th year of Tenryakụ of the Emperor Murakami). With the reformation of Taika the conditions under which the country had, since its foundation, been a mere grouping of tribal peoples, underwent a complete change, and a unified governmental system of prefectures and counties was inaugurated with the royal power at its centre. The land was placed entirely under state ownership; local lords were appointed Government officials and made to live upon a specified salary granted by the Imperial Court. This prefectural system, as amended by the act of Taiho of the Emperor Mombu in A.D. 701 (the 1st year of Taiho), and subsequently by the act of Engi of the Emperor Daigo in A.D. 907 (the 7th year of Engi), proved a perfect system of government.

During this period the capital was moved several times, and with the establishment of the site of central government at Heijo in A.D. 710 (the 3rd year of Wado of the Emperor Genmyo) commenced the Nara era, which covered seven reigns; the following period which began from the time of the removal of the capital to Heian in the vicinity of Kyoto in A.D. 794 (the 13th year of Enryaku of the Emperor Kwanmu) being named the Heian era.

The Heian era still occupies the slave economic stage, the special social features consisting in the service rendered by serfs or others not much better than serfs, and, therefore, it was not much advanced by comparison with the preceding Nara period as far as economic history is concerned.

The second period opens with the end of the Tenryaku era and closed with the rise of the Genji and Heike clans, covering two hundred and eighty years, from about the beginning of the 10th century to A.D. 1185, when the child Emperor Antoku was drowned at Dan-no-ura. The centralization of power which had reached the point of perfection through the Taikwa, Taiho, and Enji eras gradually disintegrated. Government officials of great power, favourite Court ladies, royal descendants, local grandees, and temples and shrines vied with each other for the private possession of land, and manorial holdings finally took the place of state ownership. The fact that manors were exempt from taxes proved a great attraction to peasants at large, and consequently people on the land under the ownership of the state grew less and less. With the growth of the power of manor-holding houses unattached warriors put themselves in their employ, and feudalism began to take root. Local lords arose who dared to hurl defiance against the royal authority, and it finally culminated in the great war between the Genji and Heike clans, the largest and most powerful of all the feudal lords of the times. Upon the issue both the belligerents staked their all.

The Crown, which had since the foundation of the Empire freely disposed of the riches and authority of the country and had power of life and death over the people, began at this period to lose its double nature, and was deprived of the right of income. Those holding the sovereignty did not necessarily own the land, while those controlling the land were not in all cases possessed of the right of income, and now came what may be called an age of separated sovereignty.

The third period extends over one hundred and fifty years, from the establishment of the Shogunate at Kamakura in the 12th century by Minamoto-no-Yoritomo, who was made a generalissimo, until the regency of Ashikaga Yoshimitsu. During this period peaceful activities began to revive with the tranquillity and welfare enjoyed by the people under the control of the Hojo clan. Laws and regulations were enforced; certain public institutions were founded, and for a brief period the country enjoyed social stability, in great contrast to the two hundred and fifty years of continuous disturbance since the collapse of the social institutions established in the Taikwa, Taiho, and Engi eras.

The enforcement of those laws and regulations, however, the purpose of which was chiefly to establish firmly the status of the military class, helped the feudal system to solidify itself. Consequently, social organs all assumed warlike colouring, but as the people's wealth and power were in proportion to the area of land which they possessed, the period may be called the land economic age, so far as the social conditions were concerned, which rested chiefly upon land in their economical relations.

The fourth period covers from A.D. 1350, when the South and North Dynasties competed for supremacy, down to about A.D. 1550, the date of the downfall of the power of the Ashikaga clan. This period was characterized by money economic activities, with the establishment of an economical system by the governed people themselves, with the inauguration of trade with China and Portugal, with the uprise of great feudal lords in place of small local grandees, with the opening of trade ports, with Japanese invasions of China and Korea for plunder, and with the rise of commercial cities. To sum up, the development of local activities in the face of the weakness of power in the hands of the Central Government constitutes the chief characteristic of this period.

The fifth period consists of the age between A.D. 1567 (the 11th year of Eiraku), when Oda Nobunaga made Kyoto his seat of control, and A.D. 1598 (the third year of Keicho), when Toyotomi Hideyoshi died. Short as this period really was, covering only thirty years, the growing influence of money economy and the consequent standardization by the Central Government of currency, and the extensive changes in the social conditions, and in other local situations resultant on the expedition to Korea and the subsequent re-allotment of districts by Hideyoshi to his feudal lords according to their merits in the expedition, combined to add greatly to the rapid transition from local economy to national economy. Investigations extensively carried out regarding the land held by the people at large with a view to determining the basis for taxation characterized this period.

The sixth period follows the death of Hideyoshi in A.D. 1598 and ends with the collapse of the Tokugawa Shogunate in A.D. 1867 (the 3rd year of Keio), extending thus over two hundred and seventy years. The chief feature of this age is the final cementing together of feudalism and the establishment of social distinctions between the military and the agricultural classes. As time went on, however, economic feudalism began to grow of itself in the soil of military feudalism, and merchants with enormous wealth defied the military class, taking advantage of the combined power derived from associations of various forms which they organized. Eventually the absolute power, with which the military class had formerly held merchants at their mercy, was transferred to the commercial class, who were now able to place the military class under a heavy economic yoke. In this manner capitalistic feudalism expanded at the expense of military feudalism, and finally the Shogunate was economically decomposed.

The seventh period comprises the fifty years of the Meiji era, when feudal lords were all eliminated and complete centralization of governmental power was effected. Agricultural people, who had hitherto been merely the slaves of feudal lords, were now entitled to the ownership of their lands. The system of taxation, which had consisted in the imposition of both money and labour and, as a result, kept the tax-payers in serfdom or, at best, in semi-serfdom until the close of the 3rd year of Keio, was now abolished. It was replaced by a system of money taxation, and peasants were completely emancipated for the first time from the slavish conditions under which they had groaned for so long as two thousand years since the beginning of the country. Combined with the growth of industry, the freedom and vitality of the farming class have contributed much towards the internal development of the country, and later even promoted industries on a great scale when the country was thrown open for world commerce.

The agricultural, industrial, and commercial classes merged into a sound middle class and formed the backbone of the state, and with it the land economical age of the Tokugawa period passed to the purely capitalistic economical age. The constitutional government, local self-government, expansion of territory, national defence, industry, education, indeed, all the achievements on modern lines were indeed the production of the middle class. With all these radical changes Japan has taken her place upon the world's stage as a fully fledged modern state.

CHAPTER II

REFORMATION OF TAIKA

FAR-REACHING EFFECT OF STATUTES OF TAIKA AND TAIHO.—The Reformation of Taika effected in the era of Emperor Kotoku, and, later, the Statutes of Taiho, may be regarded as constituting a notable turning-point in Japanese history, not only because of the sweeping changes involved, but also because of the codification of the statutes which took the place of the former unwritten customary laws made at random. Taken in conjunction with the Statutes of Taiho, it forms a parallel to the Pandects and the Codes of the Emperor Justinian in their far-reaching effect upon later ages. No trace remains of the ambitious expeditions of the Emperor Justinian, nor of the glories of the Empire, nor of the all-embracing power over many nations, but the codes have left an ineffaceable impress on the European countries. Such is the case with the statutes in question: they continued to affect social conditions for many centuries when the Imperial Court had long ago been bereft of actual sovereign rights. The only difference is that the Codes of Justinian were completed between A.D. 527 and 565, while the Statutes of Taika and Taiho were brought forth between 645 and 701, or at least one hundred years later. The Codes of Justinian, however, are merely a collection of the old customs and former laws into a systematic compilation, and, meritorious as the work is, it is nothing much more than an ordinary codification. On the contrary, the Statutes of Taika and Taiho were a work of both codification and reformation, whereby a new social system was designed to displace the former organization. Viewed from the standpoint of contribution to the national welfare, the Statutes of Taika and Taiho must be placed far above the Justinian Codes.

RELATIONS OF JAPAN WITH KOREA PRIOR TO THE TAIKA REFORMATION.—Between the Empress Jingo and the enthronement of the Emperor Kimmei in A.D. 540, the reigns of thirteen sovereigns cover a period of two hundred and sixty years. During this period there was nothing notable in the government of internal affairs, for it concerned itself chiefly with the private affairs of the Court. In the foreign relations, however, successive failures caused the gradual downfall of the power of Japan over Korea. The Koreans had ceased to trust Japan as a result of the lack of statesman-like tact and administrative ability on the part of Japanese higher Government officials of rank, some of whom acquired a certain influence in Korea and resisted Japanese authority, entertaining the ambition of ruling the country themselves. Some fell to Korean bribes and betrayed their home country. One general even fled to Korea and headed a revolt out of a grudge against his emperor over a love affair. In addition, Koma and Shiragi in Korea, with the growth of their own power, began to be less ready to serve Japan. All Japan could do was to render aid to Kudara and Mimana, which were the only districts in Korea remaining subservient to her, to enable them to gain the upper hand of the discontented districts. However, the power of Shiragi and Koma was too overwhelming, and the Japanese influence gradually dwindled. In A.D. 534, or the 1st year of Emperor Ankan, Japan lost four prefectures of Mimana, and had to relinquish them to the control of Kudara for protection against aggression. Kudara was a district covering the present Chusei Nando, Zenra Nando, Zenra Hokudo, and part of Chusei Hokudo. Later, in the 9th year of Emperor Kimmei, Kudara called upon Japan for aid against Koma, whose army of invasion had laid siege to the Castle of Bashin. In response, Japan sent to Kudara a contingent composed of three hundred and seventy warriors to render assistance in the defence by the building of fortresses and the supply of war equipment. The war ended in the complete defeat of Koma and the consequent surrender of Kanjo and Heijo to Kudara; but it was not long before Koma repeated the attack in alliance with Shiragi, and Kudara dispatched messengers for aid to Japan in such rapid succession that one party followed almost on the heels of another. It was at this time that the King of Koma made a present of a gold statuette of Buddha, a canopy, some Buddhist scriptures, and other things which were brought by his special messengers.

CLASH BETWEEN PROGRESSIVE UMAKO AND CONSERVATIVE MORIYA.—It is a known fact that a dispute, which ensued subsequently between the chief Court vassals, as to whether or not the aforesaid statuette should be accorded official honour, proved a cause of the armed struggle between the clans of Soga-no-Umako and Monobe-no-Moriya in A.D. 587 in the era of Emperor Yomei. History records only a difference of opinion between Soga and Monobe on the matter of Buddhism, but, in reality, it was something more than a question of the acceptance or rejection of Buddhism. At this period, when more than a hundred years had elapsed since the eras of Ojin and Nintoku, the Court officials versed in Chinese literature were numerous, and the tendency was blindly to admire Chinese institutions and introduce them wholesale into our country—Buddhism included. The head of this party was Soga-no-Umako. On the other side, Monobe-no-Moriya, who, as is so often the case with militarists, was incapable of mental change and far behind the times, stood in the breach for conservatism in league with Nakaomi-no-Katsumi, who was in charge of Court religious services and naturally objected to the introductions of any foreign civilization. The prestige of the Court was then declining, and its power was being usurped by the influential clans, a position which led to a struggle among these clans for the exclusive possession of power. The question of the official introduction of Buddhism was the oil thrown on the fire of the struggle for supremacy, which blazed up into the religious war of A.D. 587, as a result of which the Monobe and Nakaomi collapsed and their lands and serfs were distributed among the victors. The districts in the neighbourhood of the present Tennoji of Osaka formed a part of Monobe's land, and the Tennoji Temple was erected on the land once owned by the rejector of Buddhism in commemoration of the victory over the enemy of the religion. The new ideas now prevailed in the administration of general state affairs, and, Buddhism being adopted as the state religion, temples began to be built everywhere in rapid succession. It reminds us of the history of Christianity in England, which opened its first page at just about this period. It was in A.D. 596 that Pope Gregory sent Augustine, with a party of priests, on an evangelical mission to England, which was not yet politically unified, and was divided into six independent districts, namely Northumbria, East Anglia, Essex, Wessex, Mercia, and Kent. The King of Kent extended to these missionaries a hearty reception and allotted Canterbury to Augustine for the establishment of an abbey. In due course Canterbury became the seat of the Primate of all England. It is, of course, a mere coincidence, but it is nevertheless interesting to find a similarity in the condition and period when a foreign religion was adopted by the two insular countries of the East and the West.

DOWNFALL OF CONSERVATISM AND INFLUX OF FOREIGN CIVILIZATION.—In the 1st year of the Emperor Kimmei's reign, a Korean, Kochibe by name, was naturalized as a Japanese and allotted a residence at a remote village in Soekami Yamato. In the 23rd year of the same era, Otomo-no-Sadahiko, returning from a victorious campaign in Korea, brought back with him Chiso, a Chinese to whom thanks are due for the introduction into Japan of one hundred and sixty-four volumes of Buddhist scriptures, a statuette of Buddha, and some musical instruments. In the 26th year a naturalized native of Korea was settled in Yamashiro. Oshinji, who hailed from Korea, was appointed in the 14th year to the office of Registrar of Ships, to control the registration of all ships in Japan; and in the 30th year, Itsu, a nephew of Oshinji, was also appointed a chief official for the registration of farm-fields, and given the family name of Shiroino-Fuom bito. It was apparently on account of the generosity of the Court, coupled with the fact that our native officials lacked the power of systematic control, that such positions of weighty responsibility and requiring much constructive ability were bestowed upon Koreans. It was in the era of Bitatsu that Prince Rinsei, a son of King Yosho of Korea, was naturalized and given the title of Prince Tatara. The Prince, according to our history, made a present of gold of immense value to the Japanese Court. "Tatara" is a word of Mongolian origin meaning metallurgy, and bellows have been generally called "Tatara," so we may infer that the house of this prince was early engaged in the art of metallurgy. On removing afterwards to Chugoku, the Tataras assumed the family name of Ouchi, and took control of the river mines at Iwami, and contributed largely, as many other Koreans did, to the development of Japanese industry. Prince Owake, on his return from the post of Governor-General of Korea in the 4th year of the Emperor Kitatsu's reign, brought a present from the King of Korea, of Buddhist scriptures, and was accompanied by a law expert, a priestess, a priest of the Zen sect, a sorcerer, a maker of Buddhist statues, and an architect of temples. In A.D. 580 (the 1st year of the era of Sushun), the King of Korea made to the Japanese Court another present of temple architects, tile makers, and painters; and it was also in this era that Akinagano Ofuto, Chief of the Commercial Department of the Court, was sent to China to purchase miscellaneous goods. All these facts go to show how, with the introduction of Buddhism, the Chinese and Korean civilization flooded into Japan in abundance and gave in a growing degree rich colours to the Court institutions, while the building of temples and the casting of Buddhist images and accessories combined to give a start to the development of industrial arts.

REGENCY OF PRINCE UMAYADO (BETTER KNOWN AS SHOTOKU TAISHI). The Soga were now supreme at Court, to the bitter envy of many rivals, and, upon the death of the Emperor Yomei, the dictator Soga-no-Umako set upon the throne his own nephew Hatsusebe, the twelfth son of the Emperor Kimmei, who took the name of Sushun. An intrigue was almost at once set on foot to deprive Umako of his authority and position, but it failed completely. The dictator suborned Azuma-no-Aya, descendant of a naturalized Chinese, to murder the Emperor, and enthroned as his successor Nukatabe, daughter of the Emperor Kimmei, afterwards known as the Empress Suiko. Umayado became the Prince Regent. In the list of notable achievements of this reign are enumerated the partial success of a vigorous invasion in Korea; the inauguration of twelve Court ranks whereby a distinction among Government officials was made; the enactment of a constitution consisting of seventeen articles; and, finally, the dispatch of Ono-no-Imoko as imperial envoy to the Zui Dynasty of China. The seventeen-article constitution, unlike those of modern enactment, contained only principles connected with politics to be followed by officials in the public service, but, in considering that it was issued at a time when there were no political ideals, it must be regarded as a godsend. That the seventeen articles, of which the constitution consisted, are all written in the Chinese language and embody Chinese thought is suggestive of how deeply the continental civilization had permeated the mind of the Japanese people.

RELATIONS TO EMPEROR YO OF ZUI.—In A.D. 608, when the Emperor Yo of Zui was reigning in China, Ono-no-Imoko was dispatched on an Imperial commission. The letter entrusted to the envoy begins with the words, "The Emperor of the land where the sun rises has the honour of stating to the Emperor of the land where the sun sets," and continues to the effect that in being informed that the pious Emperor of the Western Country had restored Buddhism to its former splendour, he was sending a special envoy by way of paying respect to him. The Emperor Yo, who held himself to be the greatest of all emperors, was naturally not at all pleased with the tone of the message sent from what seemed to him an insignificant country of the east, and ordered his Foreign Office thereafter never to send in to him any message from barbarians which should lack due respect. However, out of sheer curiosity roused by the proud attitude of the Japanese, Emperor Yo dispatched Hiseisei to Japan with his reply in the following year. Accompanying Imoko came a party of Chinese and Genri and Soseian, two students who had previously been dispatched to Chinafor study. These two were descendants of Chinese. *Zui-sho* (*History of Zui*) contains the following statement:—

> In the 29th year of Kaiko, the Emperor ordered a Japanese to be ushered into the Court, and told his officials to make an inquiry of him about the manners and customs of Japan. A report was made to the effect that the Japanese Emperor, regarding the heaven and the sun as his elder and younger brother, respectively, rose before dawn and conducted state affairs in a squatting pose till the sun rose.

The first envoy to Zui was followed by several others, and envoys and students continued to be sent regularly to To for thirty years, even after the Zui Dynasty perished. The knowledge thus acquired of the institutions of Zui and To proved the basis on which the Reformation of Takia was afterwards effected.

Establishment of the Capital on Yodo River.—On the demise of the Empress Suiko, whose reign covered thirty-six years, Prince Tamura ascended the throne as the Emperor Jomei. When he died, after reigning thirteen years, the Sogas enthroned the Empress Kogyoku, who was a daughter of Prince Chinu. The Sogas, with Emishi and his son Iruka at their head, were still supreme at Court, and it was not infrequent that friction arose between them and the princes. It is a well-known fact that the Emperor Tenchi, a son of the Empress Kogyoku, obtained the aid of Naka-Omi-no-Kamatari and killed Iruka in the council-hall of the Imperial Palace when a ceremony was held for the acceptance of a tribute from Korea. After the death of Iruka, Tenchi persuaded Kogyoku to abdicate in favour of her brother Prince Karu, who became the Emperor Kotoku. State affairs, however, were conducted for the most part by Tenchi. The reign of Kotoku is remembered by the establishment of the capital at Toyosaki of Nagara, near Osaka. The removal of the capital to Toyosaki was decided upon in view of the diplomatic importance which the district along the Yodo River had assumed owing to the navigation of the ships conveying messengers from China and Korea up to Eguchi, the erection of a nine-story pagoda and a palace on the Kudara River, the building of an hotel in Naniwa for the benefit of those envoys, etc. The transfer of the capital was, therefore, of deep significance in the administration of the Emperor Kotoku.

Substance of Reformation of Taika.—With the accession to the throne of Kotoku, the era was for the first time formally denominated Taika, and in the 1st year an edict was promulgated in the form of the Statute of the Reformation of Taika, in which it was provided:—

1. That the institution of Imperial estates and serfs specially allotted to them which had been established by preceding sovereigns under the name of Miyake and Koshiro-no-Tami should be abolished, and people and manors in the possession of influential officers of Court and also of chiefs of villages be impounded, regular payments of rice and cloth being made by the Court instead. Land and people had previously been divided among the great houses, and then passed into private ownership, and people in general thus escaping Imperial taxation, the power of the Court was confined to a very narrow limit, and it finally became no better than a great private family. Such being the case, the Court had had no alternative but to establish its own private people and land under the name of Koshiro-no-Tami and Miyake. However, land and people now all came under state ownership, and specified taxes were collected into the Court treasury, salaries being granted to Court officials in the form of rice and cloth. With

this reformation the Court could form a real centre of government, the Royal Family assume an imperial position of substance, and the country be erected into a state.

2. That a district, with Kyoto at its centre, falling within the confines formed by the Naba Canal in the east, Mount Ani of Kii on the south, Kushibuchi of Akashi in the west, and Mount Osaka of Omi in the north, should be denominated Kinai, which means province governed directly from a centre where provincial governors, chiefs of counties, barrier-keepers, patrols, and stage horses should be stationed. In Kyoto each block should have a chief appointed, and four blocks form a group under a superintendent, for the purpose of exercising police duty and procuration of crimes within their control, these chiefs and superintendents being chosen from among the citizens.

3. A provincial district was divided into three classes of county: viz. one with forty villages or more within its confines should form a great county, one with thirty to forty villages a medium county, and one with less than thirty villages a small county. The historic post of Kuni-no-Miyatsuko (governor) was abolished, and chiefs of counties were appointed from among those governors who were known on account of their stern integrity and administrative ability. The chiefs of counties were of two classes, Tairyo and Shôryo, under whom were placed tax-collectors and registrars, to which offices men of literary and accounting ability were appointed. The hereditary system of Kuni-no-Miyatsuko and Tomo-no-Miyatsuko in the local administrative organization was thus eliminated, and the principle of the appointment of officials on merit was adopted instead.

4. That a census should be taken for the first time and a register be made of the harvest, to determine the scale of taxes to be levied. There had formerly been no certain standard of taxation, and taxes had been collected in the shape of both crops and labour, so that there was no ledger record of the income from harvest. According to the new system of taxation, fields of 12 by 30 paces were to make a tan, and 10 tan a cho, and two large and two small bundles and twenty-two large bundles of rice plants were collected per tan and cho, respectively, or, where local conditions should make it preferable, silk cloth, cotton cloth, yarn or cotton were collected as the case might be, the rate being 2½ by 10 shaku for silk cloth, or 2½ by 20 shaku for cotton cloth per cho of fields; and, in addition, a house-rate was collected in the form of 12 shaku of coarse cloth per house. A horse for public use was levied on one hundred houses, or, in the case of stout horses, one per two hundred houses. One labourer was placed in Court service per fifty houses, instead of the former practice of one per thirty, his food supply being shared among the fifty houses. One

Court maid was chosen from among the eligible sisters and daughters of a county chief, together with a male servant and two female attendants to wait upon her, their food to be supplied by one hundred houses.

5. That people should be divided into two classes—free citizens and slaves. Offsprings from citizens were to belong to their fathers; while those born to male citizens by female slaves belonged to their mothers, and were placed in the slave class, and those born of female citizens by male slaves belonged to their fathers, and were placed also in the slave class. Offspring between people of the slave class belonged to their maternal lineage, and those from servants in the employ of temples were given citizenship; but in the case of their parents selling themselves and descending to the slave class, the regulations governing slaves became applicable to them.

Prince tendered His Private Estate and People.—While Crown Prince the Emperor Tenchi was the first to comply faithfully with these new provisions and returned to the Court his private people and estates, which were made up of five hundred and twenty-four people and one hundred and eighty-one Miyake. The Miyake was literally a store-house established at the centre of a district for the storage of rice raised in the district in which it stood, and therefore the number of such Miyake was in proportion to the area of land occupied, the private people thereon being slaves. After the downfall and death of Mononobeno-Moriya, four temples of the name of Shitennoji were erected in Settsu and endowed with a part of the estate possessed by the vanquished. Further, it is recorded that 10,000 kei of fields was conferred upon Atomi-no-Akakashi in recognition of his unrivalled exploits in the decisive attack upon Mononobe. These fields might also be a part of the Mononobe estate, and these facts serve to form an idea as to how extensive were the estates held by those grandees. History furnishes us with further evidence indicative, although roughly, of the volume of estates and the number of slaves in the possession of powerful houses when it tells us of the estate and people of the Moriyas in the era of the Emperor Tenchi. It appears that when Moriya defended the fortress of Inagi with his family and soldiers recruited from his slaves, the forces were so large that he could scarcely find room to accommodate them; and that Totoribe-no-Man, a retainer of Moriya, defended his mansion at Naniwa with a troop consisting of one hundred soldiers.

However, slavery, which had formed the backbone of the social organization, was not, and indeed could not be, driven out of existence in spite of the thorough reformation effected of the former social system by the nationalization of land and the withdrawal thereof to the Court, with the consequent distribution of such land among citizens for cultivation and the elimination of those who had held the time-honoured offices of Kuni-no-Miyatsuko and Tomo-no-Miyatsuko for controlling the local districts, instituted far back at the time of the entry of the Emperor Jimmu into the island.

At the period of the Reformation of Taika, however, the sovereign power extended within a very limited sphere, and the realization of the novel system was confined to the district of Kinai. The northern half of the main island, covering the entire districts of Ou, Echigo, Sado, Noto, Etchu, and a part of Echizen, was occupied by barbarians called Ebisu, and remained completely out of the reach of royal influence. Also in other districts obstacles of various description were met with in the way of the enforcement of the Reformation, and fifty-five years had elapsed since the promulgation of the Statute of Reformation, covering the five reigns of Saimyo, Tenchi, Kobun, Temmu, and Jito, when in A.D. 700, or the 1st year of Taiho of the Emperor Mommu, the Statute of Taiho was enacted to supplement the Reformation of Taika by inaugurating systems of personal affairs in general on the principles underlying the Reformation. Only then sovereign power began to gain ground in the hitherto unenlightened districts, and with it the new system of government became gradually widely operative over the country. In the new institutions, however, slavery was still recognized and made the basis on which the social system was erected.

CHAPTER III

JAPAN IN THE REIGN OF THE EMPEROR TENCHI WHEN THE ASCENDENCY IN KOREA WAS DESTROYED

Defeat in Battle with China and withdrawal from Korea.—Consequent on the conquest of the northern province of Korea by the Emperor Yo of Zui in A.D. 614, the military prestige of the continent increased rapidly over the Korean peninsula, and it had reached its highest point during the reign of the Emperor Taiso of To Dynasty. As Japan was kept informed of this situation through her Imperial messengers dispatched to To, the return home of students, and the interchange of priests for study, she kept a vigilant watch over To.

When To commenced an aggressive attack upon Koma, and then upon Kudara, the latter state collapsed, as Shiragi, siding with To, fell upon it in the east, and, finally, King Giji, Queen Onki, and Crown Prince Ryu were taken prisoners and brought back to To by his general, Soteiho, who had penetrated into the heart of Kudara with the combined forces of his own and Turkestan soldiers in 660. Japan then attempted to help Kudara by sending Hosho, a prince of Kudara, who had been brought to Japan as a hostage, with expeditionary army. Accompanying the Empress Saimei, Prince Tenchi proceeded at the head of an army from the palace at Naniwa, and set out on a sea voyage to Tosa. He established his headquarters at Asakura in Tosa county, as a rallying-point for reinforcements. Shortly afterwards the Empress Saimei died of illness, and Tenchi himself came to the throne. The expeditionary forces, establishing themselves in the fortress of Shuryu, had won several battles with To and Shiragi, and barred their armies advancing southwards and westwards for twelve months. All the brave generals available had been sent on this expedition, with an army of 35,000 men all told, and the national resources had been wholly devoted towards winning the war. In August of 663, however, fortune turned against Japan, and her army was defeated in a battle fought at Hakusonko in the neighbourhood of the Shuryu Fortress against generals of To. The disaster was completed with the burning by the enemy of four hundred Japanese ships, the desertion of Hosho to Koma, the surrender of Prince Chusho, and, lastly, the complete withdrawal of our army from Korea. Thus our influence implanted in Korea since the foundation of our country was completly erased.

In defence against a possible attack by Shiragi and To, troops were stationed and signal fires built on the coast of Japan, and a great embankment, called the Suijo, was raised in the neighbourhood of Hakata in 665. Besides, three castles were constructed by a castle builder specially called from Korea—at Nagato, Ono, and Okogi in Kyushu. Takayasu of Yamato, Yashima of Sanuki, and Kinda of Tsushima were also fortified, and later, in March 667, the capital was transferred to Shiga in Omi. All those measures were taken solely as a provision against the invasion that might be made at any time by the To forces.

On the other hand, the royal families and nobles of Koma and Kudara, which had collapsed, sought refuge in our country, and were soon naturalized. So numerous were they that naturalized refugees from Kudara alone figured at more than 2,400 in 762, of whom 2,000 were given a residence in eastern districts with livelihood ensured for three years, and the rest were allowed rice-fields in Kanzaki-gun of Omi. The immigration of those Koreans naturally brought to our country, not only their blood, but their arts as well.

INAUGURATION OF TAIHO STATUTES.—The southern part of Korea was a dependency in all but name, and Japan had to render aid with expeditionary armies whenever an emergency arose. No good came of it but only a series of campaigns, with their attendant waste of national power.

The defeat, however, seemed for the first time to awaken our people to the reality of danger to their own country from a formidable enemy and inspired in them at once national pride and patriotism. Great loss as the failure at Hakusonko was, it served largely as a stimulus for the development of our national power, just as the loss of Normandy proved the starting-point of English wealth and power. With our country in this situation, the Emperor Tenchi died, in December 671, after a reign of ten years, and his son succeeded to the throne as the Emperor Kobun, but, defeated in a civil war with the Emperor Temmu, a brother of the Emperor Tenchi, Temmu took his place. The Emperor had been on the throne for fifteen years when he was succeeded by his consort, the Empress Jito, whose reign covered ten years. Conspicuous in the history of these last two eras are the continuous naturalization of Koreans and the gradual diffusion of Buddhism. The Empress was followed by Prince Karu, a son of Prince Kusakabe, who ascended the throne in A.D. 697 as the Emperor Mommu. This period is marked by the codification of the statutes in the 1st year of Taiho by a committee composed of Prince Kusakabe, Fujiwara-no-Fubito, Awada-no-Mabito, Shimodzukeno-no-Furumaro, Iki-no-

Hakatoku, Inabe-no-Umakai, Sakaaibe-no-Kara, and others. It was what is called the Taiho Statutes, and, in reality, owned its compilation to Shimodzukeno-no-Furumaro and Iki-no-Hakatoku alone.

The previous Reformation of Taika by the Emperor Kotoku proclaimed only an attempt at social reorganization, in which principles were laid down and details not provided for, while the Taiho Statute is one elaborately constructed on the basis of the Reformation. These novel departures made in Taika and Taiho were modelled on the institutions of the enlightened Zui and To, and were almost a literal translation of them.

History of Land System in Shu, Shin, and Kan.—In China the State controls fields on what is generally called the Seiden system, originated as early as the Shu Dynasty seven or eight centuries before Christ. According to this system land was placed under royal ownership and allotted to people to cultivate for the sustenance of royal families and Government officials. The allotment was made of the fields about villages, each block of 900 se, being divided into nine sections in the shape of ▦. Such a block was assigned to a group of eight families for cultivation, one section of the nine being set aside exclusively for the tax payable to the Court, and the rest for the private use of each family. A family was thus allotted a section of 100 se, and the rate of tax was, therefore, one to nine of their income. Fields were classified according to quality, those most arable being allowed to families of nine members, and others to smaller families; and the land was cultivated jointly by villagers.

In the course of time, however, the growth of village population, and the increase made in the amount of taxes levied upon the people, caused a relaxation of the enforcements of this system, and its maintenance had finally become almost impossible when the Shin Dynasty came into power. People of this period were extremely individualistic, and, besides, the Emperor Koko of Shin, intent on the promotion of industry to strengthen the dynasty, in 340 B.C. adopted the measure suggested by Shoo to alter the land system of Shu. It was provided then that a man be given an additional allowance of land when he had killed an enemy in a battle, and that he be entitled to the service of his five neighbouring families when he had killed five enemies. Sale of land was also recognized. With the transfer of sovereignty from Shu to Shin, the Seiden system collapsed completely, and powerful families began to extend their estates.

In the first year of the Christian era Omo usurped the place of the Kan Dynasty, and provided that sale of land be made illegal, and that any portion of land held by a family in excess of one section be distributed among other families, in order to revive the Seiden system. However, he was overthrown, owing to these changes, which caused disturbances among the people.

Land System of Shin, Zui, and To.—Later, the Emperor Bu of the Shin Dynasty substituted for the former system the Kinden (system of uniform distribution of land), according to which 70 and 30 se of land were accorded every man and woman, respectively, while 50 and 20 se of public land were allotted respectively to every man and woman of full age, and 25 se to every male adult not in the direct family descendant line, for cultivation by way of taxation. This system was instituted in the period between A.D. 276 and 286, and after the Shin Dynasty fell, alteration was made in the Kinden system in A.D. 471 of Emperor Kobun in the North-Gi Dynasty. The system, as revised, was to allot a certain area of land uniformly to every person, 40 and 20 se of land barren of trees being assigned respectively to a man and woman of fifteen years and above. It was further provided that an additional allowance of 30 se of land and an ox (with the maximum of four head) be made for the employment of a slave, and that a person who attained old age and became exempted from taxes returned to the Government his land, slaves, and oxen with the exception of land planted with mulberry and other trees. This exemption of property was termed Segyo (one-generation system). Fields and the trees thereon of those who were exiled or had no heir were taken up for fresh distribution.

In the following Zui Dynasty changes were made in the systems adopted in the Shin and Gi Dynasties, and land was controlled mainly on those institutions, but in A.D. 618, when Zui was replaced by Emperor Koso of the To Dynasty, another revision was made in the Kinden system in the same year.

According to the system as amended, 1 kei of land was allotted to every person of eighteen years and above, with the exception of invalids or the disabled and widows or concubines, to whom 10 and 30 se of land were assigned respectively. However, an additional grant of 20 se was made to a widow or concubine who kept a separate family of her own. Twenty se of land thus allowed to a person was made an Eigo-Den (permanent possession) for the plantation of mulberries, figs, and other trees, and was not returned to the state. The remaining portion was termed Kubunden (fields allotted to individuals), and was subject to redistribution every year in October. A man granted a kubunden rendered to the Government 2 koku of rice yearly, which was called So, or, should the conditions in the district where he resided necessitate it, 2 jo of silk cloth (Ayakinu), or 2 jo 4 shaku of cotton cloth with 3 kin of hemp or 2 ryo of cotton, which was termed cho. Labour was also supplied to the Government for twenty days per year per person, two days being added thereto in a leap year, and this labour might be avoided by the payment of 3 shaku of silk cloth per day, which form of taxation was called Yo. In cases where additional labour of twenty-five days should be levied the cho was exempted, and where it should exceed thirty days the So and cho were both exempted. This was the most advanced land system ever attained in China, and it was those institutions in this and the preceding Zui periods that our scholars, officials, priests, and others, dispatched during the period of our Jito and Mommu, witnessed. The reformations effected in Taika and Taiho were naturally modelled upon these land systems. Reference may be made with interest to our land systems prevailing prior to these reformations.

CHAPTER IV

LAND SYSTEM PRIOR TO THE TAIKA REFORMS

Distribution of the Rice Plant.—The Japanese people have not sprung from one single stock as believed by some Japanese scholars and historians, but in the earliest times several races were to be found in different sections of Japan. These gradually intermingled after warring and fighting against each other for more than a thousand years, and finally formed the race of people we now see in this country.

These various races can be roughly divided into four main stocks, namely, Chinese, Korean, Malayan, and Ainu. As this distinction of stocks is not strictly true from an ethnological standpoint, we may consider it more of a true division from the historical view-point. As to the original starting-point of these races, and the manner and direction in which they spread over the islands, we can trace this from the distribution of rice plants, the grains of which constitute the chief food. From the beginning there has been a species of rice plant called the Izumo, first found in the province of Izumo, which was the landing-place of the Izumo race which is Korean. This species has been distributed over Chugoku (the south-west district) and five provinces surrounding Kyoto, as well as in a part of Kyushu. There are four varieties of this species—the Kurouru, the Kuromochi, the Akaura, and the Akamochi—all of which were named the Daikoku. It has large stalks, large grains, and thick hulls with hair, and it grows even on barren soil, being of a sturdy nature. The distribution of this species seems to be in the district which the Izumo race inhabited, or those under their influence.

There is another kind of rice plant, named the Koshi-tane or Koshi species, which was imported at the same time or a little later than the Izumo rice into the provinces of Echigo, Noto, Etchu, and Echizen, the districts along the Japanese sea-coast which were called Koshi-no-kuni in remote ages. From this district Koshitane was introduced into the north-eastern district. It is believed that the people of Zempi, Makkatsu, and Sukushin, immigrants from the northern part of Korea, brought this rice into the district of Koshi-no-kuni at the time of their arrival. It grows best in the deep mud-fields, and belongs to the species of early rice. It is divided into three kinds—Notari, Nunamida, and Suwayobo—which are, as their names imply, suited to the marshy and deep mud-fields in Echigo, which yearly experience early frost and snows, and also to the cold districts of Shinano. This species does not grow well in ordinary shallow rice-fields. Besides these two species, there is another which is called the Kasasa or Hyuga species. Kasasa is located on the coast of Hyuga Province, where boats from China arrive if they follow the sea current. The landing-place of Jimmu Tenno, the first Emperor, is said to have been this Kasasa. The characteristic nature of the Kasasa species is that it has strong stalks with small grains and is suited for poor lands visited by frequent storms. The latest species to be imported was called the Toboshi, which came from China some ages after our intercourse with that country became a matter of history.

As described above, the distribution of rice plants accompanied the distribution of the various races, and this belief is well confirmed by the following legend, related in connection with the Kasasa species: In the reign of the Emperor Sujun, when epidemic disease prevailed and the harvest was much damaged by storms—altogether an unlucky year—Princess Toyosukiiri, by an Imperial order, made prayers before Amaterasu-o-mikami, the sun goddess, for the gift of a good harvest. During the night hours some cranes appeared in the sacred precincts bringing rice, and a good harvest was obtained by sowing these sacred rice seeds.

The Land System in Remote Ages.—In order to find out how the cultivation of the three kinds of rice plants was carried out by the various races, we must first study the social conditions at the beginning of the country. In remote ages no system of monetary economy was yet known and, therefore, the lands for the culture of rice plants and other crops were not subject to sales. The land system of such times had no concern as to who had the right of ownership, but it did care who had the right to gather the harvest and how the lands were cultivated. Previous to the invasion of the Tenson race, Japan had the patriarchal system, honouring lineage and respecting the elders. Certain families of one blood were made into a group, all the members of which were the direct descendants of one ancestor and obeyed the orders of its patriarch. Some communities consisted of several hundred families of the same kinship.

In spring, when the winter snow disappeared before the vernal breeze and the mountains and fields all put on fresh verdure, the elder of a village, with a group of his followers, came out to the fields and began the work of cultivation. First of all, with the heads of the branch families, he drank saké, or rice wine, and ceremonies were performed in honour of their ancestors; then all the lands in the village were divided into a number of sections by setting up the Igushi, or cut-paper hung on sticks, one portion being allotted for the cultivation of each family. The saké used on the occasion was called Miwa, the saké of the god, Miwa being the Japanese equivalent of Bacchus. The Igushi are what are now called Gohei, and the festival above mentioned was named the Miwaguchi-matsuri, or water-mouth festival. After this distribution of lands was made, all the people started planting, and a few months later, when the rice ears came out, the elder of the village came out again to the fields, leading all the village people, and laid down ropes to define the boundaries of the sections divided among different families, for the convenience of the autumnal harvest distribution. Thus it will be seen that in remote ages the ruling affairs of a village were not separate from the festivals, as government and cult were the same thing in those days.

THE LAND SYSTEM WITHOUT OWNERSHIP.—In the beginning the lands of a village belonged to no individuals in this country, but when the division of lands was made with the purification by drinking the sacred saké and by setting up the Igushi and the sowing of the seed, there arose for the first time the idea of rights, and some punishment was customarily imposed upon those who interfered with others' cultivation. It is mentioned in the Kogo-jui that there was a "punishment by skewers," which was the planting of skewers in the fields while invoking curses. If anyone claimed the fields to be his own in spite of the existence of the skewers, his fate would be dreadful. It seems most probable, however, that this was merely a method of protecting one's fields by burying bamboo skewers in the fields which would endanger a trespasser. The rice culture of that time was similar to the present method in use in the water-fields of Annam, simply to scatter the seed broadcast over the rice-fields, and is different from our common, present-day rice planting, under which method the seed is first planted in nursery beds and then the small rice plants are replanted in regular rows in the fields. There were at that time some people who dishonestly sowed seeds in the fields of others where the sowing had already been done. This offence was called the Shigemaki, or double-sowing, and constituted a crime. As above mentioned, there was no monetary circulation and consequently no bargains of lands were transacted. Rights in the land were limited to only usage and profit.

THE ELDER OF A VILLAGE BECAME ITS CHIEFTAIN.—There was then no ownership in the land of that time, and this was not only on account of the lack of monetary economy, but it was also due to the fact that no manure was used in cultivation at that time. No artificial method to increase production was yet known, but it was discovered that the constant cultivation of the same lands resulted in the decrease of the yield, and the people in this primitive age frequently changed from the old poor lands to new rich lands to keep the yield constant. This was a simple matter, because there was plenty of land and few people, and the same state of things can even at present be seen in the districts occupied by the Formosan aborigines. These frequent changes of cultivated lands were another reason why then ownership was not considered by the people, who attached importance only to the usage and profit of the lands. When the people of a village changed their cultivated lands, they had to rely upon the power of their elder as to the inspection and division of lands as well as the prevention of crimes. Thus the elder of a clan, who was first respected on account of his being the head of all of the same blood, by and by began to assume a greater power through the necessity of settling the affairs of his village, preventing offences, and also imposing punishments.

At this time there were no regular limits of a village or a district, but simply a group of people of one blood gathered together in one place, forming something like a community. Therefore, the elder of a village was nothing but the head of the clan, and the closest relationship was maintained among the village people. But as time passed by, the blood relationship among different families became very remote and the community of a place became simply a group of people who shared the same interests among themselves. Such as were criminals were made slaves, and as the increase of population necessitated some contact with the neighbouring people, this contact led to the origin of slaves taken as plunder or runaways from other districts. Thus the elder of a village developed into something like the chieftain of the district, and he who was first in charge of the distribution of lands became the owner of them.

THE METHOD OF CULTIVATION IN REMOTE AGES.—When observing the farm implements used in cultivation in those remote times we find the Kokuwa, or wooden hoe, and the fukushi, or digger. Judging from the appearance of these wooden farming tools, it will be understood how primitive agriculture was, and how small the area of land cultivated by one man was. In the reigns of the Empress Jingo and the Emperor Ojin, in the beginning of the 3rd century, hoes made of iron seem to have been imported into this country after our invasion of Korea, as we come in contact with the word "kanasuki," which means an iron spade, for the first time in the reign of the Emperor Yuryaku. But metallurgy being in a very primitive state, wide use of the iron spade was not to be expected, and wooden hoes seem to have been generally used in those times. This assumption can be proved by the fact that the word for the wooden hoe is found in a poem composed by the Emperor Nintoku in A.D. 313, and also because special mention is made in the old history of the distribution of large hoes from Naniwa among the princes and others in the 6th year of the Emperor Jito, A.D. 689 (the 3rd year of Shucho). We can then assume that farm implements made of iron were not yet widely in use at that time, but with the passage of years the use of iron spades spread. The method of cultivation was changed, increasing the efficiency of one man's labour, and consequently the lands allotted to one family seemed to have greatly increased. At the same time the number of slaves possessed by each village or each family must have been increased to a like extent, and therefore the area of cultivated land must have also increased on a large scale.

THE ORIGIN OF LAND OWNERSHIP.—Several scores of houses were combined and made into a village, and a group of several villages formed the community of a district. Thus there emerged a small society, and the elder of this small society naturally assumed the attitude of a chieftain as an evolution from the position of a clan head. The elder, who formerly conducted the village ceremonies, became the owner of the village land; he would collect a certain amount of rice from all the families, impose labour services upon them, build a large house for himself, and, upon reclaiming new lands, make them his own possessions. By this time the population of a district was much increased, while there was a limit to the lands available for cultivation, and it became rather difficult to make frequent distributions of new lands, as in the primitive days. Therefore those who had already benefited by the distribution of lands looked upon their fields as their own, and no change of lands would be enforced, as before. Hence arose a situation under which the great family, the head of a village or a district, possessed a large area of land and other common people held the fields once distributed to them; while those who were born later might form households on growing up, but were only given the small remains of lands, and they were, consequently, obliged to place themselves in the service of others in order to gain their livelihood. Such was the condition of society prior to the Taika Reform, and the state of things is laid bare in the following rescript of the Emperor Kotoku, which reads: "From ancient times it has been customary in the reigns of successive emperors that new names he gives to some families who would hold lands in perpetuity by right of the names bestowed upon them. All these clans of Omi, Muraji, Tomotsuko, etc., have their own slaves, who have always been forced to hard servitude; while, on the other hand, the masters have been eager to seize mountains and sea, forests and fields, and make them their own possessions. They have never ceased to fight and quarrel with one another. There are some people who have possessed an extensive area of land, while there are some people

CONCORDIA COLLEGE LIBRARY
BRONXVILLE, N. Y. 10708

who have not even a small piece of land for their own. As for the tribute to the Court, these clans of Omi, Tomonomiyatsuko, and others have first collected the taxes for themselves and then paid only a portion to the Court." In view of these facts the Taika Reform of the Emperor Kotoku was not simply an imitation of the systematic culture and institutions of China, but it must have been devised in order to abolish the gulf between the rich and poor, because with the great increase in population there had grown up a numerous class of poor people who could not obtain a piece of land. So far, there was no institution of monetary economy, and the standard of wealth could be established only by the area of lands and the number of slaves held. From the study of these changes of the land system from the beginning of the country down to the Taika era, it will be seen that it is not true to state that land ownership originated in party ownership, as maintained by certain scholars.

THE ORIGIN OF TAXATION.—As above explained, there emerged chieftains or lords of different communities, but they were all conquered and their possessions annexed and ruled by the Yamato Court, when for the first time all of Japan was under one sovereign. The sovereign of the whole land ordered lords of different districts to present tributary articles, thus originating taxation. At this time, however, the land-tax, tribute, and forced service tax were not regularly levied, and they were not collected on any system based upon the needs of the Court finances; they existed simply as a symbol of the political and social power exercised by the strong over the powerless.

CHAPTER V

LAND SYSTEM IN THE STATUTES OF TAIHO

COMMON CULTIVATION.—Before the enactment of the Taiho Statutes the land system in Japan was " Common cultivation of common land among village people " under the patriarchal management of a big family. Long before the statute the head of this big family had commenced the practice of usurping and monopolizing the ownership of the land, and, in addition, the increase of the population subsisting on a limited area of land helped to change the land system. During this period Japanese officials and priests had been studying the institutions and customs of China. With deep admiration they had seen the splendour and glory of the Royal Palace and the organization and order of the state, and realized that the upkeep of such a high state of civilization depended on the taxation levied on the people, a system which was not known in their native country. On their return from China they advised the Emperor to enact the Reform of Taika, of which the great principle was the nationalization of the land. It stopped short, however, at this and did not lead up to the formation of a state, so in 701 the Emperor promulgated the Law of Taika (Law of Taika Year), and the work of reformation was completed.

Before Taika, the economical aspect of the Imperial Family was little more imposing than that of a big village family; all the necessities of life were collected from their private lands, and there was no national tax on the people. It is true that sometimes people not living on the Imperial lands were obliged to supply goods and labour, but this was a temporary expedient and there was no fixed tax. When, then, the reformers came back from China their first task was to create a Government instead of the headquarters of a tribal chief, and to support it, it was necessary to collect taxes from people in general. Thus as a first step the Emperor imposed a tax at a fixed rate on the nationalized land, which belonged to the Crown, the right to use it being granted to the people on certain conditions. The Statute of Taiho consists of the constitutional law of government, a penal law, a military law, a law for communication, a law concerning public ceremonies, a law for slaves, and a land law. By this Statute of Taiho all the land was divided into two kinds, official land and private land, the owner of private land only enjoying the products of the land without any right of proprietorship in the modern sense.

WHAT WAS PRIVATE LAND ?—Private lands were divided into four kinds :—

First, Kubunden—that is to say, "land divided per mouth of people." Every peasant was granted a certain section of land to cultivate.

Second, Iden. Every officer serving in the Royal Palace had a certain title, and all the title bearers were granted a certain section of land to cultivate called Iden.

Third, every officer in actual service was granted a certain section of land—Shokuden, or "actual service land."

Fourth, Shiden or "merit land"—that is, land granted in return for meritorious service.

With the exception of these four classes, all the land was official land belonging to the Crown. In the matter of taxation all the land, including official and private land, was divided into three kinds : first, taxable land ; second, non-taxable land ; third, rent land. Taxable land consisted of all private lands. Non-taxable land was made up of the following kinds of official land :—

1. Land belonging to shrines of gods.
2. Land belonging to Buddhist temples.
3. Land of which the produce was used to buy animals which might be liberated for the salvation of the souls of the dead.
4. Government rice land.
5. Land for women oracles.
6. Land for the palace service women who were summoned from the whole country.
7. Land for the expense necessary to support the Royal Archers.
8. Land for the young guards who were summoned from the whole country.
9. School land.
10. Royal stable land.
11. Land for the medical department of the Royal Household.
12. Land to supply gifts for chaste women.
13. Land to feed the helpless.
14. Land to support the expense of gifts for benevolent people who help travellers over bridgeless rivers on their own boats.
15. Land to pay for the building of boats for public use.

Rent land was some portion of the merit land ; the land for the palace service women ; actual service land not yet allotted for such purpose ; private land confiscated by the state as a penalty ; some part of kubunden, when the proprietor of that land had fled from his registered district ; land which some local governor held outside his political sphere. Such lands were rent lands rented out for the benefit of the Imperial Family. Investigation of the above system shows that its great object is to insure an income for the governing class. First, all the private lands are to be taxed at a fixed rate to feed the palace officers and support the Government, and, in addition, the non-taxable lands are reserved for the class which circulated around the Imperial Family.

Kubunden for Peasants.—Before the Taiho Statute was enacted all the peasants were put upon, oppressed, and hardly driven, and after the Taiho Statute they were driven equally hardly to feed the governing class. Therefore the position of the peasant seemed unimproved. Before the Taiho Statute the levies of labour and products on the peasants were irregular and variable, but after Taiho the imposition of labour and products became regular and rates were fixed. The keynote of the land system of the Taiho Statute is kubunden. As an effect of this law all the people—that is to say, men, women, children, and slaves—were allotted a section of rice-field, and once every six years, when the census was held, the division was changed. Therefore no child under six years of age was granted rice-field. The regulation for dividing the rice-fields is as follows :—

" Every man is granted 2 tan of rice-field. Every woman is granted two-thirds of 2 tan of rice-field. No child under five years is granted land. Men slaves and women slaves are granted rice-field, but only the slaves of the Imperial Family are granted the same area of land as free citizens : slaves of common citizens are allowed only one-third of the area granted to a free citizen. Temple slaves are not granted land under any circumstances. Children of slaves are granted land after they reach twelve years of age ; and all the rice-fields granted to slaves are free of taxation. This is the general rule, but there are some exceptions, as the extent of the land available varied in every village. A village which included enough rice-field to divide according to the law was called a large village, but even in such a village it was strictly prohibited to allot more than 2 tan per head. A village where there was not enough land to divide in the manner called for by the law was called a small village, and in such a village people had to be satisfied with the proportion they could obtain. But in such a case the folks were granted supplement land in the next large village. Ownership of kubunden was limited to the life of the occupant, and when he died the rice-field fell to the state in the division year. Every household was granted garden land to build a house and to plant mulberry and lacquer trees. Ownership of garden land belonged to the household, but not to an individual, and once granted there was no fresh division, and people were free to sell or buy it. The owner of this garden land was required to plant a certain number of lacquer and mulberry trees in the following grades : for a first-class household, 300 mulberry trees, 100 lacquer trees ; for a second-class, 200 mulberry, 70 lacquer ;

for a third-class, 100 mulberry and 40 lacquer, the trees to be planted within five years of the grant of the garden land. The rule for the division of rice-field was based on the supposition that the productive power of all the lands was the same, but, in fact, there is poor land which does not produce even half of the crop of other land. In such case people were granted some additional rice-fields. This was called yakuden—that is to say, "rice-field instead." This law of division of the land was popularly called Handen Law.

Reference quoted in making the Taiho Statute.—With the study of the general outlines of the land system in the Taika Ordinance, as well as in the Taiho Statute, enforcing the reforms, we find that this institution was almost precisely a translation of the legislations of the Zui and the Tang Dynasties in China. It was quite clear that Shimozuke-no-komaro and Iki-no-Hakatoku, who conceived the above law, had, of course, made a historic study of the Chinese land system from ancient times, but it seemed that they had mostly drawn upon the 30 volumes of the *Kaikorei*, and the 18 volumes of the *Daigyorei* in the Zui Dynasty, as well as the 12 volumes of the *Joganritsu*, the 27 volumes of the *Rei*, the 1 volume of the *Rushikaku*, and the 33 volumes of the *Shiki* in the Tang Dynasty.

This statute had two great drawbacks, in that it was a mere translation and contradicted the time-honoured customs and manners, and it also contained many regulations that soon became impracticable; while there were systems that might have remained workable even after several hundred years. Judging from the conditions of that time, it was most necessary to make reforms of this kind in order to suppress the power of the grandees and set the Government on a firm foundation, to enable it to establish order and control out of the chaotic conditions. The reform is the best monument to commemorate the first period of our Imperial reign, and a much more precious memorial than all the buildings and sculptures remaining in Nara.

Proof of the Realization of the Handen System.—There has been much discussion of the enforcement of the Handen system, and some are of the opinion that it was simply a legal order, and not always were the fields of a village divided into sections of 2 tan each, each section being allotted to one person and every six years exchanged. They argue that the law simply fixed in the register the size of the field to be held by one man, for convenience in levying taxation, and in consequence the Handen system was nothing more than a paper division of land for the purpose of taxation. But the Handen system was not a mere book mode of taxation. It was an actual division of the fields. For example, the Land Code of the Taiho Statute specified that in the allotment of the kubunden, the portion given should be from the land located near the residence of the recipient, if circumstances allowed, and not from fields at a distance. This fact is sufficient proof that the Handen system was not a mere book-keeping aid to taxation, but was an actual division of land. The grounds for the argument that the Handen system could not have been an actual division lie in the fact that it would not be common sense to take back the land every six years and re-allot it to the farmers, as this would be unnecessary labour. But the Handen system did not ordain that all the fields in the country should always be re-allotted every six years. The commentary on the Taiho Statute, which was written by the author of the statute, clearly stated that kubunden once allotted could be possessed for life. The rule for the change of the fields every six years was made because children reaching the age of six years were then given the right to receive their share of the kubunden; while the census registration was also carried out every six years. Consequently, it was ordained that the Handen system was to be executed in accordance with the above rules. It was, however, clearly stated in the commentary that the Handen system, or the allotment of the fields, was limited to the following three cases only: when the fields of the dead were returned to the state; when the allotment was made to those newly entitled to this right; and when a supplement was made to such fields as might have been reduced by natural causes. It was not the case then, as some say, that all the fields throughout the country were confiscated from the farming people and newly divided among them every six years, and accordingly it is quite a misconception to believe that the Handen system was not put into practice owing to the difficulty of the procedure.

Better than by exhaustive researches the actual practice of the Handen system is proved by the fact that all the rice-fields and farm lands in any district are at present divided into small plots of about 1 tan in size, and none of large size are to be found. If the Handen system had been a mere registry of the land, in the multitude of fields there would certainly have remained up to the present a few fields of great size, because ever since the Taika and Taiho eras there have been many grandees and great families owning a wide extent of fields or who undertook the clearing of land on a large scale. There are at present no such fields of great size.

No Execution of the Handen System without the Census Registration.—There is no doubt, then, as to the actual execution of the Handen system, and the only question is to what extent this extraordinary revolution was carried into practice in accordance with the spirit of the law. All forms of life are subject to biological laws, and the state, as an organic body, can be no exception. However good and sound an institution and a law may be in one state or at some period, they cannot always be expected to grow soundly when they are transferred to some other state or age. Unless the country or the period have the capacity to assimilate such institutions, a land or an atmosphere unsuited for them will transform them into something else. The Taika Reform itself was of a far-reaching ideal and on a vast scale, entailing a revolutionary change in the time-honoured constitution of society, and, therefore, it was only natural that the enforcement of the new system met with great difficulties. In addition to this, the local administrative organs were in a deplorable condition at the time. The officials in the Central Government might to some extent have understood the principle and method of the reform, but governors and other lower officials in the provinces adhered to the old conditions, following the easy, dilatory policy; and, moreover, their administrative organs were extremely loose, so that they were quite unable to get a grasp of the new policy. Therefore the work of the reformation advanced very slowly.

The greatest difficulty in the execution of the new reform was, however, due to the absence of any census registration at the time. The taking of a census in the Taika Reform is mentioned in the Japanese Record, but it meant simply that it was decided at the time to commence the work of the census registration, but actually this innovation was only carried into practice in far later years, at the earliest not before A.D. 691. Even though history has been silent on the question, we have proof that a census was made in and after 702, for some papers connected with the census registration in the 2nd year of Taiho are among the documents stored in the Imperial storehouse at Nara. No trace being found of any census registration before this time, it is probably the case that the first census registration was made in 702. If there was no census registration before that time, we must come to the conclusion that the reforms prior to this time were limited to the matter of principles, as circumstances did not permit of practice.

How the Handen System was put into Practice.—When the distribution of the kubunden was made in accordance with the Taiho Statute, numberless inconveniences and obstacles to its execution were discovered, and a new ordinance was finally enacted in 729, twenty years after the promulgation of the Taiho Statute. According to the new law, all the fields were to be confiscated from the farmers, after which a new distribution should be made among them. According to the Handen system prior to this time, it was the principle that no change should be made in the fields formerly possessed by farmers, except for addition or reduction, but this system involved great difficulties in its application. It was, therefore, decided that all the farmers' lands should first be impounded by the state and then redistributed. In November of the same year the Government appointed the Handen officials of Kyoto and the five provinces surrounding the capital, and with the Imperial approval fixed the method of allotment. After the lapse of eighty-five years, that is, from the 1st year of Taika to this year, it seems that the state commenced the formal execution of the Handen system. From this it will be clearly understood how difficult it was to put the system into practice, and we must feel the highest admiration for the lofty character of the statesmen in our monarchical age who were faithful to the country and the principles and ideal of the Taika.

THE GENERAL DIVISION OF LANDS EVERY SIX YEARS WAS EXTENDED TO TERMS OF THIRTY OR FORTY YEARS.—During some score years from the 1st year of Tempyo, frequent arguments were advanced among the state officials as to the inconvenience of the Handen system in redistributing the lands every six years, and it was definitely ordered, in A.D. 834, that the general redistribution of lands should be made every twelve years. This ordinance not being strictly observed, in time the redistribution was made at intervals of nineteen years, or even as far apart as thirty, forty, or fifty years.

In the period of 830–40 the monarchy reached the zenith of its prosperity; but when Fujiwara Yoshifusa was the chief adviser to the Emperor, about 850–60, the Fujiwara family waxed very powerful, and high officials were generally chosen from among their favourites, who lacked the proper spirit of responsibility for the state affairs. Officialdom showed all the signs of decay, and the principles of the Taika and Taiho reforms were neglected. Unless the redistributions were made at intervals of less than fifty years, the Handen system naturally became a dead law; and it can well be imagined how powerful provincial families preserved their power over all the land during this period, just as before the Taika and Taiho eras. In the 9th century, the period which is called the prosperous reign of Enki and Tenryaku, the descendants of the Imperial princes, the noblemen, and Court ladies took the lead in the establishment of manors, taking the first step in the destruction of the administrative system that had been set up in the provinces and the country. This is a remote cause of the feudalism which followed.

THE REFORM OF THE HANDEN SYSTEM.—As previously stated, the six-year period under the Handen system of redistribution was changed to a twelve-year period, but even this law was not perfectly carried out in practice, and in some districts the change of lands was effected only once in fifty or sixty years. This was, of course, due to neglect of their duty on the part of the state officials and governors, but the institution itself proved to be of an inadaptable nature. The reforms of Taika and Taiho were really a far-reaching ideal, but were not in accord with the condition of the country at that time. They were laws translated from Chinese codes, were destructive of our historical customs and manners and could not remain long in practice.

Such being the case, the law of the Handen system had to go through many alterations soon after its promulgation. In the year 702, or the 1st year of Taiho, a regulation was proposed whereby every male should be given 2 tan (about half an acre) of land and every female two-thirds of the male's share, but in the year 873 (the 15th year of Jokan) this proportion of lands was changed. Males were classified into two groups, katei and fukadan, the former covering those who were liable to compulsory service, and the latter those who were exempted from compulsory service. The shares of land were 3 tan 329 bu for a katei, 2 tan for a fukadan, and 1 tan for a female.

One hundred and fifty years or more, from Taika to Taikan, may not be a short space of time, but the fact that the allotment of the kubunden was changed from 2 tan to the above figures shows indisputably that the Taika Statute, a mere translated edition of Chinese law, had many defects to be overcome.

The Kubunden of the Dead and Runaways were impounded by Wealthy Families.—During the period when no share of the kubunden was given, and no general re-allotment of lands was made for several score of years, how did the matter stand with those farmers who could not get a share of the kubunden, or with kubunden left by the dead and abandoned by runaways? They were all impounded by the powerful families in the provinces; and though they were kubunden in name, they were in reality transformed into privately owned fields. In this way the spirit of the Taiho Statute was completely destroyed, and the system of private ownership of land which obtained before the Taika era was resurrected. On the 17th of December, 873, a rescript of the Government contained a clause to the effect that the kubunden left by the dead had fallen into the hands of powerful families, while, on the other hand, there were many miserable people who became more and more poverty stricken and wretched the longer they lived, and who groaned under compulsory service. On the 22nd of August, 879 (17th year of Taikan), the Government announced that when the lands allotted to a house which had become extinct should be surreptitiously occupied by others, any person who reported this fact to the Government would be exempted one-half of his land-tax for three years.

The object of the system of kubunden was to confiscate all the privately owned lands and to allot a certain share of kubunden to every member of the community. Thus the Government guaranteed the life of the people, who were at the same time to pay the state three taxes—land-tax, forced labour, and tribute. Every male or female attaining the age of six years was entitled to a share of the fixed kubunden. When distribution of kubunden was made only at intervals of fifty or sixty years, there would be many people who would not receive any land until they had attained the age of fifty or sixty years. The population of that time may not have increased at the same rate as at present, but there can be no doubt that there was an increase of 30 or 40 per cent. in a period of fifty years during peace times. This increased population received no allotment of lands, and was, moreover, prohibited from owning private lands. They were given no share of kubunden, and, therefore, they were deprived of the necessities of life, but the provincial governors never forgot to impose forced labour upon them. This was without doubt the worst Government at any period of our national existence. In the matter of the increased population, the heads of the families were placed under obligation to support their own increased families, and, therefore, all concerned had to toil hard and yet suffered great hardships, with the consequent appearance of some ready to mortgage their kubunden, which was against the law.

FEMALES WERE USED AS SECURITY WHEN PLEDGING KUBUNDEN.—It was, however, no new departure at this period to purchase and sell kubunden as the result of debt, and such transactions had already been made in the periods of Tempyo-Kampo and Hoki, 757. When mortgaging land it was the practice to use the females as security, and they were liable to become slaves in cases of non-redemption. There is but little doubt that such things had long been in practice.

The position was the result of the largely increased population, while the principle of the Handen system was not thoroughly understood by the people. In order to meet the emergency, temple lands or reclaimed fields of rich families were confiscated, but this method of relief had no material results, much to the disappointment of the intelligent section of the community.

THE SYSTEM OF SLAVERY BECAME EXTINCT OWING TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF MANORS.—Prior to this time the common people were divided into two classes, freemen and slaves. Slaves were largely captives from foreign countries, prisoners of alien races within the country, and criminals whose punishment was slavery. In addition to this, as a result of the lack of land, there was a tendency at this time for farmers who had no share of the kubunden given them to sell themselves into slavery as the only alternative to starvation for themselves and their families. There were others who did not go to this extreme, but still became servants in other villages where land was more plentiful. There were only two methods for such people to exist: one was to secure sufficient rice as a wage for the cultivation of official lands, and the other to work on the newly reclaimed lands of wealthy people. The official lands were under the control of provincial and district governors, who were mostly corrupt. They neglected their duty of supplying farmers with their due share of the kubunden, but, on the other hand, they were very severe in imposing upon them forced service for sixty days each year, as stipulated in the law.

Farmers naturally avoided cultivation of the official land under unscrupulous officials and preferred to work on the reclaimed lands owned by wealthy or powerful families who defied the governors. At this time there was great rivalry among the Imperial princes, noblemen, Court ladies, and others in the establishment of reclaimed lands, and they were equally eager to have their manors freed from taxation, which they accomplished through their influence in the Imperial Court. These lands attracted the landless and wanderers who wished to escape from forced service, so that the manors soon became the gathering places of people seeking exemption from heavy taxation and enforced service and became more and more prosperous.

Just as in ancient times the Roman manors flourished by virtue of the institution of slavery, so in the same way our manors were rapidly developed by slaves and half-slaves who came into existence owing to the interception of the kubunden. It is a matter of interest to note the similarity between the East and the West, though the period of the development may not be identical. These prosperous manors were not subject to the provincial and district governors, which caused a great movement of farmers and wanderers, who, having no registration of their classes, were much increased in number. Runaway slaves mixed with the freemen in the manors, and, therefore, the distinction between freemen and slaves remained only in name, and in reality had already disappeared. Consequently the period of slave economy passed away and the time was ripe for the period of land economy. This period commenced about 850.

In the year 939 Taira-no-Masakado, in the province of Hitachi, and Fujiwara-no-Sumitomo, in the province of Iyo, plotted a rebellion against the Imperial Family, which is known as the war of the Tenkei era, and this rebellion marked the end of the Handen system. Following this war strong families in different districts became more powerful, causing the small and weak families to become subject to them, and acquired large areas of reclaimed lands. They set up their own manors, defying the provincial governors, paying no land-tax nor yet liable to forced service, and thus caused an age of confusion and disturbances. In this manner the system of the kubunden fell into complete disuse, and the land system retrogressed to the same condition as before the eras of Taika and Taiho. This period is called the Age of Manors.

The Incidence of Tax on Farmers for the Kubunden.—How much taxation was imposed upon farmers for their kubunden? The taxation was classified into four kinds—land-tax, tribute, forced service, and miscellaneous service. The so or tax was 4·4 per cent. of the gross produce of the land.

According to the Handen system every male was given 2 tan (half an acre), and every female two-thirds of the same, so that every male was forced to pay a tax of 2·2 sho on 5 koku. But the area of arable lands in a given district was not always in proportion to the population of the district, and therefore, as has been already explained, the share of lands given to farmers in a large village could not be just the same as that given to farmers in a small village in conformity with the regulation. Accordingly, when the rate of taxation was to be fixed in any place, it was first necessary to make a comparison between the register of the inhabitants and the area of the available lands, and it will be seen that a census registration was not only necessary for purposes of local administration, but it also had an important bearing upon the finances of the Imperial Court.

The Tribute besides the Land-Tax.—Had the obligation of farmers been limited to the land-tax they would not have had much to complain of, but, besides the land-tax, they had to pay a tribute. The tribute was restricted to males only, and resembled the poll-tax of later times. A person reaching his majority, called seitei, was considered a unit, and two jitei (minor) and four chudan (middle, under 19 years) were equal to one seitei. The amount of the tribute was regulated by the laws. The articles taken as tribute were silk fabric, coarse silk fabric, cotton, and other articles in accordance with the products of different provinces. The tribute paid by one seitei was fixed as follows: silk or coarse silk fabric, 8·5 feet in length by 2·2 feet in breadth; coarse silk fabric from Mino, 6·5 feet in length by 2·2 feet in breadth; cotton, 1 kin; thread, 8 ryo; cloth, 26 feet in length by 24 feet in breadth; cloth of boda, 13 feet in length by 2·8 feet in breadth.

Other articles, 10 kin of iron, 3 spades (3 kin of iron to each one), 3 to of salt, 18 kin of sea-ear, 35 kin of bonito, 30 kin of cuttlefish, 32 kin of topshell, 26 kin of sea-slug, 50 kin of small fish, 100 kin of small fish dried, 48 kin of Shisai (purple dye plant). 160 kin of mixed seaweed, 130 kin of seaweed, 260 kin of arame (a kind of seaweed), 130 kin of Kaisho, 120 kin of Korumu, 6 to of dried fishes, 8 to of kaiso-kon, 1 koku of mi-arame, 1 koku 2 to of Nira, 2 to of abalone, 3 to of pickled shells, 6 to of uni or sea-urchin, 5 to of Omi-funa (the gibee from Omi), 4 to of salted trout, or 25 kin of boiled bonito.

A SUB-TRIBUTE IN ADDITION TO THE TRIBUTE.—Besides the above tribute, an adult male had to pay a sub-tribute, the payment of which fell on the seitei alone, all others being exempted. One of the following articles was to be chosen in accordance with the localities :—

Purple cotton stuff, 3 ryo ; Royge cotton stuff, 3 ryo ; red cotton stuff, 2 kin ; yellow cotton stuff, 2 kin ; Azuma cotton stuff, 12 ryo ; aki cotton stuff, 4 ryo ; hemp, 2 kin ; shumu or a kind of hemp, 10·16 ryo ; kemushi, 12 ryo ; kihada, 7 kin ; tsutura, 6 kin ; gingell-oil, 7 shaku ; mekoyu or a kind of oil, 7 shaku ; jinyu, 1 go ; hosoki-abura, 1 go ; inoshishi-abura, 3 go ; no, 1 go 5 shaku ; salt, 1 sho ; paper, 6 cho (2 feet by 1 foot) ; mushiro-yanagi, 1 bundle.

WHY THE CENSUS REGISTRATION WAS NECESSARY IN IMPOSING TAXATION.—Though the tributary articles were thus numerous, they were chiefly composed of woven goods, yarns, and cotton, and as for the miscellaneous goods, they were chiefly limited to iron, spades, and marine products. The tribute was imposed upon males alone, and females were exempted from this taxation. The incidence upon males, moreover, differed according to their ages, and, therefore, an accurate census registration was more indispensable in the enforcement of the tribute than in the case of the land-tax. In accordance with the census registration of the time, males and females were classified as follows : under 2 years ; sho (little), under 15 years ; chu (middle), under 19 years ; tei (able-bodied) 20 years or above ; ro (old), above 60 years ; and ki (very old). Those classified as deformed and invalid were persons with one blind eye, those deaf in both ears, those lacking two fingers or three toes, those lacking a thumb or a big toe, bald-headed persons, and those suffering from pus, orchitis, or beriberi. The tax law classified the ro (old) and the deformed as jitei (minors) and therefore males of from 50 to 64 years, as well as the deformed and invalids, had to pay but half of the tribute of a seitei, or able-bodied person.

THE INSTITUTION OF FORCED SERVICE.—The farmers allotted the kubunden were subject to the above land-tax and poll-tax, but, beside these duties, compulsory labour with public works was imposed upon them. Some tributary articles might be paid in lieu of this forced labour, which was called the yo, or commuted tax. The period of slave economy commenced with the promulgation of the Taiho Statute and continued until the monarchical middle age, and it may be called the period of slave economy, not only because of the existence of the institution of slavery, but also on account of the yo system of imposing compulsory labour upon the farmers. According to the Taiho Statute, the seitei (able-bodied males) were subject to this compulsory service for a certain period annually. The duty of the yo was divided into two classes, seieki and ryueki. The seieki was a period of ten days of labour annually, during which period farmers received food from the state, and the commuted tax for this service was set at 26 feet of cloth, which could be replaced by some other articles, according to the locality.

In addition to the above seieki, the state retained the right to place farmers in service for thirty days, which service was termed the ryueki. It was, however, stipulated that the state should not impose upon farmers compulsory service of more than forty days, including both the seieki and the ryueki, and that the land-tax and tribute should both be waived for those farmers serving in the ryueki up to the limit of thirty days. This compulsory service was imposed only upon the seitei and the jitei (liable to half the period of a seitei), but not on the chudan and others. This duty was also waived in the case of seitei and jitei residing in Kyoto and Kinai, provinces surrounding the capital, and wealthy people were allowed to offer substitutes from among their servants and slaves, or from others employed by them.

THE INSTITUTION OF THE ZATSUEKI, OR SUNDRY SERVICE.—The farmers were already forced into a condition of serfdom by the above institution of the Yoeki, but there was another forced labour, called the zatsueki, or sundry forced service. The seieki and the ryueki above referred to were the services imposed by the Central Government, while provincial governors commanded an additional service of farmers in the public work within their jurisdiction, which was called the zatsueki, or sundry service. The zatsueki was a sixty-day annual service which the provincial governors were authorized to impose upon the farmers within their district. The jitei were liable to a service of half this period, and the chudan to one-fourth. To sum up, farmers were subject first to the land-tax and the tribute, then the yo, or forced labour, and the yo of forty days including the seieki and the ryueki, plus the zatsueki, or sundry service, of sixty days. In this manner slave economy increased in influence, and the farmers of the time groaned under the heavy burden of taxation. The people in Kyoto and Kinai were exempted from this compulsory service, as specified in the law, and as a result farmers from other provinces flocked to these districts and sought employment on the manors, giving rise to a great movement of the people. In this confusion the institution of slavery was destroyed, and the system of the tribute and forced labour also became subject to reformation.

Exception in Taxation.—Many exceptions in the taxation system were specified in the law for moral and political reasons. Sailors who accompanied the special envoys to China were exempted from taxation for three years, and those who returned home from other lands than China were free from taxation for one year. Others who were exempted from taxation were dutiful children, obedient grandchildren, men of strict probity, and virtuous women, as well as fathers, grandfathers, brothers, children, and grandchildren of persons holding the third or higher official rank, and fathers and children of persons of and above the fifth official rank. All the officials, village headmen, and holders of the Eighth Order of Merit or above were also free from taxation in accordance with their ranks or positions.

We must also mention the system of hoko, or the creation of one man to be lord over a number of families, under which officials of distinguished service and great officials were made lords of a number of families. In such cases, several hundred or thousand families were placed under the private over-lordship of those officials, and the state took only a half portion of the land-tax from those families, while the over-lords received the other half, as well as having all powers of imposing the tribute and the forced labour upon those families.

This is a summary of the land-tax, the forced labour, and the tribute stipulated in the Taiho Statute, but it was not long before the regulation was changed, the land-tax per tan, which was originally 2 soku 2 wa, was reduced to 1 soku 5 wa in September of the 3rd year of Keiun.

The beginning of the Tax Usurpation by Governors.—The Taiho rate of taxation was changed in the era of Keiun, and this change remained long in practice. According to the tax of the time, it was fixed that 70 or 80 per cent. of the legal tax be actually sent to the Imperial Court, and the balance of 30 or 20 per cent. be at the discretion of the provincial governors, so that they might use it in case of certain calamities when the regular tax could not be collected.

The original purpose of this system was to save trouble on the part of governors who would otherwise have to make application to the Court for a reduction of taxes when necessary, and governors were given the authority to call up the balance within the limit of 20 or 30 per cent. of the legal tax rate. It was by no means intended that the governors should keep for themselves such excess portions when a tax of more than 70 or 80 per cent. of the regular rate was collected. But inasmuch as this surplus of 30 or 20 per cent. was left in the hands of the provincial governors to dispose of at their discretion, it was only natural that they were tempted to appropriate this amount for their own use, and gradually it became the universal custom for governors always to collect the full amount of tax, reserving for themselves the residue not sent to the Imperial Court.

THE KEIUN REVISION OF TAXATION.—The Keiun amendment of the tax law revised not only the rate of land-tax, but also the labour-tax, reducing the latter by one-half. The most important and significant fact was, however, that in this Keiun and the later revisions the household standard was introduced, and a household was assessed for tax, while the individual standard had been adopted in the Taiho Statute, and a kind of poll-tax collected. The principal articles of the tribute consisted of silk and other textiles and yarns, which were the products of mulberry land belonging to a household. According to the Taiho Statute, a portion of garden land was granted to every household, but not to any individual, and accordingly the tribute produced from its mulberry land should be charged to the household and should not be collected direct from each member of the household. In this respect the Taiho Statute was not a consistent law, as it adopted a poll-tax system, individuals in a household being severally liable to taxation. In February, the 2nd year of Keiun, was issued a new tax law, by which taxation was imposed on a household and the poll-tax system abandoned. The Taiho Statute was a translated edition of Zui and To laws, and now with this amendment it became consistent with the spirit of the To legislation, that is, "The possession of a field is subject to the assessment of a land-tax; the existence of a household to the household tribute, and the presence of a person to the labour-tax."

THE MONETARY TAXATION.—The fundamental rule in the Taiho Statute was that the tribute should consist chiefly of silk textiles and yarns as well as cotton, and other articles might take the place of the above articles, the species of these articles being fixed according to localities. The tributary articles became, in time, definite, according to localities, but owing to the shifting of produce and industry, they did not coincide with the circumstances of some localities, which necessitated several changes. In the 5th year of Enryaku, the iron spade from the province of Bizen was found not to be the product of Bizen, but to be bought from other provinces, and therefore the tributary articles were changed to silk textile or yarn. In the 24th year of Enryaku, the eight counties of Bingo Province were known to be rich in iron, and it was decided that the tribute of iron spades should be made from these localities, abandoning the former tribute of cotton yarns. These tributary articles were increased greatly in variety in the period of Enki, being largely expanded on a comprehensive method. The system of money tribute was also introduced, the tribute of each adult being 250 mon.

The System of Tenancy of Official Land.—The system of kubunden was destroyed and terminated entirely, as has been already detailed, but the official land of koeiden and jishiden still remained in the hands of provincial governors. The state itself controlled koeiden lands by its administrative laws, cultivated them, and took the profit, while it leased jishiden land to private persons and collected ground rents, but both were equally official land.

Among official lands, those belonging to the class of jishiden were the fields of iden, counties, provinces, and unemeden having no owner, as well as of shaden and kojoden. There were two rent systems, chin and chigo. Under the former, farmers paid a certain rent in spring and then cultivated the leased fields; while under the latter, the state leased public fields, levying ground rents according to the yield in autumn. This jishi, or ground rent, was 20 per cent. by law. The land which was leased under the jishi system formed part of the joden, or excess fields, that were not yet allotted to the people.

Seeing that if the ground rent could be collected in accordance with the official estimate, it would supplement the lack of taxation from kubunden and other quarters, and could be used for various purposes, the Government made every endeavour to avail itself of this system. Especially in the period of Enki, when the state expenditure greatly increased owing to the magnificent style of living indulged in by the Imperial Family, the Government devoted much attention to the jishiden system, and finally decreed that jishiden should include kubunden belonging to deceased owners, kubunden belonging to runaways, and the kubunden of men who had entered a monastery. In short, ownerless kubunden became mixed up with the general state-owned land, and was leased to private people on the same principle as the present-day leasing of state-owned land. The rents from these fields were used for miscellaneous purposes, unlike the regular taxes. Thus the last trace of the Handen system disappeared.

The System of Koeiden.—The state retained the koeiden for the purpose of obtaining the produce of the land under its own supervision and culture. The difference between koeiden and jishiden lies in the fact that the produce of the koeiden concerned only the Government, while the lessee of the jishiden was vitally interested in its cultivation.

We presume that at the time when the Taiho Statute was promulgated, the koeiden system was fixed by law, but there was no practical necessity to cultivate the land, as the Imperial Treasury could be filled from the tax from the kubunden and the tax of labour (service). But before long the local governors began to avail themselves of this koeiden in order to feather their own nests, not content with the regular taxes and service. On the other hand, owing to the increase of the Imperial expenses, the Imperial Family could not subsist on the tributes from the provinces, and, therefore, itself began to establish koeiden in order to obtain the necessary revenue. For the cultivation of these koeiden, people could be ordered to work on the land in return for a certain wage and food.

Governors cultivated Official Fields by Forced Labour.—It was decreed that wages and food should be given to farmers cultivating the koeiden, but there were many governors who were so avaricious and disloyal that, in the cultivation of the koeiden under their control, they commanded the service of farmers as zatsueki, in accordance with the rules of rice culture laid down in the Taiho Statute, and did not supply the farmers with the wages and food as called for by law. They then sent erroneous reports to the Government stating that they had bestowed upon their cultivators all the necessary wages and food, thus deceiving the Government and robbing the people. The natural result was that, as these improper and illegitimate practices increased, the farmers fled to the manors, which enjoyed a kind of extraterritoriality not subject to the power of the governor. There the tax was small, and very little, if any, service was required from the farmer.

By thus trying to squeeze profit out of their koeiden the governors drove away the farmers and brought about the prosperity of the manors. In other words, hoping to catch herrings, they drove the school into the mouth of the whale.

CHAPTER VI

THE PERIOD OF SLAVE ECONOMY

The Period of Slave Economy.—In order to make a thorough investigation into the reforms of Taika and Taiho eras, one has to make oneself familiar with the land system and the social constitution prior to these reforms, and then find out what change and development were afterwards effected. Economic history, though naturally varying in various counties, tends to follow the same orbit whether in the East or the West. The first stage is the period of slave economy, where, except for the sovereign and the small group of classes surrounding him, all the people are nothing but slaves or half-slaves in the service of the upper class. In the second stage there remains very little colouring of slavery, but the majority of the people are still serfs who have not yet shaken off the life of slavish rules and customs. This stage may be called the period of land economy, in so far as the producer of wealth in this period is not only slaves, but also the land. As civilization gradually advances, labourers leave the state of serfdom, move about and work as they like, and earn wages by contract. On the other hand, bargains, enterprises, remunerations, land-tax, etc., are all handled by means of money, and the influence of capital is greatly increased. This is, therefore, in one respect the period of wage economy, and in another the period of money economy, as it is partly on a capitalistic basis. The social conditions before the eras of Taika and Taiho belong to the first stage, according to the above description, and lie within the period of slave economy

The System of Slavery in Remote Ages.—Before entering upon the discussion of the Japanese social constitution, we have to understand that when the Yamato race called Tenson landed in the island of Kyushu, and, pressing eastward, set up their capital in Yamato Province, Japan was not an uninhabited land, but was inhabited by the Izumo race, akin to the Koreans, a group of Nagasunehiko of the same origin as Tenson, a similar race to Kumaso in Kyushu, and also a troglodyte race called Tsuchigumo. These inhabitants had for the most part been conquered by the Izumo race, prior to the invasion of Tenson race. The Izumo people highly respected their lineage and were divided into a certain number of uji—or families—according to their ancestors. The most superior person among the people was elected the head of all the families, or the chieftain of the race, and called kami, which is equivalent to the god in later periods. The people subordinate to the god were called ujihito, and other races than ujihito, as well as enemies, were made their slaves. In later periods some of the ujihito were excluded from this group, owing to debt or for criminal causes, and were made slaves, to work on the land or at industry. Japan had then a society of a slave nature before the invasion of the Tenson race.

THE TWOFOLD CONSTITUTION OF SOCIETY AFTER THE EMPEROR JIMMU.—The Tenson race under the command of the Emperor Jimmu brought excellent weapons with them and were, moreover, people of intelligence and valour. On conquering the Izumo race, they assumed the ruling power over a society of slaves, and hence there was established a society of a twofold nature in which a new group of peers was superimposed on the slave society, constituted in accordance with the kinship and lineage of the Izumo race. Historians heretofore have thought that the Tenson race were the people who respected blood relationship and despised other races, but this is only a supposition, the fruit of superstition. The Tenson race who came over with the Emperor Jimmu were only a number of warriors, and therefore could not cover the whole land in such a short period. At the beginning of the country's history the Tenson race married into the race to the native god, and recognized their group as of the same class as the Tenson race. To be precise, a small number of the Tenson race mingled with a large group of the Izumo race.

When the race of the Emperor Jimmu and the people combined with the Izumo race entered Yamato, and established a new realm, there were many of the Izumo race and other original inhabitants who opposed the new-comers, but they were all conquered in time. The conquered people were not treated on an equality with the Tenson race, who were free citizens, but were called the bukyoku, and were, in reality, nothing but slaves.

THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE TENSON RACE AND BUKYOKU.—Free citizens and bukyoku or slaves were, of course, not on an equal footing, but they were equally necessary elements of society, though in different positions. The free citizens were the fighters against alien enemies in the protection of their race, and to them fell the duty of directing society; while the bukyoku, under the orders of the free citizens, worked on the land and engaged in minor industries. The free citizens and the bukyoku were, respectively, consumers and producers, and the slaves belonging to the class of producers fell naturally into two classes, farm workers and industrial workers. When alien races were conquered, made bukyoku, and treated as slaves, they were allotted among the chiefs of different uji, or families. The Imperial Family ranked the highest family and naturally had the greatest number of slaves, who were placed under the control of a specially appointed official called Tomonomiyatsuko. At first, these slaves were engaged in primitive production, such as fishery, hunting, and agriculture, but to meet the needs of the Imperial Family their slaves were engaged in various kinds of production, such as bows, arrows, pottery, iron work, turnery, and sewing. Groups of slaves engaged in the special occupations of industry in that time were formed, and this system was latterly applied to all society, leading to the existence of two groups—the industrial and the agricultural people. In course of time the occupations of the industrial class became hereditary.

Foreign Industry imported together with Aliens.—The most significant point in industry in remote ages is that the people engaged in industry were slaves and mostly aliens from other lands. Korea had no higher civilization of its own in remote ages, and simply modelled itself after the life of the Chinese continent. The ancient Japanese were superior to them in valour, but far inferior to them in industry, and therefore exerted themselves to the utmost in the importation of the Chinese civilization and industry. The method of importation was first to make the people study under Koreans, and then brought Koreans into the country by force, setting them over the inhabitants. The Chinese civilization was greatly admired by Japanese, and in consequence Koreans and Chinese came over in quick succession, all becoming naturalized. The reason why our Imperial Court treated these aliens generously was, of course, owing to its respect for their civilization, but also in the hope of thereby filling up the thinly populated land. The number of these naturalized aliens was enormous in the 7th and 8th centuries, and they became one of the most powerful elements in society.

The Change of the Family System.—The arrivals of the aliens were numerous, as above mentioned, and at this time the family system, although it existed in name, was in reality in a state of great confusion. First, there were the slaves under superintendence of special officers who were engaged in their hereditary occupations and in time obtained an influence in society. They were not then contented to be slaves, and many of them assumed false lineage and passed themselves off as free citizens. Secondly, all the races other than sections of the Tenson race were to be treated as slaves according to the system, but when a large number of the immigrants came over from Korea, it was impossible to treat all of them as slaves. Thirdly, the mixed marriages between free citizens and slaves produced a new class, and naturally some change had to be made in the treatment of these people. Fourthly, as Tomonomiyatsuko, the special superintendents of slaves, after generations of idleness, became incompetent and incapable of controlling the slaves, it was quite impossible for the free citizens to maintain their official position as an hereditary profession. For these reasons, in the year 645, the era name was first introduced, that of Taika being given, and all the institutions were completely reformed after the Chinese model. The old system, by which the heads of the Tenson race families alone constituted the Government, was destroyed, but in reality prominent and clever men among the Tenson race did constitute the Government. The difference between the old and new systems, however, was that under the old regime all the members of the Tenson race belonged to the governing class, and the heads of the great and small families became Government officials, irrespective of ability or character. Under the new system the Government was made up of those who showed ability, and members of the Tenson race who showed no capacity were reduced to the class of the governed.

THE ORIGIN OF SLAVES.—As mentioned elsewhere, in early days the Tenson race, following the slave economy of the original inhabitants, took the civil and military powers upon themselves and placed the work of production in the hands of slaves. After the lapse of several hundred years it became very difficult to make clean-cut distinctions between the governing and the governed, the citizens and the slaves, although the two classes still existed and there was a legal difference. This difference had been based on the nature of the races in the remote past, but now the classes of the citizens and the slaves carried with them a different meaning. According to the original institution, there were seven causes for the origin of slaves, viz. subjugation, war, debt, birth, confiscation of official posts, plunder, and naturalization.

SUBJUGATED SLAVES.—In A.D. 325 the Emperor Nintoku sent Tamichi to Korea, and he returned with captives. In the reign of the Emperor Yuryaku, Uneme-Omi presented to Omuraji-Muroya six Korean slaves as a mark of gratitude. Besides these there were many immigrant slaves. In the 8th century, when the Emperor Kammu planned to extend his sovereignty over the north-eastern provinces of Japan, Sakanoue-no-Tamuramaro made several expeditions, and took so many prisoners from the district in battle that a new Government post called Ifucho was established in 812 in order to control these slaves. From this it may well be imagined that captives were distributed widely among different provinces. In the Soga Mononobe feud in 587, when the house of Mononobe was overthrown, the same fate was shared by the allies of Mononobe, and their children and relatives, numbering 273, were all made the permanent slaves of the temple established by Soga-no-Umeko, Prince Shotoku-Taishi, and others. This is an instance of slaves through warfare. In 479, when Misamura-no-Ao landed in Kyushu, on his return from China, bringing with him a goose to be presented to the Emperor, the bird was bitten by a dog belonging to Prince Mizuma, who in great fear made to the Emperor a present of ten pairs of swans. These swans were killed by a dog while they were breeding, and the Emperor was so incensed that he had the officer in charge of the birds tattooed on the face and made a slave to attend on the birds. This is an example of slaves being made on account of degradation from an official post. In 741, when Fujiwara-Hirotsugu, who was Governor of Kyushu, revolted against the Imperial Family, he and his brother Tsunatoshi were killed, twenty-six men were condemned to capital punishment, and five were made slaves by the confiscation of official posts. The cases of confiscation were not limited to the above, but the rule also applied to the case of a citizen and a slave married by unlawful means and bearing a child. The child was invariably deprived of his official post and made an official slave.

Slavery by Birth.—As a natural result of the institution, slaves were born in that status. According to the Taiho Statute, the people were divided into two classes—citizens and slaves. If a female servant of the slave class bore children to a citizen, these children ranked with their mother and were classified as slaves; similarly, the offspring of a woman citizen and a slave father ranked with their father. Both rules applied to children born in wedlock, and thus it was understood that the children of slaves shall be treated as slaves. The Statute also contained this proviso: "In the case of slaves having intercourse with their masters, or their masters' kinsmen within the fifth degree, and having children, those boys or girls shall all be deprived of their hereditary official posts." This proviso was expected to discourage sexual intercourse between citizens and the slaves. In view of these facts it is clear that so long as the Taiho Statute was in force, birth was one of the causes of increase in the number of slaves.

Slaves by Debt.—The miscellaneous code of the Taiho Statute contained the following regulation regarding loans and interest, both official and private: "The interest shall be collected per 60 days and the rate shall not exceed one-eighth of the original; even if the period extends over to 480 days, the interest cannot more than equal the loan, and debtor who is unable to pay shall offer his own body to the creditor's service to work off his debt." It was thus clearly stated that the debtor, if unable to pay his interest, had to become the slave of his creditor. In 695 was issued an Imperial ordinance containing the words : " Those have become slaves through defaulting on loans shall now be made citizens."

Slaves by Plunder.—The term " plunder " is applied to the act of carrying off or abducting a citizen, and this was, of course, prohibited by law, but it was another cause of increase of slaves. The following was the regulation in the theft code : " Those who have plundered a citizen shall be sentenced to banishment to a distant district ; if they have sold the captives as slaves, to penal servitude for three years ; if they have made them their house slaves, to penal servitude for two and a half years ; if they have made them their wives, concubines, or adopted them as children, the penalties for the attempted crimes shall be reduced by four degrees ; and also for accomplices, one degree." The prohibition of the sale of the citizens included not only that of the plundered, but also the case of children or brothers sold by their parents. The theft code laid it down that those selling their children should be sentenced to penal servitude for one year. The existence of these prohibitions by law is proof that such undesirable customs were in existence, and there were really not a few who were sold by their parents.

Slaves by Naturalization.—The household code of the Taiho Statute contained this : " As a general rule, slaves outside the country shall be set free and treated as citizens when they become our people, coming over at their own wish." It was originally made a rule that if foreigners, who were slaves in their home-lands, once became naturalized in Japan, they should be raised from the rank of slaves and be treated as citizens, their relations with their former masters being broken off. But in the case of aliens leading a slave life here, any of their relatives coming after them were treated as slaves. One exception to this rule was that when kinsmen within the second degree of the alien slaves came into the country and were naturalized, they were allowed to become citizens on payment of a ransom ; but this permission was not extended to kinsmen of the third degree, or beyond, who were all put down in the slave class. This regulation was, therefore, another cause of the number of slaves. It may be asked whether there was any chance of these slaves becoming citizens, and the answer is that there was. Such instances were the following : when the owners of slaves emancipated them ; when slaves won lawsuits in which they questioned the validity of their slave rank ; when the houses possessing slaves became extinct ; in case an official slave attained the age of sixty-six years or became disabled ; and in case of the emancipation of a slave of special ability. For example, an official slave called Hita was set free and made a free citizen in 743. This was because he for the first time polished jewels by using Osaka sand. There were, moreover, many official slaves who became free by official sanction or without anyone's definite permission, and most of them were experts in industrial arts.

Minor Classification of Slaves.—In accordance with the Taiho Statute these slaves were divided into the following five groups :

1. Ryoko.
2. Kanko.
3. Kenin.
4. Kodohi.
5. Shidohi.

1. The Ryoko, a large group, were attached to the Imperial tombs and were in charge of their cleaning.

2. The Kanko belonged to the various Government offices and were placed in the public service. When citizens pleaded guilty to some crime, their families and relatives were made Kanko upon the confiscation of their official posts.

3. The Kenin were parasites in citizen houses, distant relatives who could not support themselves and finally bound themselves as slaves.

4. The Kodohi, or official servants, were servants attached to the Government. They were similar to the Kanko, but their position was inferior. Most of them were originally captives.

5. The Shidohi, or private servants, were the servants owned privately by princes and other people.

Debt slaves ranked the lowest. The Kanko and the Kenin could maintain their own houses, but the Shidohi were not allowed to enjoy this privilege.

The differences between the citizen and the slave were in reality as follows : A slave could not marry a citizen ; the marriages among the slaves were limited within their own group—that is, the Kanko with the Kanko, and the Ryoko with the Ryoko, but not Kanko with Ryoko. The census register had to be made independently, and the grant of the kubunden fields was made separately ; the Shidohi could be trafficked in by their masters as they pleased.

There was, however, descendants of the slaves who were first put into the slave class on being conquered before the Taika era. With the lapse of centuries, these slaves, succeeding to their hereditary calling, generation after generation, became so skilled in their industries as to be indispensable to the Imperial Government. Therefore they were released from the slave life but not yet recognized as citizens. They occupied a class between a citizen and a slave, and were called the Zakko, or miscellaneous families. The naturalized aliens who came from Korea and China were expert as manual workers, and were also enlisted in this class of the Zakko.

Traffic in Slaves.—After a careful study of the relation between the Tenson race and the conquered in remote ages, and then the relation between the citizen and the slave dealt with above, one can obtain a general idea about the slave constitution of society in ancient times. This state of the social conditions continued up to the 10th century, and during this time slave institutions were in force; the master looked upon their slaves as on a level with the beasts, and counted them as a portion of their property. Since they were treated as property, their masters did not mind selling and buying them in public. The only difference between transactions in slaves and those in cattle was that when making a sale of slaves, their master had to give notice to the authorities by his own written instrument, guaranteed by a certifier, and the bargain became valid only in case the exchange of the contract was made before an official witness. Slaves were then a kind of merchandise, and, therefore, when runaway slaves were caught, the captor was given a reward, just as in later periods the finder is given the half of a portion of the lost property. The rate of reward was fixed according to the value of the slaves, and if the owner had not the means to pay the reward within two months, the captured slaves were sold by mutual consent of their master and the captor, and the proceeds divided equally between the two. Though bargains in slaves were thus made, slaves had no right to sell themselves or their children; and in case children of slaves were secretly bought from their parents, or slaves sold themselves, the offenders had committed an act of robbery. Slaves were included in the category of property and had no personal rights.

Presents of Slaves.—Slaves were a portion of property and were treated similarly to other articles, so that we have a number of instances of presents of slaves being made to the temples in the same spirit as money was contributed to them in later periods.

The Children of Slaves.—The following document preserved in the Shosoin at Nara includes many children at five, four, and two years old. These were born of slaves and by that act became slaves themselves :—

THE REGISTER BOOK OF SLAVES

For 2nd year of Tempyo Shoho (A.D. 751)

	Years		*Years*		*Years*
Nawamaro	52	Kawamaro	53	Otomaro	26
Katano	38	Koashi	63	Mushimaro	20
Mashiki	25	Oi	26	Manmaro	37
Animaro	23	Sakata	22	Todohe	34
Hiromaro	39	Masaba	34	Mochimaro	19
Masatsuki	26	Kuniyori	27	Hirotsu	16
Kayanari	14	Komohito	12	Oshikami	10

	Years		Years		Years
Manari	11	Machimaro	18	Onari	6
Tajimaro	10	Kutsuki	5	Uoonushi	4
Moronushi	5	Komomaro	10	Inamaro	2
Morotsuki	4	Machinomaro	2	Fumimaro	23
Yoshimaro	37	Morokuni	24	Madaimaro	39
Kurandomaro	10	Kuromaro	53	Kakochi	14
Mayori	16	Kuniyori	6	Yoshitomaro	8
Yotomemaro	10	Kuromaro	21	Ikamaro	9
Wakamoro	18	Tatsugumaro	19	Mutsukimaro	4
Tonomaro	6	Kuromaro	8	Bomaro	5
Akiyama	25	Kotsugi	23	Hironari	10
Shigamaro	70	Ihoshi	5	Tsugishima	11
Kobushimaro	4	Tatsugumaro	4	Naodate	5
Kayashima	4	Ishidate	10	Tomodate	20
Kasamaro	11	Kunimaro	51	Uhato	52
Koketo	22	Uotari	14	Numamaro	23
Kiyoshi	7	Inumaro	57	Satsukimaro	2
Oshihito	20	Takahito	12	Ishiyama	13
Temmaro	31	Kunimasu	24	Noamori	12
Adsumando	25	Mamushi	19	Kuromari	37
Nogimi	7	Nonaga	5	Ishito	13
Kurisu	17	Somaro	51	Hironari	15
Kosugemaro	9	Hiroto	22	Komomushi	20
Tsunemari	12	Rikimai	22	Hokaidime	60
Himiki	66	Hirohashime	35	Mayamame	12
Chirome	18	Hiroyamame	37	Asatakime	7
Komome	17	Kayakomome	9	Akime	4
Asakakirume	5	Maniwame	29	Komatsume	5
Awabime	39	Matsunomime	7	Itome	8
Oname	36	Okomome	6	Maeme	21
Iguhime	25	Harimame	52	Kurome	35
Maedame	17	Mishima	60	Kinume	10
Otome	26	Kotsumime	36	Hamatojime	5
Nerimuraginume	8	Mochimushime	6	Yukime	13
Otome	63	Hirohime	32	Jotojime	8
Nishikime	39	Kumitojime	9	Kuratome	31
Kokurame	37	Akime	6	Katamime	53
Konohame	37	Ajime	31	Matamame	22
Konorime	35	Manome	10	Takenokome	28
Mitomime	51	Mochime	57		
Inakurame	35	Imaro	38		

THE NECESSITY OF THE SLAVE SYSTEM.—From the foregoing it can be seen that the period from the reformation of Taika and Taiho to a period several hundred years later was the age of the "slave system." The slave system rested not only on the social feeling occasioned by the self-respect of the race, but also on economic necessities. In a small village tribe, in order to procure not only the necessary food and clothes for a family of six or seven persons, but also to have some degree of ease and luxury, the head of a family needed additional labour to that supplied by the members of his family, such as that of oxen and horses. However, human labour could better understand orders and could be more relied upon than cattle. Such being the case, primitive society caused men to work with the cattle, and these we call "slaves." When families made a village, villages made a tribe, and the development of tribes finally made a country, the necessity of slavery greatly increased. Probably life in a primitive society was one of constant fighting: tribe fought with tribe, one province invaded another, and consequently the ruler and their retainer classes were compelled to undertake the defence against enemies. The tilling of the soil to produce the necessities of life was therefore left to the slaves, while the fighting was the work of the free men. Although the division of labour vaguely originated at this point, people in those days were idle and unsystematic, and never worked if left alone without someone to watch them. It was necessary to force slaves to labour by threats and orders, which is why slavery was necessary to stimulate production in the primitive times just as the factory principle is esteemed as a productive method at present. Such a system of slavery was not peculiar to Japan or the Orient, but was common to the whole world, from Greece and Rome to England. From olden times, when human beings progressed from a nomadic life spent in wandering after water and grass to a settled social life, the change gave rise to the relation of ruler and ruled ; in such a way a system of slavery always sprang up.

RELEASE FROM SLAVERY.—In 722, by an Imperial order, the slaves of seventy-one houses were released and made citizens. They were goldsmiths, bowyers, helmet-makers, blacksmiths, and so on. In 749 we have record of the freeing of ironsmiths, coppersmiths, goldsmiths, armourers, bowyers, fletchers, saddlers, and so forth in Kyoto and the province around it. These men, although they became citizens, could not relinquish their hereditary occupation. By Imperial ordinance they renewed the old family name and were put to work as before, after a survey of the census register prior to 15th Tempyo. From this very fact we can infer that since the foundation of our Empire, industry and commerce were specialized in by the lowly and slaves, and citizens performed their duties in agriculture and the army. In 745, 203 slaves of Ason Nateimaro Kose, a high officer of Court, were allowed to be citizens, a privilege they had long appealed for, and while the reason for their appeal is not known, we can see that, among the magnates of the Imperial Court, there were some who had several hundreds of slaves. Several hundred years later, when Hideyoshi Toyotomi invaded Korea and his troops besieged Seoul, the capital, someone set fire to the castle from the inside, whom both the Japanese and Korean troops believed to be a traitor. But rumour has it that at that time several changes of society had taken place in Korea as well as in Japan, and many descendants of slaves who had become men of influence were greatly concerned because the registrations of their forefathers as slaves were stored in the royal archives; they therefore set fire to the storehouse in which these were kept, taking advantage of the siege in order to destroy the record of shame that could in no other way be blotted out. Whether this be so or not, it is at least true that there are many instances of the leading men of our country to-day whose slave origin could be proved if we had had a census record at the time of the Nára epoch preserved until the present.

NUMBER OF SLAVES.—How many slaves existed in the primitive stage? The answer to this question will be of much interest to us all, and it might be well to compare our state with that in Europe. In Athens, it was said that over 40,000 slaves existed as against 21,000 free men; but Hume, the English historian, thinks this figure a miscalculation, and the correct figures should be 40,000 more or less. Gibbon says that, in the age of Claudius in Rome, free men nearly matched the slaves in number. But these are only suppositions, without any evidence. It is not impossible to arrive at a suppositional number of slaves in the monarchic age of Japan. In the reign of the Emperor Sushun, Mononobe-no-Omuraji fought against Prince Umayado and Umako Soga, of which incident the Nippon Shoki had the following:—

"Ohmuraji fought personally at the head of his followers and a slave army in the castle, and his troops were so strong and brave, both in and out of the castle, that the army of the Prince ran away in a fright three times. After the Mononobe family had fallen, four Tennoji temples were built in Settsu in commemoration of the triumph of Buddhism, and half of both the slaves and the land of Mononobe were assigned as slaves and manor land to Tennoji. In addition, Obitoichihi Tomino, who distinguished himself by shooting Omuraji in the war, was granted 10,000 kei of land." In the biography of Prince Shotoku, which was compiled by the family of Heishi, the relatives and followers of Mononobe are put down as 273—i.e. men 160, women 113—who became all permanent slaves of Tennoji. Permanent slavery means slavery throughout life. The fiefs confiscated by the Government composed 173,890 shiro, 128,640 shiro in eight places—Yuge, Kuratsukuri, Onchima, Kinsuri, Hakusa, Ashiro, Mitachi, Fuihara in Kawachi—and 58,250 shiro in Ose, Moe, Tobita, and Kumagi in Settsu; and, in addition to the above, three residences with all their wealth were given to the temple. As the 10,000 kei of land given to Ichihi was the private land of Moriya, we may judge that there were two kinds of land belonging to a family, i.e. land which was possessed in common by the family and private land which was possessed by Moriya himself. At any rate, we can easily imagine how great were the residences of powerful families and the original state of slavery. After Umako Soga suborned Ayanoataikoma Azuma to murder the Emperor Sushun, he was annoyed by Azuma's haughtiness, and when he killed him, he called him " a Korean slave," and blamed that slave for committing the murder of one on the throne. Judging from this, Azuma seems to have been a slave himself; further, the followers of Prince Shotoku, such as Umate Kawa Kamina-kami, Daikichi, Hata, Inukai Yuge, Kamo, Kawami, etc., who were the heads of slaves, were divided among four Tennoji, Kokujo (a maid), and Muragimaro (a slave), continually appealed for freedom; while Ekiho, a younger brother of Murajiramo, endured the servitude of the temple and became an archbishop of the Horyuji Temple. From these statements we see that even a slave could rise to a position when he was benevolently treated by his master.

An example showing number of slaves: It is said when Augustus Cæsar died in Rome, 4,116 slaves were released. By comparison, we have 273 descendants and followers of Moriya. The term followers probably means slaves who comprised the greater part of this number, upon comparison with the slave army in the Nippon Shoki. As the Emperor Kotoku nationalized the whole of the land by the reformation of Taika, the Crown Prince presented to the Emperor 524 slaves and 181 provinces with warehouses. The Prince was a descendent of the Imperial Court and had thus many slaves, though far behind Omuraji and Ohmi in the matter of wealth. From this we may judge our social condition to have been about the same as that of Italy. The difference between the two was that Japan was an island and Italy was a peninsula. While an insular country had intercourse with other countries only by means of vessels, a peninsula is in direct contact, so there are many opportunities to abduct savages and other natives. Such being the case, in the early stages of Japan it can hardly be said that the number of freemen and slaves were equal as in Rome, but it is more probable that the freemen far outnumbered the slaves, and the longer peace reigned and the more settled society became, the fewer grew the opportunity of acquiring slaves, with the natural result that while freemen increased in numbers, the number of slaves neither increased nor decreased. According to the relics of the census registration for 702 (2nd year of Taiho) preserved in the Imperial storehouse in Nara, the population in Miida-no-Sato, Mino

Province, consisted of 895 in 50 houses, among whom were 25 slaves. The following enumeration can be seen in the Inventory of the Horyuji Temple in Yamato Province for 730 (10th year of Tempyo) :—

Total slaves, 533.
Families, 123 ; servants, 68 ; maids, 55 ; servant and maids, 385.
Servants, 206 ; maids, 179.
Temple servant, 1.
Horses, 3 ; cows, 9.

The slaves of the Horyuji Temple seem, then, to have been 533 souls, who were numbered as property, together with the cattle. Such being the case, it may be seen that people in those days handled slaves as merchandise, which was the common practice in both Europe and the Orient. Consider the fact that slaves were enfranchised as free men in about A.D. 20 or 30, i.e. during the reign of the Emperor Augustus, and the statement that 3,600 cows, 250,000 small cattle, and 4,116 slaves, who were reckoned with the small cattle, were left as an inheritance.

THE METHOD OF COLLECTING SLAVES.—According to the *History of Temples*, it was said that 122 slaves of the Yakushiji Temple in the 8th century were bought from all the provinces by order, and among those who contributed slaves to the Todaiji Temple was Kosemaro Oyaka, who contributed, voluntarily, 60, of whom 39 had already been in his possession, the rest being newly bought. From this we may well see that persons of positions had many slaves, and that they were as easily purchased as corn. In 786 (5th year of Enryaku) the shrine of Kashima in Hitachi Province had 105 houses of slaves. In those days one house contained from 10 to 30 or 40 persons. Even supposing that a house consisted of only 10 persons, the number of slaves totals 1,000. Now, according to the Book of Slaves of the Todaiji Temple in 772, that temple had 97 men slaves and 105 women slaves, a total of 202 ; and also, according to the Book of Contributed Slaves of the said temple, Mino Province had contributed 6 slaves, Ohmi 5 slaves, Tango 4 slaves, and Tajima 5 slaves. Now, the Purchase Book of Slaves of the temple states that the Todaiji Temple itself bought 23 slaves in Kyoto, and some slaves were bought and sold in such places as Ohmi and Kawachi. A part of the census of Kawabe village, Chikuzen Province, in 702, which is preserved in the Shosoin, Imperial storehouse, at Nara, has the names of 39 slaves. From the fact that the single household had 39 slaves, we may guess how great that family was and how prosperous the slave system was in those provinces. Further, a census of Haburi village, Mino Province, in 702 states that a citizen's household consisted of 31 freemen and 12 slaves. This citizen was probably one of the authorities, as the family was called Agatanushi, in which case this number of slaves would be natural. In the same province there was a tribe called Hatsudobe, descendants of Chinese, and in that tribe there was one household of 31 freemen and 3 slaves. In Harube village, Ahachi-gun, Mino, was a household called Karayasu, the head of which had been chief of a tribe. This household is noted as consisting of 51 souls, of whom 13 were slaves. On the other hand, in the taxation book of 740 it is stated that the fief of Hamana-gun, Totomi, consisted of 750 houses, with a population of 5,371 souls, of whom 41 were slaves, which shows that in these provinces there may not have been many slaves.

Number of Slaves in Comparison with the Whole Population. It is clear the ratio of freemen to slaves was not alike in all the villages and provinces. An old and great family in one province had many slaves, while a new and small family had few or none. In the volume of the census preserved in the Todaiji Temple, 124 families are mentioned, of which 50 had no slaves, 24 families had slaves, and of the rest it is not clear whether they had slaves or not, as some portions of the registry have been destroyed. The average rate of slaves to freemen for the 24 houses above mentioned was over 15 per cent. While the above record was the census of houses of ordinary citizens only, the Kokushi, Gunji, shrines, Buddhist temples, wealthy men and those in authority had a greater number of slaves—an average of 15 per cent. may be considered as probable. The population of Japan is said to have been two millions in A.D. 720, and at the rate of 15 per cent. slaves there would have been about three hundred thousand of them. Now, in primitive times in early England, as in other countries, a majority of the farmer class were in a condition of slavery, but, as time passed by, slaves decreased greatly in number, and in the year 1200 or 1300, long after the Norman Conquest, the number of slaves was but 9 per cent. of the whole population. It is needless to say that in some provinces it was over this figure and in other provinces it was next to nothing, averaging 9 per cent. Slaves moved to and fro, and finally became the owners of small plots of land, just such a change as took place in Japan.

Price at which Slaves were Sold.—At what price were the slaves sold during this period? In about 714 the price of slaves was about 600 mon. At that time all citizens of the country were divided into three classes, each of which was again classified into three groups according to property. The standard of property was as follows:—

Highest class	Over 100 kan of rice
High class	Over 60 kan of rice

High-low class	Over 40 kan of rice
Middle class	Over 16 kan of rice
Middle-high class	Over 20 kan of rice
Middle-low class	Over 12 kan of rice
Low-high class	Over 6 kan of rice

But in 714 there was a revision, and the qualification for the highest class became more than 30 kan, and for the lowest class more than 1 kan. By a further order the value of a slave was reckoned at 600 mon, and that of a woman slave at 400 mon. What was the purchasing power of 1 kan at that period? One kan was equivalent to 1 tan of land. But afterwards, in about 750, the price of a slave was generally some 1,000 bundles of rice plants. As 1 bundle of rice plants produces 5 sho of rice, a slave cost 50 koku of rice. A slave-book of the Todaiji Temple, 729, has the following statement, showing the price of slaves and the fact of their gradual decrease as a result of their increased cost:—

In the 15th year of Tempyo—
  A slave, 39 years old, wagon carpenter, 1,400 bundles of rice plants.
  A slave, 25 years old, 1,000 bundles of rice plants.
  A slave, 11 years old, 600 bundles of rice plants.
  A woman slave, 25 years old, 1,000 bundles of rice plants.

In the 19th year of Tempyo—
  Two women slaves, 33 and 11 years old, 1,200 bundles of rice plants.

In the 20th year of Tempyo—
  Three women slaves, 33, 8, and 5 years old, with a slave 4 years old, 20 kwanmon of money.

In the 2nd year of Tempyo Shoho—
  A slave, 25 years old, 900 bundles of rice plants.
  A woman slave, 22 years old, 800 bundles of rice plants.
  A slave, 22 years old, 1,000 bundles of rice plants.

Pariah (Eta) Race at the Present Time.—Slaves who did not mix with freemen, or did not escape or progress, but founded a tribe and remained as they always had been, are the pariah race of the modern age, and their number was still 870,000 in 1916. In spite of the great increase of population from the middle age of the Tokugawa Shogunate to the age of Meiji, this pariah class, for many reasons, was unable to increase as did the rest of the people. But from the fact that out of a total population of 53,300,000 in 1916, the number of pariahs was still over 0·15 per cent., it can be presumed that had the slave system been kept up there would be a very large number of them at present.

Folks were Great Treasures.—In the monarchic age the Japanese word for people read Ohmitakara, meaning treasure, which may be taken as a fair proof of the value set upon them. But the people of the monarchic age were serfs, who paid taxes by tilling the emperor's land. Further, they paid silk and cotton clothes as poll-tax, in addition to which they had to serve their lord for a certain number of days a year. The days of service forced upon them were more than those devoted to raising food for the sustenance of their own families. Inasmuch as they were subject to compulsory labour, citizens were a kind of serf, even though they were not true slaves, whose bodies could be sold. Therefore the name Ohmitakara was not adopted on the ground of estimation of personal rights or recognition of individual existence, but because they were as convention articles as gold and silver. Useful as cattle, they formed part of the economy of the age. Some modern apostles of liberty claim that, even in the old ages, the existence of a personality was recognized, basing their contention on the use of the word Ohmitakara, but this is altogether a mistake, for, on the contrary, the word proves nothing but the existence of serfs as slaves.

CHAPTER VII

NARA AGE

SEVEN ERAS IN NARA.—The Emperor Mombu, who had completed the great reformation of the Taika by the Statute of Taiho, died in the 7th year of his reign at twenty-five years of age, and was succeeded by his mother, Princess Abe, who was named the Empress Gemmyo. After Gemmyo, the Empress Gensho, an elder sister of Mombu, inherited. Gensho was succeeded by the Emperor Shomu, who was followed by seven emperors, or empresses, all descendants of the Emperor Mombu, himself a descendant of the Emperor Tenchi, who might well be called the greatest, with the exception of the founder of the Empire. It was he who killed Iruka Soga in 645 (1st year of Taika), and restored the privileges of the monarch, upsetting the despotism of the great families. He set up two emperors, Kotoku and Saimyo, under whom he served as Crown Prince for seventeen years, and then succeeded to the throne. During this period he dealt with many difficult situations, such as the great reformation of Taika, the expedition to Korea, etc., but he was actually on the throne only eleven years. Shortly after the demise of Tenchi, Temmu, his younger brother, raised an army and deposed his nephew, the Emperor Kobun, son of Tenchi, himself taking his place. This deplorable state of affairs was remedied after Temmu's demise. Jito, his consort, succeeded, but, as she had no son, the throne was transmitted to Mombu, a descendant of Tenchi, through whom the seven monarchs in Nara all traced their descent from the great Emperor. The eras of Mombu, Gemmyo, and Gensho were a transition period in our history from many standpoints. First, by the Statute of Taiho, land nationalization was established, as we have seen in the preceding chapter; second, the era system was adopted; third, in 708, the name Wado (Copper era) was reinsttaed as the name of the era because copper, presented by the province of Musashi, was coined; fourth, coining of silver was abandoned in 711, and weavers were sent to various provinces to instruct the people in wearing brocades and figured cloth, and from the next year figured cloths were accepted as taxes from the twenty-one provinces; fifth, in the same year, Yasumaro Futo was ordered to compile *Kojiki* (Chronicle of the Ancient Period in Japan); sixth, in 713, all provinces were ordered to present Fudoki (description of the natural features of the province); seventh, in 719 (Yoro 3rd year), both sexes were ordered to fold over their dress to the right; eighth, cordial relations were renewed with Korea; ninth, as the pass on the boundary between Owari and Mino was very steep, the mountain pass in Kiso was opened in order to facilitate the passage; tenth, in 698 Dr. Fumino-Emiki and seven others were ordered to islands such as Tane, Yaku, Ommi (now called Oshima), and Dokan (Dokara archipelago) off the coast of Kyushu, with troops, and the islands were made tributaries to Japan; lastly, in 735 (Tempyo 7th), Japanese letters were invented by Mabi Kibi.

THE BEGINNING OF THE FUJIWARA DICTATORSHIP.—But the greatest event in the Nara period is that the dictatorship of the Fujiwara family began. Since the reigns of Jingu and Ojin, the Imperial Household had co-existed with the great families in the Court. These great families might have endangered the Imperial Household, had they not fought and annihilated or weakened one another, owing to their mutual jealousies. The Soga and Mononobe families once were supreme, and all other great families were subject to them; but the house of Mononobe was exterminated by Soga, who alone were in a position to endanger the safety of the Imperial Household. When the Emperor Tenchi ascended the throne, he destroyed the Soga family, with the assistance of the famous Kamatari Fujiwara. As a reward for his service, Kamatari was raised to the Taishokukwan, the highest rank, and was also given a fief of fifteen thousand houses; in other words, he received the right to levy taxes upon fifteen thousand houses, which was the largest fief granted up to that time. At the same time, Fuhito Fujiwara, son of Kamatari, chairman of the enacting committees of the Taiho Statute, was raised to the position of Minister of the Right, and made Prime Minister when that post became vacant. Lady Miyako, daughter of Fuhito, was the consort of the Emperor Mombu, and her son came to the throne in 724 (1st Shinki), succeeding the Empress Gensho. We called him the Emperor Shomu. Thus Fuhito made his grandson an emperor, the first emperor of his line. Not content with this he caused Komyoshi, who was born to him by his second wife, to become the consort of Shomu. Their relationship was that of aunt and nephew, and while at the present time such a marriage is most unusual, in the olden days it was by no means an extraordinary case.

BUDDHISM REPRESENTED CIVILIZATION.—The seven reigns of Gemmyo, Gensho, Shomu, Koken, Junnin, Shotoku, and Komin filled the Nara period, and are called "the seven eras of Nara." The most remarkable feature of the time is the wonderful advancement of Buddhist influence, and many temples, such as Todaiji, Kofukuji, etc., now existing at Nara show very clearly how earnest the Imperial Court was to propagate Buddhism, build temples, and cast or carve images of Buddha. Time has worked great changes upon these temples, and yet we can easily detect their grandeur and dignity. The people were still in many ways far from a civilized life and lived in very mean houses, and it remains a great mystery how edifices of such pretensions with such wonderful sculpture could have been erected. A parallel can be found in the Taiho Statute, a most advanced and complicated system, and scarcely imaginable at the period in which it was enacted, when society was still in its humblest stages. Neither Taiho nor Nara could entirely rid themselves of the atmosphere of the translation period. The Taiho Statute was only a translation from institutes of Zui and To (dynasties of China), and similarly the architecture and sculpture of the Nara period were nothing but an imitation taken from Zui, To, and Korea. This is the reason for the seeming discrepancy between these institutions and the social system. The Taiho Statute was an extraordinary ordinance and a reformation in itself. By it many old things were totally swept away and new things were created ; and in the same way society was upset from the very roots when Buddhism introduced a new civilization and converted society. In those ages Buddhism not only softened the nature of savage people and gave them food for meditation on the future, but it was in itself the continental civilization, totally different from the then existing form of society in Japan.

The Height of the Buddhist Influence.—Although previously, in A.D. 685 (14th year of Temmu), the Emperor had ordered every house all over the country to build a Buddhist shrine, in which an image of Buddha should be enshrined, and to worship and to say masses for the dead, it was but an order by the Emperor and did not become a popular custom. Later there appeared famous priests, such as Dosho, by whose efforts Buddhism was propagated by degrees. Dosho lived in Kawachi Province, and in 653 (14th year of Hakuchi) he proceeded to China during the dynasty of To, where he studied Buddhism. Returning to Japan, he travelled through the country teaching useful arts, such as the construction of vessels on rivers and bays, throwing bridges over rapid streams, and sinking wells alongside the roads. There is an example of this in the Uji bridge in Yamashiro, which was built with offerings collected by him in imitation of the custom of China. He greatly furthered the cause of Buddhism in Japan by the example he set to all the people with whom he came into contact. In 710 (3rd year of Wado) the capital was removed from Kyoto to Nara, and at that time Fuhito, head of the Fujiwara families, built the golden hall of the Kofukuji Temple in Nara, and all the Fujiwara family made efforts to propagate Buddhism. Shomu, the first Emperor with Fujiwara blood, succeeded to the throne at the age of fourteen, and Komyoshi, his consort, was sixteen years old. Having been brought up in a religious family, this lady was an enthusiastic Buddhist, and was so revered by all Buddhist priests that they thought of her as an incarnation of Buddha. Fostered by her devotion, and under the protection of the Emperor, Buddhism flourished everywhere, and many temples were erected and numerous images of Buddha made. When, in 729 (1st year of Tempyo), the Emperor Shomu ordered Prince Nagaya to take charge of a great Buddhist service at Genkoji of Kyoto, a certain unmannerly priest begged food of him. The Prince lost his temper and beat the priests with a sceptre. The assembled priests raised an outcry at this act of the Prince on the occasion of so great a service, and impeached him on the ground that his heresy would ruin the country. In the event Nagaya, his wife, Princess Kibi, and their son Kashiwade, and four other men committed suicide by means of poison. How great, then, was the power of Buddhism when even a member of the Imperial Family was forced to death by the persecution of the priests!

INDUSTRIAL ARTS BORN OF BUDDHISM.—Where there is power there lies the possibility of an evil. The erection of Buddhist temples and the making of images of Buddha led to an abuse of the labour of the people, for, as Buddhist priests increased, numbers without other occupations travelled through the country almost compelling people to give money under the fine name of contributing to the cause of Buddha. This was bad, but the benefits of Buddhism outweighed the evil. The Japanese people were brave and able enough, but their country was isolated from the continent, and in state building she was behind other nations—nay, at that period her civilization was crude. It was the students and Buddhist priests sent abroad for study who were the pioneers in introducing continental civilization; and, more important than all, Buddhism introduced the continental method of architecture as seen in temples, the art of engraving, casting, and metallurgy, by means of engraved images of Buddha and Buddhist shrines, and stimulated the art of dyeing and weaving by the weaving of figured brocade for sacerdotal robes. Most historians praise Buddhism for its benevolent works and for its diffusion of literature, and only a few of them have realized that the Buddhist temples were the training-schools in the art of technology. The grave faults of Buddhism were more than atoned for by this teaching, for civilization in general was stimulated. Laymen as well as priests being instrumental in teaching arts of various kinds to the people, the Nara period was one of rapid progress. It was between 687 and 690 that the Japanese discovered the use of red lacquer; and in 692 Kanjo, a priest, first made toilet-powder of lead. In 701 gold lacquer and crêpe were first produced; in 704 clothes made from the hair of hares were presented from Echigo; in 713 a master of brocade weavers, called Dashin Kuratsukuri-no-maro, was given the title of "Head of Kashiwara village"; Hitomaro Kakinomoto, a master poet, encouraged paper-making among the people of Iwami; in 714 pongee was woven in Hitachi and Kozuke. The latter place produced Futogimi, which gradually changed to the present Kirin fabric. In 729 Gyoki, a famous priest, baked earthenware in Tokoname, Owari, and then taught the art to the nation; and in 713 Hida, an official slave, discovered the art of polishing gems by means of sand, as reward for which he was set free. About that time the manufacture of glass was known, and the art of lacquer so progressed that nacre and gold-powdered works, which are the forerunners of gold lacquer, were known; and in 770 lathes were already used extensively. Although all these arts were not brought over by Buddhism and priests, it cannot be denied that they were largely due to the stimulus given by the construction of Buddhist temples and Buddhist images. In 743 (15th year of Tempyo) Shintoism and Buddhism were combined, and Amaterasu Omikami was declared to be the Great Buddha by two leading priests, Gyoki and Ryoben. A great image of Buddha was cast at Nara, which is a remarkable example of mixture and melting. It took ten years to complete this image, and 75,502 kin of refined copper, 400 kin 10 ryo of solder, and 1,510·2 ryo of alloy were used. Many technical arts, such as mining, metallurgy, wood-carving, and architecture, were cultivated in this period.

GYOKI'S METHOD OF INSTRUCTING PEOPLE.—Gyoki was the most famous priest of those times. He was poor and at one time expelled from the ranks of official priests, but the Imperial Court was forced to recognize his remarkable ability. He was indefatigable in teaching agriculture and technical arts, and was particularly versed in the construction of harbours and anchorages along the coast of the Inland Sea. Priest though he was, the quality of his statesmanship can be esteemed from the fact that he tried to combine Shintoism, the native religion, and Buddhism, the imported religion. By the construction of the image of Buddha at Nara and other like enterprises the two religions were combined throughout the country, with the result that the Emperor Shomu styled himself Priest Shoman, and the ideal state in the eyes of a priest was realized.

KIBI, THE PRIME MINISTER, AND GEMBO, A PRIEST, EXTEND THEIR INFLUENCE.—The Emperor Shomu caused 396 officers of a certain degree to elect the best Government officials, as a result of which six persons were chosen: Uai Fujiwara, Lord of Ceremonies; Agatamori Tajihi, Lord of the People; Maro Fujiwara, Lord of the Army; Prince Suzuka, Lord of the Treasury; Prince Katsuragi, General of the Left; and Michitari Otomo, Chief Secretary. These six men deliberated on all affairs of state, and were the state councillors. At the same time governor-generals were appointed in the provinces near Kyoto, but actually these governors were subservient to the Board of Council, who were supreme. Prior to this a certain Makibi Shimomichi had returned from China and begun to exercise great influence on account of his knowledge. He was promoted to high official rank and appointed tutor to the Prince. To him we owe the invention of katakana characters. He travelled widely throughout the country and was popularly called Minister Kibi. Contemporary with him was a priest called Gembo, who was highly regarded at Court for his genius, and frequently visited the palace of the Empress Consort, which caused no little public discussion. The Empress Dowager had been of a melancholy temperament and seemed to hate intercourse with the world, but after an interview with Gembo in her palace, she changed completely and became cheerful. In those ages priests in general were versed not only in study and the chanting of sutra, but also in the art of medicine, and sometimes they had the faculty of working upon people's feelings. Gembo may have used either one of these methods.

REBELLION OF HIROTSUGU FUJIWARA.—Hirotsugu, the first son of Uai Fujiwara, was then Governor of Yamato Province. After his father's death he became Vice-Governor of Kyushu. As their influence waxed many of the Fujiwara family became devout Buddhists, doing great service to the cause; but Hirotsugu was so dissatisfied with what he considered the arbitrary attitude of Makibi and Gembo that, in August of the 12th year of Tempyo, he memorialized the throne, criticizing the state of affairs and ascribing the misgovernment to Makibi and Gembo. He then established his headquarters in Onga Province, raised the flag of rebellion, and gathered a well-equipped army. Imperial forces were sent under Azumabito Ono to quell the revolt, and by the River Itabitsu the rebels were defeated. Hirotsugu and a younger brother, Tsunata, barely escaped with their lives to a small island in Matsuura-gun, Hizen, where they were captured and beheaded. In this war the royal army numbered 17,000 and that of Hirotsugu 10,000. Though these figures are not absolutely reliable, there is little doubt about them, as the records cite specific names and certain numbers of killed. The condition of the country at that time rendered it more difficult to mobilize an army of 10,000 than we should find in mobilizing one of 100,000. From among the family and immediate followers of Hirotsugu, 26 persons were killed, 5 men were enslaved, 47 were banished, 32 were sentenced to penal servitude, and 170 men were chastised with rods. The wives and children of Hirotsugu were probably enslaved also. Although Hirotsugu and his followers were thus utterly exterminated, in 746 Gembo was banished to Tsukushi and his fiefs were confiscated, thus partially vindicating the good faith of Hirotsugu. In this year the Emperor Shomu removed the capital from Nara to Shigaraki, near Nara, and built a palace called Kyonin. But he died in 748 before enjoying the pleasures of the new capital, and Princess Takano, afterwards called the Empress Koken, succeeded to the throne.

Nakamaro Fujiwara in Favour with the Empress.—In the later years of the reign of Shomu, Fukushin of Kudara, Governor of Mutsu, discovered gold in Oda-gun, and presented 900 ryo of it to the Imperial Court. On this the Imperial Court, with great rejoicing, changed the name of the era to Tempyo Shoho, and the Emperor personally visited the Todaiji Temple in Nara, where he swore allegiance as a "servant of Buddha" in the presence of all, and reported to the image of Buddha that gold had been produced from Mutsu. As both the Emperor and the Empress Koken were devout Buddhists, their reigns are the histories of the extending power of Buddhism and of its priests. At this time the Empress Koken was about thirty years old, without a husband, and confiding only in Nakamaro Fujiwara, who was made Minister to the Empress and enjoyed great powers. Koken hated the Crown Prince Michioya, and depriving him of his rights, she replaced him with Prince Oi, whose wife was a daughter of Nakamaro. Taking umbrage at the overweening influence of Nakamaro, a plot was formed among princes and heads of great families to dethrone the Empress and to kill Nakamaro. They attempted secretly to raise an army, but the secret leaked out and all were apprehended. Many were beaten to death with rods, and the rest were condemned to exile or died in prison. The only result was that the power of Nakamaro increased to a greater extent, and he made many changes in the Government. In 758 the Empress abdicated in favour of the Crown Prince Oi, whose consort, as we have said, was the daughter of Nakamaro. After her retirement the Empress Koken gave Nakamaro the right of coinage and an iron mine in Omi. He was also allowed the right to levy on 3,000 houses and 100 cho of land.

A Buddhist Government appears besides the Emperor's Government.—Even after Koken had abdicated in favour of the Crown Prince, she still held the actual power, and taking advantage of the reign of the Empress the priests attempted to start a Buddhist Government besides the Civil Government. In 760, 4th year of

Tempyo-hoji, Priests Ryoben, Jikun, Shosozu, Hosshin, Risshi, etc., asked leave of Koken to consult together and enact statutes corresponding to the institution of the Civil Government. The Empress agreed. Devoutly pious, she believed that Buddhism would save the people from sin, and that the chanting of a Buddhist invocation would make every one profoundly happy. She therefore gave orders for all the people, old and young, men and women, to repeat the invocation continually, and extended her command to all civil and military officers and other officials. Afterwards, as this Buddhist Government progressed, it set up a kind of pope who was higher in rank than the Prime Minister. A Buddhist retainer was equal to a chief secretary of the Supreme Council, and a Buddhist state councillor corresponded to a genuine state councillor. This pope's monthly income was equal to that spent on the Emperor's food. Thus, besides the Civil Government, there arose a Buddhist Government, on which stage Dôkyo Uge made his appearance. Dôkyo was a native of Kawachi, and descended from the house of Mononobe exterminated by Soga. From boyhood he studied Buddhism under Gien, a bishop, and in a hermitage in Mount Katsuragi he satisfied himself of its truth. Emerging from his retreat, he soon had the devout Koken under his influence. The whole country was in an uproar because of the method by which he swayed Koken, and scandalous reports spread rapidly. Nakamaro began to fear, not only that he might lose Koken's favour and the power of the Fujiwara families be undermined by this adventurer, but also that a monster in the garb of a priest had designs upon the Imperial throne. He therefore desired to banish him from the Imperial Court, but all was in vain, and his expostulations with Koken almost cost the newly acceded Emperor his throne.

NAKAMARO MAKES PREPARATIONS FOR THE DEFENCE AGAINST INVASION BY ANROKUZAN.—Previous to this, Tamori Ono Ason, returning from Manchuria, had reported that Anrokuzan had rebelled against the Emperor Genso of the To Dynasty and driven him into western borderland. On hearing this Nakamaro thought it necessary to prepare for defence against a possible invasion by Anrokuzan, as he would surely progress toward the east on returning from the south-west. So he ordered the governors of many provinces to send arms and provisions to Kyushu, and fearing that Anrokuzan might be helped by Korea, if he invaded Japan, he planned to render her powerless beforehand. With this intent he requisitioned an army of 40,700 soldiers and a navy of 17,370 sailors, and had boys from Mino and Musashi study the Korean language. At this juncture the organization of the " pope " Government had made such progress that it was ready to swallow the Imperial Court, and intending to put an end to this state of affairs, Nakamaro collected some soldiers, whereupon some sympathizer with the priestly Government secretly informed the throne that Nakamaro intended to rebel with his army. By order of Koken, Nakamaro and his band of thirty-four men were attacked and killed. She then proclaimed that when there is a priest-emperor there should be a priest-minister, and appointed Dôkyo to the post, giving him the name of "Priest-Minister." Further, she had the palace of the Emperor besieged and Junnin was exiled to Awaji, being called a "deposed emperor."

DÔKYO'S DOWNFALL AND THE RESTORATION TO POWER OF THE FUJIWARA FAMILIES.—With the exile of the Emperor, Koken again mounted the throne under the title of the Empress Shotoku, forgetting all about the defence work against Chinese invasion and abandoning all the institutions set up by Nakamaro. But Nakamaro surely had no rebellious intention. He was only the victim of the envy of other Court nobles as he surpassed his friends in influence and popularity, and jealous people characterized his intentions as rebellious because he raised an army for defence against any accident which might arise from Dôkyo's high favour with Koken, who entrusted everything to him, while Nakamaro's own power originated because of Koken's favour toward him. With the removal of Nakamaro, Dôkyo became more powerful than ever and filled the high posts with his relations and friends, even attempting to rise to the Imperial throne, in which he failed, as is well known. Nine months passed, and when the Empress Shotoku died, Momokawa, in spite of all opposition, set up Prince Shirakabe as the emperor. He was called the Emperor Konin. As the Empress Koken had no son, many schemed to be nominated Crown Prince, and many others were suspected of doing so, so that suspicion was rife and not a few were executed on false charges. Prince Shirakabe, on the contrary, contented himself with being a minister and led a life of ease, but when he became emperor, he showed the good in him, for he was generous by nature, with capacity for administration. Relying implicitly on Momokawa Fujiwara, in time the long restless political situation, which was caused by the Empress's reign of twenty-one years, from the accession of Koken in the 1st year of Tempyo-shoho to the demise of Shotoku in the 1st year of Hoki, was stabilized.

THE COLONIAL POLICY IN THE NORTH-WEST.—The Ainu race in the north-west were now subjugated. During the Nara period the Ainu and the Shukushin in Sado Island were brought to complete submission. The Shukushin were an offshoot of the Manchurians. In this period, too, the savages in Echigo and Akita were driven out to the northern end of the mainland of Japan, all the land in the newly conquered country being divided among the people equally after the Taiho Statute.

Intercourse with China in the Reign of To.—The Nara monarchs had very frequent intercourse with Bokkai, which was a nation founded in what is now Manchuria by the race of Makkatsu. She was first dependent on Korea, but eventually became independent. Intercourse with To prospered also as time went on, and not a few Japanese students who were sent abroad made a reputation in China. In the reign of Tenchi the Japanese army had been defeated in Korea by To generals, and after that fortresses were constructed in Kyushu and Shikoku and the capital was removed to Omi, as a defence against a To invasion. Nevertheless, far from regarding To with hostility and keeping her at a distance, Japan, on the contrary, not only continued intercourse with her as before, but also in the Nara period it became a rule to send missions to To. It was in August of the 2nd year that the army of Tenchi was defeated in Korea. And in May of the 3rd year, Ryujingan, Governor-General in Korea, sent Kakumuso to Japan on a mission to present a memorial and several gifts. After the departure of Kakumuso, Tenchi immediately built many fortresses in various places, from which it can be seen that he did not overlook the possibility of an attack by To. But in September of the 4th year To sent Ryotokuko on a mission to Japan, and Tenchi also sent a mission to China.

The Japanese long for the Civilization of To.—Afterwards our Imperial Court sent missions to To every year; and in the 2nd year, when Agatamori Tajihi returned from his visit to their Court, without surprising anyone, he wore a Court dress given by the To Emperor. When, in the 5th year of Tempyo, in the dynasty of Shomu, Hironari Tajihi, an envoy mission to To, was on his way back, his vessels were wrecked by a violent storm which separated the fleet, and only the vessel with the envoy on board returned to Japan, with much difficulty. One ship with Hironari Heiguri on board was driven to Annam. The rest of this party of about one hundred was killed by pirates, scattered by the storm, or died of pestilence. Only four men on Hironari's boat were saved by the King of Annam and sent to To in the 7th year of Tempyo. In the 10th year of Tempyo they went to Bokkai by sea, by way of Shantung, just when the king of that country was going to send a mission to Japan. They started for Japan together, but on the way they were shipwrecked in a gale, and the members of the missions of Shoyotoku, etc., were drowned. There are many other instances of the innumerable hardships suffered by those who made the perilous journey to China, and yet there was a constant stream of travellers and missions, showing how deeply our people hungered after the civilization of To.

Difficulties in Circulating Money.—During the Nara period trade took the form of barter, and even in provinces comparatively advanced in civilization, cloth was still used instead of money as the medium of trade. The Imperial Court was very desirous to pay in money for services rendered, and in 710 (3rd year of Wado) the following salaries were given, besides the land granted to the Government officials. The second rank was remunerated with 30 piki of pongee, 100 ken of thread, and 2,000 mon of money; the third rank with 10 piki of pongee, 1,000 mon of money; this scale descended gradually to the seventh rank, which was remunerated with 2 piki of pongee and 40 mon of money. By another order anyone who saved money was rewarded with rank and grade. On the 3rd day of the winter solstice, of the 3rd year of Tempyo, it is recorded that the Emperor Shomu entertained Court nobles above the fifth court rank at the Nanjuen and gave them money presents of the following amounts: 300 kan to princes, 250 kan to dainagon, and 200 kan to the third rank, major grade, and so on. In the 6th year of Wado it was decreed that even those who were appointed as chiefs of counties, and were honest and able administrators, could not be elected again unless they had saved more than 6 kan of money. The conditions of that time show that money was not very widely circulated, seeing that a man, as the governor of a county, could save only about 6 kan. However, that year, in order to encourage the circulation of currency, the Imperial Court sent out through the whole country the following edict: "That the public service had long been painfully hampered by the inconveniences of the country, and that taxes should be paid in money. Further, in order to economize in labour and expense, local governors should bid rich men collect rice by the roadside and sell it to travellers. The names of those who sold more than 100 koku a year be reported to the emperor. At the same time, money was provided to be paid in exchange for land, and if any other kind of article were used for payment, both the land and that article should be confiscated. Informers were to be rewarded with both the land and the article."

The Thatched-Roofed City becomes a Tiled City.—Hitherto only the Imperial Court built grand palaces and temples and set up great images of Buddha. Now, however, the Court desired to change the thatched houses to tiled houses, and in the 1st year of Shinki it ordered tiled houses to be built. According to the records of the Grand Council, the message regarding it is as follows: "In remote antiquity, people were very simple and lived in caves in winter and in dens in summer. Later on the emperors lived in palaces instead of caves or dens, and made Kyoto the capital. Unless the palace which represents the whole country is grand and beautiful, how can it truly represent the country? Shingled and thatched houses are the style bequeathed by the Middle Ages, and are hard to build and easily destroyed." So it was proposed that the governors should order those above the fifth court rank and people who were capable of building to build houses roofed with red and white tiles. The Emperor Shomu's service to the country was the improvement from thatched cottages to tiled houses, just as Augustus Cæsar improved the Rome of brick to the Rome of marble, which he bequeathed to posterity. This improvement was rapid but the method somewhat arbitrary. Nevertheless, it was unavoidable, for Japan was inferior in civilization to the continental countries.

CHAPTER VIII

TEMPLES ESTABLISH A STATE WITHIN THE STATE

The Discrimination between Taxed Land and Free Land.—The Statute of Taiho, which brought about the system of land nationalization after the reformation of Taika, classified the land as official and private. The official land covered shinden, and also other land beside iden, shokuden, shiden, kubunden, etc. Private land covered iden, shokuden, shiden, etc., which were given by the Court to men of merit, and kubunden equally allotted to farmers, and also miscellaneous land of many kinds. Shinden meant that a shrine owned the land and the people living there, and received all the taxes levied on this land and the people, without handing them over to the Imperial Court. Moreover, if the tax levied for building a shrine was insufficient, the Imperial Court made up the shortage with a tax levied from people in general. Such land has been called " free land," which meant that it did not pay taxes to the Imperial Court. Jiden, which is land belonging to a Buddhist temple, is, on the whole, almost the same as shinden and free land. A slight difference between them is that while trade in shinden was strictly prohibited, that in jiden, after being first prohibited, was later permitted. Kanden is the same as the Imperial estate of to-day, and was controlled by the Household Department. This was also untaxable land. Of the private lands, there was land called iden which was given to princes and royal subjects over fifth court rank, according to their ranks and grades, though at one time it was granted to monks and nuns also. There were two kinds of iden in the provinces around Kyoto and one in the other provinces. This kind of land was taxable, as it paid taxes to the Court. Ranks and grades to-day carry nothing but honour, but formerly there were emoluments. Further, the ranks over shonagon were given land in accordance with their grades. This was called shokuden, which means actual service land. In case of dismissal or retirement from office, half the shokuden was given. This was free land even though it was private. Besides this kind of shokuden, the Governor-General of Kyushu and the governors of provinces and other local officials were given a land which was called kugeden, and was also untaxable land. The lower ranks of local officials had taxable land. As we have already seen, in those times there were two kinds of taxable land and free land, according to the nature of the land.

Permanent Right of Possession of Kuden.—Even though the land was classified as taxable land and free land, the principle of land nationalization was on the whole triumphant. Kuden, which is given to men of merit, could only be bequeathed as far as the third descendant, however meritorious the original possessor might be, and thus differed from the land of the feudal lords, who bequeathed it permanently. Very few lands were transferred permanently, and the area of such land was very small. In 701, which was fifty-one years after the promulgation of the Statute of Taiho, the following names were listed as those who had kuden to be transferred to the several descendants :—

Kamatari Taishokukwan	Kuden 100 cho	Transferred permanently because of great merit.
Koyori Murata-muraji	Kuden 10 cho	Transferred to the second descendants (middle merit).
Nemaro Fuminoiki	Kuden 8 cho	
Kimite Marubeomi	Kuden 8 cho	
Chitoku Fuminoiki	Kuden 4 cho	
Uji Okihajime	Kuden 4 cho	
Furumaro Shimozuke	Kuden 10 cho	(Because of the merit of instituting Taihorei) transferred to their sons.
Oibito Tsukinoiki		
Hakutoku Ikimuraji		
Umakai Inabemuraji		
Furumaro Saekimuraji	Kuden 30 cho 6 tan	Transferred to the third descendant.
Owarino Sukune	Kuden 40 cho	Transferred to the third descendant.
Maro Hoshikawaomi	Kuden 4 cho	Transferred to their second descendants.
Naokumage Sakanoue	Kuden 6 cho	
Otomo Kibuminomuraji	Kuden 8 cho	
Shokaku Fuminoatai	Kuden 4 cho	
Shitaru Kasaomi	Kuden 20 cho	Transferred to the second descendant.
Hidatsu Kamichiason	Kuden 20 cho	Transferred to the third descendant.
Iwashiki Sakaaibesukune	Kuden 6 cho	Transferred to the son.
Osada Yamatosukune	Kuden 4 cho	Transferred to their sons
Mami Yokoomi	Kuden 4 cho	
Mushimaro Yazumesukune	Kuden 5 cho	
Furumaro Shioyamuraji	Kuden 5 cho	
Hitonari Kudara	Kuden 4 cho	

The Enforcement of the System of the Allotted Land.—The above-mentioned lands are the kuden given for merit during one hundred years, from the age of Tenchi to the ages of Shomu and Koken, and the number of men thus favoured was only twenty-four. The largest grant of all is the 100 cho of Kamatari, and it was the only one that was to be bequeathed permanently. Others could be transferred to the second or third descendants only. The principle of land nationalization was never abolished as a system. In 730 (2nd year of Tempyo of Shomu) the Governor-General of Kyushu reported to the throne that farmers in Osumi and Satsuma, which were the provinces most remote from the Imperial Court in Yamato, had never from the beginning of the Empire been given allotted land, and that the land they owned had been all reclaimed by their own labour. Therefore they did not wish to change, and if the allotment of land was forced upon them, an agitation would arise. On the strength of this, they were permitted for a while to till their land untouched. But seventy years later, in December of the year 800 (19th year of Enryaku), even in Osumi and Satsuma reclaimed land was confiscated by the Government and distributed as kubunden. In the province of Mutsu, during the reigns of Konin and Kwammu, the system of allotted land was enforced as the area of reclaimed land grew larger.

TEMPLES FOUND A STATE WITHIN THE STATE.—But it was not long before the system of land nationalization enforced as above was completely destroyed. Then it became the custom to possess large tracts of land called manors, which were not only transferred hereditarily, but which paid no taxes at all and did not attend to the public duties. This produced the local grandee who privately possessed land and people, with resultant feudalism, the condition of the state falling back to the despotic age before the reformation of Taika. Some historians say that though land was thus acquired by the Royal Families and the Fujiwara family in the interests of their houses, yet the manorial system originated not with them but with the temples. It was also the temples which, after the formation of the manors, called up their people and formed armies which matched the military power of the Imperial Court and drove other lords of manors to adopt the feudal system to maintain their positions. The temples adopted this manor system at the end of the Nara period and in the early days of Heian, and in 960 (1st year of Anwa) the already established manors became military units maintaining their own soldiers. Thus the temples established their economic power by holding their own lands, contended against the Court nobles with their followers, and finally introduced the system of building a state within the state.

THE FIEFS OF THE SHRINES.—Before the introduction of Buddhism the Imperial Family worshipped in Shinto shrines only, and there were many shrines and much shrine-land. But with the introduction of Buddhism the shrine lost its power and was overshadowed by the temple. The Miwa Shrine in Yamato was one of the oldest and most popular and enjoyed, at the height of its popularity, an income of 20,000 koku or more, and the chief priest was given 5,000 koku in addition.

During the 7th century the shrine of Miwa had the sovereignty over the population and land of one hundred and sixty houses. According to the taxation book of 730, the Okuni Shrine in Yamato had a sovereignty over people and land of three hundred and thirty-seven houses. Although the Ise Shrine, the Kasuga Shrine, and the Tonomine Shrine were dedicated to the forefathers of divine lineage, the Imperial Court's worship and offerings were rapidly turned to Buddhist temples, as in the following cases :—

1. The Land of the Horyuji Temple.—The temple records state that it had 300 cho dai of land in Harima. The temple had besides this land a further 2,326 cho.

2. Slaves and Land of the Hokoji Temple.—The Hokoji Temple was in Yamato. It was founded in the age of the Emperor Bitatsu and 120 slaves were in service there during five reigns, from the Emperor Bitatsu to the Empress Kokyoku, the details of which are as follows :—

In the 9th year of the Emperor Bitatsu	21 persons
Kataoka-hime	21 persons
In the 2nd year of the Emperor Yomei	24 persons
In the 29th year of the Empress Suiko	24 persons
In the 1st year of the Emperor Jomei	18 persons
In the 5th year of the Empress Kokyoku	12 persons

It is impossible to know at present how many slaves were employed after the reign of the Empress Kokyoku, and how they increased by marrying. But the temple land increased after the Empress Kokyoku's reign as follows :—

Donation of the Emperor Bitatsu ..	rice-field	40 cho
Donation of the Emperor Bitatsu ..	rice-field	12 cho 6 tan
Donation of the Emperor Bitatsu ..	rice-field	4 cho 8 tan
Donation of the Princess Kataoka ..	rice-field	12 cho
Donation of the Emperor Yomei ..	rice-field	3 cho 3 tan
Donation of the Empress Suiko ..	rice-field	8 cho 8 tan
Donation of the Empress Suiko ..	rice-field	12 cho
Donation of the Empress Suiko ..	rice-field	3 cho 1 tan
Donation of the Empress Suiko ..	rice-field	340 cho
Donation of the Emperor Jomei ..	rice-field	7 cho 5 tan
Donation of the Emperor Kokyoku ..	rice-field	5 cho 2 tan
Donation of the Emperor Kotoku ..	rice-field	120 cho
Donation of the Emperor Shotoku ..	rice-field	9 cho 12 ponds

3. The Fiefs of the Gufukuji.—The temple of Gufukuji is one of the ten great temples of Yamato built in the 13th year of Bitatsu by Iname Soga. In the 1st year of Temmu, sovereignty of over 500 houses in Kii was already granted to it. But as the Soga family

had previously given many houses to this temple, the total number was doubtless more than 500. Now, a fief meant the right to tax the houses. So the houses owned by temples, upon which were levied all kinds of taxes, became a feudal possession. In olden times, when villages were few and people were not so numerous, 500 houses must have meant a considerable amount of land. The number in a family in those times was from 16 to 40 persons, so the 500 houses would mean 10,000 people or more.

4. The Land of the Temple Asuka.—The temple Asuka in Yamato was given 1,800 houses as a fief by the Emperor Temmu.

5. The Land of the Kon Komyoji.—In March 736 (8th year of Tempyo), by the Imperial order, two temples were built in each province of the country. A temple of monks was called a konkomyoji, and each had 20 monks and was given a fief of 50 houses and 10 cho of land. A temple of nuns was called a temple of hokke-metsuzai, and each had 10 nuns and was given 10 cho of rice-field. But in 747 (the 19th year), besides the above-mentioned lands, the monks' portion was increased by 90 cho of rice-field and the nuns by 40 cho of rice-field. Moreover, in July of 749 (1st year of Tempyo Shoho), 1,000 cho and 400 cho were given to the monks and nuns respectively. At the same time 1,000 cho each were given to the Daianji, the Yakushiji, and the Kofuku, etc., in Yamato; 2,000 cho to the Genkyoji; 5,000 cho each to the Gufukuji, the Horyuji, the Shitennoji, the Shofukuji, and the Kenkoji. The Yakushiji in Shimozuke and the Kwanzeonji in Tsukushi were given 500 cho each, and all the Government temples throughout the country were given 100 cho each.

6. The Land of the Bonshakuji.—In 795 (14th year of Enryaku) the temple named Bonshakuji was built and endowed with 100 cho of rice-field in Omi and 50 houses in Shimosa, and the same number in Echizen.

7. The Land of the Anzan Shrine.—The Anzan Shrine in Tonomine, Yamato, in which the spirit of Kamatari was worshipped, was built between the 1st year of Taika and the 4th year of Hakuchi, and as the power of the Fujiwara family was extended, the influence of the shrine also increased. It was a rival of the Todaiji and the Kofukuji in Nara, and its land and slaves should have been equal to those of the two temples, but we have no figures except for the crop, which was not less than 6,000 koku. In August 1580 (8th year Tensho), when Nobunaga Oda sent both Mitsuhide Akechi and Kazumasa Takikawa to survey the land in Yamato, it was described as being 6,709 koku and 9 to. Even in times of depression, the land was then very extensive, and it is permissible to presume that in times of prosperity there was much more.

8. The Land of the Kofukuji.—At the height of the prosperity of the Kofukuji there were 175 temples and 21 halls. During the age of Daido of the Emperor Saga, 1,200 houses were contributed to it. In October 1021 (1st year of Chian) the whole land of Soegami in the province of Yamato was offered to the Kofukuji by the Imperial Court. Soegami county is said to have consisted of 130 villages and to have yielded crops of over 60,000 koku in the Genroku era. What, then, must have been the possessions of this temple, seeing that Soegami county was only a part of them! In July 1082 (2nd year of Eiho) the Imperial Court again offered to the temple the land near Kasuga, and the temple also had some manors in Harima. Even in 1550, when the power of the Kofukuji had declined, it levied upon the whole land of Yamato 3 sho of rice and 100 mon of money per tan of land for building expenses. The whole amounted to about 47,000 koku. Probably the people were taxed every year during the prosperous time of the Kasuga Shrine.

The Fief Houses of the Todaiji.—In 747 the Todaiji Temple had 1,000 houses divided between the provinces of Ise, Suruga, etc. Afterwards, in the 2nd year of Tempyo-Shohei, the Emperor Shomu went to the Todaiji with the Empress and offered 5,000 houses and 200 families of slaves. The dominion offered covered 38 provinces. But in October of the 4th year of Tempyo-Shohei 1,000 houses more were added.

In addition to the above fiefs, in the 4th year of Tempyo-Shoho in the era of the Emperor Kwammu both the Todaiji Temple and the Kofukuji Temple being given 1,000 houses, respectively, the former had 8,000 houses as the result of offerings from the Imperial Court. Being thus favoured by the Imperial Court, not a few powerful vassals offered their fiefs to this temple. The power of the temples being so extended, the local magnates in succession offered them their lands, as a manor, to free themselves from Imperial services, and becoming manorial governors for the temples, they enjoyed the incomes from the manors.

The Temples as Great Capitalists.—In these circumstances the temples gradually became economical centres to which the whole people looked. The Imperial Court had paid no attention to the finances and the livelihood of the people, who were, however, taught many things by the priests—for instance, how to construct embankments, bank up ponds, cut canals, and build bridges. In the Shomu Dynasty, a priest, Gyoki by name, taught the people how to sail ships on the inland sea, how to anchor and how to moor in times of storm. As many priests had been to China and had become acquainted with Chinese life, they had more and better knowledge of economics than others, and no Court noble or soldier could compete with them in that line. Thus, on getting a great number of fiefs and much surplus income, they began to buy with their capital reclaimed land, and were engrossed in money making. Of course, this greatly extended their power, and, therefore, in 746 (18th year of Tempyo) the Court prohibited the trading in land, not because the Court was opposed to the temples extending their power, but only because it felt that it was an injustice for the people to sell their land for so little money. This prohibition afterwards proved to be useless, but the temples coming within it devised another way. The reason we say temples instead of priests is because the system of the temples already existed, had fiefs and glebes and stored goods; and it is natural that the system itself increased its material wealth, extended its power, grew, and worked out the new system, although it was not advocated by any one man in particular. By storing goods we mean that they reclaimed new land. For example, the reclaimed land in Naruto of Etchu Province covered a total area of 58 cho 4 tan 10 bu, and was divided into nine lines north to south and twelve lines west to east, in the regular manner, just like the allotted land. In the plan of the reclaimed land preserved in the Todaiji, which was made in November, 3rd year of Tempyo-hoji, it is recorded that the land already reclaimed was 33 cho 310 bu, and the unreclaimed land was 25 cho 2 tan 60 bu. The reclaiming of such large amounts of land in the Tempyo ages, when financial power was limited, could not be done by individuals independently, but the temples, which could amass capital, succeeded. This is exactly similar to the works carried out by large firms of contractors to-day. In 757 (1st year of Tempyo-hoji), when the Emperor Shomu, standing before the Daibutsu (the great image of Buddha) of the Todaiji, called himself the servant of Buddha, nobody thought that the temple would become an industrial company; but Todaiji was not the only instance, and from the standpoint of Buddhism it was plainly a sort of degradation. From the economic point of view, however, it must be admitted that the temples did useful work in cultivating waste lands and accumulating and laying up money. This great work which no individual could do they easily achieved, and thus the temples became economic centres.

THE TEMPLES WERE EQUAL TO THE GREAT FEUDAL LORDS.—The merit land of Kamatari, already referred to, was 100 cho in extent and transferable to descendants permanently, but all other lands from 4 to 40 cho could be bequeathed to the second or third descendants only. These were the awards for the great merit of enacting the new laws and establishing the new system. In 825 (14th year of Konin) the fiefs offered to the retired Emperor and

Empress Dowager by the Imperial Court were 1,500 families and 1,000 families, respectively; and in 807 (2nd year of Daido) an ordinance permitted the local governors to hold private land of 10 cho or less. At this time the temples had 1,000 houses at least and sometimes 6,000 or 7,000 families in fief and 10,000 cho of land. Reckoning 20 to a family, the Todaiji Temple, possessing 8,000 families, governed 160,000 people and 10,000 cho of land, yielding 150,000 koku. Those who governed 10,000 cho of land were just equal in wealth to the feudal lords who owned land that yielded 150,000 koku. In the Tokugawa Shogunate, the power and wealth of the Central Government being enormous and the population of the whole country being very great, the feudal lords with a revenue of 150,000 koku were not formidable figures. But in the monarchical ages, when the whole population was about 8,000,000 or 9,000,000, and the power of Central Court very weak, the feudal lords of 150,000 koku corresponded to the great barons of 700,000 or 800,000 koku in the Tokugawa era.

The Census Registers possessed by the Temples.—The institution of the fief (hoko) meant in the beginning only the right of taxing the families which the temples possessed. But gradually they became their private possession, so that eventually to be a tax-payer meant to be under the authority of the temples. The temples then became the possessors of the fiefs, and they took even the census registers out of the hands of the governors. In the first stage the possessor of the fief did not collect the tax, but the governors handed it over out of the general taxes. Afterwards the manor and the manorial lord collected the tax direct. Thus the right of a fief became the right of a feudal lord, and the manor changed to a private possession, holding even the census registers. In this way the Statute of Taiho was completely overthrown.

How Land became Untaxable.—As we have already seen, the Statute of Taiho reckoned the glebes as untaxable lands, as well as the shrine lands. Strictly speaking, this only covers the lands which were designated as glebes and were given by the Imperial Court. However, the priests of the great temples in their rôle of the governmental priests were sometimes given the iden. The iden were taxable lands, which proves that the lands belonging to the priests were not all, from the standpoint of the national law, untaxable. But when prominent people of the Imperial Court began to offer their kuden, which was untaxable, to the temples, the untaxable nature of the land continued as before. Then the temples asked the Imperial Court to issue an Imperial ordinance, and succeeded in adding their other land to the category of untaxable lands. Thereby they enormously extended their power, and getting hold of reclaimed lands or reclaimed waste lands, held them as temple lands. After using them for a long time, they insisted that these should be untaxable lands, similar to the old glebes; and as the governors, too, were under the thumb of the temples, most of the general temple lands finally became untaxable lands.

JIDEN (TEMPLE LAND) AND SHODEN (MANOR) WERE EXTRA-TERRITORIALITIES.—People soon began to think it to their advantage to offer their land to the temples, becoming soji (manorial governor), who took charge of the land and received a certain percentage of the return. Many availed themselves of it, not from any particular love of Buddhism, but to protect themselves from the illegal interference and lawless taxation of the local governors. A tacit understanding made the post of soji hereditary in the family of the contributor. In the mediaeval ages the young princes and nobles of the Fujiwara family with very small incomes vied with one another in becoming proprietors of land in the provinces which was untaxable. Thus on the one hand there were the manors of the young princes and nobles, and on the other hand were the temple lands. Both competed with each other to extend their lands. These two kinds of land were equally untaxable, and as the farmers working on these free lands escaped the tyranny of the local governor, the people flocked to the manors and the temple lands, and consequently those on whom the governor could levy services decreased in number and taxable land diminished. The situation is comparable to that existing in Siam of recent years, where the Chinese were registered as protected by the French Government and thus acquired the privilege of extra-territoriality in Siam. This was called the civil registration law. The folks who flocked to the manors and the temple lands did so for the same reason that the Chinese claimed French protection, and the young princes and nobles who were the owners of manors and the temples stood in a position corresponding to that of the French Government. The temples and manors had extra-territorial rights, and they brought the people and the land under their sway because of this right.

STANDING ARMIES OF THE TEMPLES.—As the temples, which thus had gained ground and extended their power, required an army in order to support their influence, they sometimes forced men from the fiefs and manors into their service. But later this proved difficult, and they formed a standing army by which they were guarded, just as the bushi (the knights) guarded the Imperial Palace.

TEMPLES TRAINED IN MILITARY POWER.—The temples were thus forming an *imperium in imperio*, but the Imperial Court paid no heed. In August 963 a religious conclave was held at the palace by Imperial order, and twenty priests were summoned from the two temples of Nara and Hiei to discuss some principles of religion. The debate proved endless and was the origin of the war between the southern and the northern priests.

In 968 (1st year of Anwa) the priests of the Todaiji Temple, Nara, fought with the priests of the Kofukuji Temple for the possession of land, which was the first battle with weapons to be fought by the priests. In 981 (4th year of Tengen) Yokei of the Enryakuji Temple was ordered to become abbot. One hundred and sixty disciples of Jikaku would not submit to him, and complained at the Imperial Palace that the appointment was unconstitutional. Then they went to the house of the Prime Minister, where they made a great disturbance. The Emperor was very angry and ordered the one hundred and sixty priests to be disfrocked, but the internal warfare still continued, and at last Yokei's party were driven away from the temple. Not content with this, Abbot Ryogen set fire to the Senjuin Temple in which Yokei's party still remained and attempted to kill Yokei and others. He was only halted by the admonition of the Emperor. This is the origin of the temples studying the military arts and arming themselves.

THE HOSTILITIES BETWEEN THE KOFUKUJI AND ENRYAKUJI.—Previous to this the Gion Temple, Kyoto, had been subject to the Kofukuji Temple in Nara, but Ryogen dispatched armed priests and drove out Ryosan, steward of the Gion. On this the Kofukuji Temple appealed to the Imperial Court, which could come to no decision. Thereupon the Kofukuji Temple also devoted themselves to training in the military arts and formed an army. This is the origin of the opening of hostilities between the two great temples of the north and the south. In September 989 (1st year of Shoso) the Imperial Court ordered Yokei of the Enryakuji to make Jinzen the abbot of the Enryakuji and sent Yoshito Fujiwara to Hieizan with an Imperial order. But on the way to Hieizan several hundred malcontent priests lay in wait for the Imperial messenger and tore the order from him. This was a beginning of a decline of the Imperial power, and the temples tried to further their intrigues by threatening the Imperial Court in every way possible. In 1006 (3rd year of Kwanko) Michinaga Fujiwara, the Prime Minister, memorialized the throne and made Tonomine Temple dependent on Hieizan. Two thousand and more priests of the Kofukuji Temple appealed to the Imperial Court in a body, stating that Tonomine belonged to the Kofukuji Temple. The Imperial Court would not listen and the priests left in a rage.

THE PRIESTS RUSH INTO KYOTO.—In 1036 (2nd year of Choreki) Keimei, Archbishop, who was head of the Tendai sect, died, and the Imperial Court put Meison, Bishop of the Onjoji Temple in his place. There was a clique opposed to Meison who made a lot of trouble, and Meison sent six hundred priests into Kyoto to complain to the Court. As the Imperial Court did not give a prompt reply, all the priests became very angry, and with a large force of troops, sent in advance, surrounded the house of the Prime Minister. There was a great tumult, and the besiegers tried to destroy the gates, digging away the ground below the posts ; while on both sides there were many casualties. This dispute did not come to an end for the next few years. Norimichi Fujiwara, Prime Minister, memorialized the throne, insisting that, in case an appeal of his tutelary temple, Kofukuji, was rejected, he would be disgraced as a head of the Fujiwara families. In spite of this the Emperor attempted to settle the matter to the disadvantage of the Kofukuji. Then we are told Norimichi turned red with anger and left his seat, and all the Court nobles were at a loss what to do, greatly frightened at this sight. The helpless Emperor granted Kofukuji's appeal. In 1071 (3rd year of Enkyo) the priests of the Enryakuji were not satisfied with the appointment of the steward to the Gion Shrine, Kyoto, which was a branch temple of the Enryakuji, and therefore more than a thousand priests gathered in the Kanshin-in, some holding up the sutra and others in arms, and there they made a great tumult. The Imperial Palace ordered soldiers to provide against contingencies with bows and arrows.

The Enryakuji Temple attacks the Onjoji.—For a long time the Enryakuji, on Hieizan, had been at loggerheads with the Onjoji. This antagonism was even felt by the slaves, and in January, year of 1081, the slaves o fthe Hieizan Temple attacked those of the Onjoji and worsted them. By the slaves we mean the people of both Omi and Otsu, who were in subjection to the two temples, respectively. Though the Otsu men went to the Enryakuji and complained of the violence they had received, the temple gave them no satisfaction, and they therefore reported the affair to the Onjoji Temple, where they received orders never to work again for the Enryakuji. On the day of the festival, in April, the Enryakuji ordered the Otsu men to work for them, and when they declined they turned to the Onjoji and bid them see that the Otsu men served for this festival. Here, too, they met with a rebuff. At this the priests of the Enryakuji became very angry, and in June sent forces to attack the Onjoji, who were ready and waiting for them. The army of the Enryakuji retired for the time, but renewed the attack with greater forces and set fire to the monastery, which was burned to the ground, after which they left. Kakujin, head of the Enryakuji, encouraged the priests, saying that to break the power of the Onjoji they had to burn down all the halls and sutra store-houses and the monasteries. On this the priests again led an army to the Onjoji, to which they set fire. They burned down 294 halls, 15 sutra store-houses, 6 bell-towers, 4 tabernacles, 624 monasteries, and more than 1,500 dwelling-houses—in fact, the whole place was completely destroyed except for ten or more monasteries.

THE IMPERIAL COURT PROVIDE AN ARMED FORCE AS PROTECTION AGAINST THE TEMPLES.—Hereupon the priests of the Onjoji Temple went to Hieizan with a great military force, and tried to set fire to the Enryakuji Temple. The Imperial Court ordered the commissioner of police to check them. Toward September over three hundred priests of the Onjoji Temple attacked the Enryakuji in a body and exterminated the priest-army of the Enryakuji. The Imperial Court disapproved of this and sent Minamoto-no-Yoshiie to apprehend the priests of the Onjoji. When, in October, the Emperor Toba went to Kamo, there was a rumour prevailing in Kyoto that the wicked priests of both the Onjoji and the Enryakuji were going to attack Kyoto in order to plunder it. The Imperial Court, in great fear, ordered Minamoto-no-Yoshiie to provide against the contingency. Yoshiie was a descendant of a certain prince, and was the local magnate in the eastern part of the country at that time. He and his father had exterminated the barbarians up in the north, and he had gained a great name for his bravery. Three thousand soldiers were gathered together in the capital, and the Imperial Court, relying upon Yoshiie, was at ease for the first time. It is curious that the rise of the Minamoto and Taira families is due to the armament of the temples.

THE PRIESTS DRIVE A LOCAL GOVERNOR AWAY.—Simultaneously with the fighting between the Enryakuji and the Onjoji Temple, the Kofukuji Temple in Nara was fighting also with the Tonomine Shrine. In 1081 the slaves belonging to the Tonomine for some reason attacked those belonging to the Kofukuji, the priests of which became angry and attacked the halls of the Tonomine. In August 1093 (7th year of Kwanchi) the Governor of Omi had a dispute with the Shinto priests of the Kasuga Shrine of Nara, and appealed to the Imperial Court, which was perplexed for a decision. On hearing this the priests of the Kofukuji Temple, who had common interests with the Kasuga Shrine, were much enraged and rushed into Kyoto with the Shinto priests of Kasuga. Carrying the holy trees and spears of the Kasuga Shrine hung with mirrors and bells, they drew near the Royal Palace. The Fujiwara nobles shut themselves up in their houses in fear of the divine power of their ancestors who were enshrined in Kasuga, and left the palace to its fate, so that the Court was compelled to give way before the priests of Kasuga. Previous to this, in March 1091 (5th year of Kwanchi), the priests of the Kofukuji quarrelled with the villagers of Kamo in Yamashiro and attacked them, and burned down over two hundred houses. In June they had a dispute with Tameie Takashina, Governor of Omi, on the irregularity of his employing slaves of the temples in Gamo-gun. Tameie refused to yield to them, and several thousand of the priests rushed into Kyoto, carrying holy trees to protest. In the event the Imperial Court was compelled to exile Tameie to Tosa.

THE MINAMOTO FAMILY COMES FORWARD.—Toward 1095 (2nd year of Koho) the priests of the Enryakuji again raised an army and surrounded the Imperial Court. Before this, in 1092 (6th year of Kwanchi), Tamefusa Fujiwara, who was a personal attendant to the ex-Emperor Shirakawa, came into conflict with the Hiyoshi Shrine on Hieizan. The priests of the Enryakuji appealed to the Court in a body and begged to have Tamefusa surrendered to them. The ex-Emperor would not give him up, but, afraid that the priests would break out into insurrection, he himself disgraced his follower. In the same year Yoshichika Minamoto confiscated to the Government a manor in Mino newly established by the Enryakuji, and when the priest Enno, who represented the Enryakuji, opposed him, he arrested and executed him. The holding of manors by temples had been prohibited by Government order since the 14th year of Enryaku, and Yoshichika only acted in strict accordance with the old ordinance. Nevertheless the priests insisted that they were in the right and appealed to the Imperial Court, at the same time threatening it with a great army. On the orders of Moromichi Fujiwara, the Prime Minister, Yoriharu Minamoto, the head of the Imperial Guard, repulsed them.

THE KOFUKUJI TEMPLE THREATENED THE EX-EMPEROR TOBA.—In spite of the tyranny of the priests, the Imperial Family continued to offer land to the temples and give gold and silver to the priests throughout the reigns of Shirakawa, Horikawa, Toba, and Sutoku. In 1137 (3rd Hoen) the ex-Emperor Toba promoted his favourite, Jokai, from vice-abbot to abbot of the Kofukuji Temple, placing him over the head of Genkaku, who was the senior vice-abbot. The priests were furious, and seven thousand entered Kyoto, carrying the holy trees of the Kasuga Shrine, and complained of the illegal appointment. The ex-Emperor was compelled to promote Genkaku also to abbot, and so there were two abbots at the same time. In 1139 (5th Hoen) the Imperial Court appointed a priest, Ryukaku, the steward of the Kofukuji Temple. Ryukaku was a son of Akifusa Minamoto, Minister of the Right, and a younger brother of Narizane, the Prime Minister, but none the less the priests slighted him and refused to obey his orders. Ryukaku attacked the priests with armed forces, but was defeated by the priestly army, and most of his soldiers were killed or wounded. In 1140 (6th Hoen) the Enryakuji Temple presented a memorial to the Imperial Court, and begged that the acolytes of the Onjoji Temple should be forbidden to receive the Buddhist commandments from the Kofukuji Temple, Nara, for the Onjoji was a branch of the Enryakuji. The Imperial Court issued the order, but the Onjoji ignored it. On hearing this the priests of the Kofukuji said that the Onjoji was properly a branch temple of the Kofukuji, and even if the priests of Onjoji received instruction from Kofukuji, it was no affair of Enryakuji. The Enryakuji retorted by sending an army and burning down a golden hall and some monasteries of the Onjoji, who, in their turn, assaulted Hieizan in 1142 and burnt down part of the Enryakuji. The Onjoji men were finally repulsed by the Enryakuji priests, and some of them were killed and their heads exposed.

The Kofukuji drove away a Governor of Yamato.—At this time Kiyotada Minamoto was the Governor of Yamato. In 1143 he seized the manors of Yamato, which were occupied illegally by the Kofukuji Temple, and tried to put them into the Emperor's possession, which, of course, embroiled him with the great temple. As Kiyotada was a personal friend of Tadamichi, the Regent, the latter sent an envoy to Yamato to look into the matter, but the priests imprisoned him and did not allow him to return. Again, on the festival day of the Kasuga Shrine in November, the Empress Dowager Seishi sent a special messenger to the Kasuga festival, who was refused admittance by the priests. From this time the priests often vigorously memorialized the throne to degrade Kiyotada, and said if he was not discharged from his office, they would drive him away by force, and if defeated, they would set fire to and burn the temple. On this the Imperial Court was forced to degrade Kiyotada.

The Temples and the Taira Families.—It is true that the Imperial Court knew that should they use all the force they had against the priests, they could overpower the temples; but the priests were well aware that both Court and the Fujiwara families were too devout Buddhists to treat them as they deserved to be treated, and, waxing ever more haughty and self-indulgent, the temples became nests of bad characters. They were too blinded with pride to know that a military clan was rising into power which numbered among its members a powerful and courageous man, Kiyomori Taira, who thought the Imperial Court and its subjects cowardly and timid, and so the conflict was precipitated. In June of the 2nd year of Kyuan an attendant of Kiyomori quarrelled for some reason with a priest of the Gion Temple on its festival day. This came to the ears of Kiyomori, who attacked the priest-army of Gion with his troops, and himself shot an arrow which hit the sanctuary. It is true that the Minamoto and Taira families had sometimes attacked the temples by Imperial orders, but nobody had yet committed such sacrilege. Kiyomori was the first to have shot at the sanctuary. The temples found in him a very dangerous enemy, but could not appreciate his real power, and pressed the Imperial Court to punish him. Seven thousand of the priest-army of the Enryakuji Temple poured into Kyoto, carrying a sacred car, and demanded that the Imperial Court exile Kiyomori of Taira for sacrilege. Tadamichi Fujiwara (Regent), Yorinaga Fujiwara (Minister of the Left), and others were jealous of the growing power of the Taira at Court, and pressed for Kiyomori's exile as a guilty man; but the ex-Emperor Toba, who chafed under the haughtiness of the temples, knew that he must rely upon the military power of the Taira families in case of trouble and did not want to punish him severely. In spite of pressure from Tadamichi, he exonerated Kiyomori on payment of a small fine in copper money. The priests of the Enryakuji put the blame for their failure on Abbot Kogon, and made a great demonstration against him. After that, the military clan and the temples were in close touch with each other, but in the reign of the Emperor Rokujo the Imperial House secretly gave money to the priest-troops of the Enryakuji, and was inclined to use them against Kiyomori. From this time the Taira families hated the Kofukuji in Nara and the Enryakuji in Hieizan.

During two hundred years between Anwa and Meio, the Enryakuji appealed seventy times to the Emperor with military force, appealing to arms more frequently than the military clans themselves during the same period. In addition, there was the internecine fighting between the Kofukuji and the Onjoji. In the time of the Emperor Horikawa, while the ex-Emperor Shirakawa was administering the affairs of the State, he was most annoyed by the appeals of the priests, and used to complain that the only things he could not control were the stream of the River Kamo, a cast of dice, and the itinerant priests. Thus the temples broke up the land system of nationalization of Taika and Taiho, establishing the manor instead, turned themselves into manorial lords with rights over the people, and opposed the Imperial Court by military force, causing it to fall back on the support of the military clans of Minamoto and Taira, and at last created an age of military power. It is not too much to say that the feudal system was created and stimulated by the temples.

The Temple Lands of two Kinds, distant and near.—There are two kinds of temple lands, the fiefs and the temple land in remote provinces and those close at hand. The latter were governed by the priests themselves or the people who were in close touch with them, therefore the temples retained possession of them. On the other hand, the former had to be governed by someone sent by the temples or the local authorities living in those provinces, as the priests could not govern them by themselves. Such being the case, the fiefs and the temple land far away, and their temple, had no intercourse except payment of taxes, and consequently the relation between them naturally became weak. By a tacit understanding between the contributor and the temple, who knew that the land had been offered not with pious intent but to serve the private ends of its owner, the contributor was invariably appointed agent.

As there was no relation between temple and a remote manor except the payment of taxes, the people knew only of the agent, who became in time the practical possessor of the manor, and in some cases ceased to pay taxes to the temple at all. Even such a great temple as Kofukuji was helpless against this invasion of its rights, and as time went on not only the agent and the local authorities stepped into the possession of the land, but the common people, too, causing a decline in the civil, military, and religious power of the temples.

CHAPTER IX

EARLY PHASE OF THE HEIAN DYNASTY

The Accession of the Emperor Kwammu.—After the Emperor Konin died in 781 (1st year of Ten-o), the Crown Prince Yamabe succeeded to the throne and is known as the Emperor Kwammu. He owed his succession to Momokawa Fujiwara, who had been his only supporter when the question of choosing the Crown Prince had come up, and fought strenuously for him, staying forty days in the palace and refusing to budge till he had carried his point. Momokawa Fujiwara was naturally, therefore, in control of the Government in the reign of the Emperor Kwammu, and being head of the numerous Fujiwara families the power of his house waxed ever greater and greater during the reigns of Konin and Kwammu. In the month of Kwammu's accession, Kawatsugu Hikami was arrested on the charge of having plotted a rebellion, and exiled, and thirty-five people, including Yakamochi Otomo, were dismissed from office for the same reason, though it is very doubtful whether Kawatsugu ever schemed an insurrection at all. But it all tended to swell the power of Fujiwara, while the rival house of Otomo declined. In 784 (3rd year of Enryaku) the palace was erected in Nagaoka, as that in Nara was inconvenient and the place too small. Nagaoka was in the neighbourhood of the present-day Kyoto, and in November of that year the Empress Consort and all the officials removed there.

The beginning of the Heian Era.—In 794 (13th year of Enryaku) the capital was removed to Yamashiro, Nagaoka proving, in its turn, inconvenient. This was called the Heian capital, which is the Kyoto of to-day. Until the capital was transferred to Tokyo in the 1st year of Meiji, i.e. for 1,000 years from this time, Yamashiro was the permanent capital of the land. From the time when the Emperor Kwammu moved the capital to this place until the rise of the Minamoto and Taira families was called the Heian Age. This was a continuation of the Nara period, and there is no clear distinction between them. Nevertheless Nara was the time of simple living, in which the civilization of Zui and To was transported to Japan. In the Heian Age the people began to live a new life, criticizing foreign manners, considering the selecting from Chinese civilization and building up their own. The disadvantage of the imported civilization was that there was a lack of harmony between the life in general and the imported civilization, but against that we may place the grandeur and the lofty nature of its buildings and fine arts and institutions. The towers, the temples, and the sculpture left from the Nara times and the statutes to be seen in Nara to-day are symbols of this period. The advantage of one indigenous civilization lay in the harmony of life in general and its consistency with the nation's previous history. But disadvantage may be said to be in the small-scaled development of such a culture and of its narrow-minded nature.

THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE HEIAN CASTLE.—How was the new capital of Heian constructed? Almost all of the land was Government land, but 44 cho was owned by farmers. To compensate them for expropriation, rice or money corresponding to their incomes was given them for three years, besides which the official land in Yamashiro was allotted to them. The providing of stones and wood for the construction of the castle was a tax on all the country, and the labour was levied upon the officials over the fifth rank who sent labourers for the work. Further, the following provinces were made responsible for demolishing the Nara Palace and transporting the materials to the Heian Castle:—

Name of Gates.	*Province in charge.*
Impu	Owari and Mino
Bifuk	Echizen
Suka	Wakasa and Etchu
Ikan	Tamba
Soheiki	Tajima
Jiken	Harima
Yome	Bizen
Tatch	Bitchu and Bingo
Tanten	Awa
Ikuho	Iyo

THE MARKET OF THE HEIAN CASTLE.—At the same time the markets were removed to the new capital. The Imperial Court itself established a store where the people bought articles. The system of running the market stores was an imitation of the Nara system. Each province had its store in which its products were exhibited and which was called the Yamashiro-store or the Tokaido-store. In the centre of the market there stood the market-house, where the prices of the goods of every province were fixed. Close by it stood the market-office, where were the officials who controlled the market, in which almost all of the trades of the day were represented. The whole city, excluding this market, was occupied by the residences of the governors, Government offices, and the homes of the citizens The merchant houses were not scattered everywhere, as we see in large cities to-day.

THE SCARCITY OF MONEY IN THE NARA DYNASTY.—In the Nara Age the system of money exchange instead of barter was attempted, but without satisfactory results. According to the records in the year of the Empress Genmyo's accession, Musashi Province presented copper, and so the era was called Wado, which meant Japanese copper. One might believe that this was the first time in Japan that copper coins were circulated, but it is not so, as formerly foreign money was sometimes in circulation as a medium of exchange. Possibly Japanese money, which was coined privately by the people, was already in circulation prior to the official money, for the fact that private coinage among the people was prohibited in January 709 proves that the metal workers had already learned how to manufacture coins. In June 750, by Imperial order, an official rank was given to those who presented money to the value of 1,000 kwan. It is clear, then, that the money which was circulated in those days was not only official money, but also private.

MONEY EXCHANGE IN SMALL QUANTITIES IS CARRIED OUT.—In 756 (1st year of Tempyo-Shingo) the price of rice greatly advanced in Nara, therefore the former prohibition on transporting rice was removed and the rice was collected at Nara. In April 1,000 koku of rice, stored in Nara, were sold at auction in the west and east markets. In June 1,000 koku more were sold, and 100 koku of salt were sold by the Royal Steward—all this in an attempt to reduce the price of rice. It can be seen from the above that, at the end of the Nara Dynasty, this city had the promise of becoming the most important economic centre of the nation. At the same time an Imperial order was issued to every county governor that those who sold 200 or 300 koku of rice at auction should be decorated with certain grades and ranks. Isomaro, who presented one million coins and ten thousand bundles of rice, was decorated with the fifth court rank. An advance in the price of rice was then clearly a common thing in every province, and money exchange was gradually growing in the important cities. In connection with the money exchange there was the difficulty of private coining. Therefore in 766 (2nd year of Shingo) those who privately coined money were arrested and forced to serve as official slaves. In 767 (1st year of Shingo-Keiun) Prince Kiyomaro and forty others were arrested and exiled to Dewa as slaves. Then there was the question of those who hoarded cash, which they loaned at interest. In 779 a restriction on the interest was issued; in no case was it to exceed 100 per cent. While in the Nara Age the circulation of money was vigorously attempted, in Heian, 798, the saving of money was, on the contrary, punished, and hoarded money was confiscated to the authorities. In the Nara Ages those who saved money were given ranks, but in the Heian Ages an order was issued as follows :—

> Some rich people hoard millions (of coins), which therefore go out of circulation. In future, no rank shall be granted to any farmer in return for presenting money.

In 797 the officials of the Heian Castle were rebuked as they sometimes collected the taxes in money, and ordered to take rice instead. The poor only were permitted to pay money, if all the people could not save rice, there being rich and poor among them. However, the number of people who paid money could not have been over one-fourth of the population. Taking the above circumstances into consideration, it can be seen that the economic situation of the Heian Ages was approaching the epoch of money exchange, and was different from that of the Nara Ages.

The Price of Goods decided by Rice.—However, this condition was only in Heian and its vicinity, and throughout the whole country the money in circulation was very little and the system was carried out with difficulty, though the Imperial Court tried hard to circulate money. Coming to the Engi Age, of 900, among the peers, showy dresses and articles made of gold or silver were used, and Chinese poems were composed and Japanese songs were sung ; while, on the other hand, in the country barter was still carried on. The price of goods was not decided by money but by rice, the regulation of which the Imperial Court set forth as follows :—

> Kinai (provinces around Kyoto) :—
> Silk, 1 piki, price for 30 bundles of rice ; thread (cotton), 1 ken, 6 bundles ; cotton, 1 tan, 3 bundles ; cloth for cho, 1 tan, 15 bundles ; cloth for yo, 1 tan, 9 bundles ; a hoe, 3 bundles ; iron, 1 cho, 5 bundles.
>
> The following prices are for 1 piki of silk, 1 ken of thread, 1 tan of cotton. 1 tan of chofu, 1 tan of yofu, a hoe, and 1 cho of iron :—
>
> Four provinces of Iga, Ise, Shima, and Sagami :—Silk, 60 bundles ; thread, 10 bundles ; cotton, 6 bundles ; chofu, 30 bundles ; yofu, 20 bundles ; hoe, 3 bundles ; iron, 7 bundles.
>
> In the other provinces, those articles not provided for correspond to the following :—
>
> Owari and Mikawa : Thread, 8 bundles.
> Totomi : Silk, 80 bundles.
> Izu : Thread, 8 bundles ; iron, 5 bundles.
> Kai : Silk, 80 bundles ; thread, 8 bundles.
> Musashi, Kazusa, Kwa, Shimofusa, and Hitachi : Silk, 80 bundles cotton, 8 bundles.
> Omi and Mino : Iron, 5 bundles.
> Shinano : Silk, 90 bundles ; cotton, 8 bundles ; iron, 5 bundles
> Kozuke : Silk, 90 bundles ; cotton, 8 bundles.

Shimozuke : Silk, 90 bundles ; cotton, 8 bundles ; hoe, 2·5 bundles ; iron, 5 bundles.
Mutsu : Silk, 160 bundles ; cotton, 13 bundles ; thread, 15 bundles ; chofu, 50 bundles ; yofu, 30 bundles ; iron, 14 bundles.
Dewa : Silk, 150 bundles ; cotton, 15 bundles ; thread, 15 bundles ; chofu, 50 bundles ; yofu, 30 bundles ; iron, 14 bundles.
Wakasa, Echizen, Kaga, and Noto : Iron, 6 bundles.
Wakasa : Thread, 8 bundles.
Etchu : Silk, 70 bundles ; hoe, 1·5 bundles ; iron, 7·5 bundles.
Echigo and Sado : Silk, 70 bundles ; cotton, 8 bundles ; hoe, 2 bundles ; iron, 6 bundles.
Tamba, Tango, Inaba, Hoki, Harima, Mimasaka, Bizen, Bingo, Suwo, Nagato, and Awaji : Silk, 5 bundles ; thread, 8 bundles ; iron, 6 bundles.
Bingo : Thread, 11 bundles.
Tajima and Bitchu : Silk, 50 bundles ; thread, 8 bundles ; iron, 5 bundles.
Izumo, Iwami, and Oki : Silk, 55 bundles ; thread, 8 bundles ; hoe, 3 bundles ; iron, 4 bundles.
Aki : Silk, 5 bundles ; thread, 8 bundles ; iron, 4 bundles.
Kii : Silk, 55 bundles ; thread, 8 bundles ; iron, 8 bundles ; hoe, 4 bundles.
Awa : Silk, 50 bundles ; iron, 6 bundles.
Sanuki : Silk, 55 bundles ; iron, 6 bundles.
Iyo : Silk, 55 bundles ; iron, 10 bundles.
Dazaifu and its governing provinces ; Silk, 80 bundles ; thread, 10 bundles ; cotton, 6 bundles ; chofu, 40 bundles ; yofu, 30 bundles.

An Unavoidable Reason for Slavery.—Thus at the time of the scarcity of money a free exchange of money did not exist since the custom of using money had been very recently introduced. Where there is no circulation of money, there is no satisfaction in buying, and where there is no such satisfaction, there is no effort to get money. But wealth is indispensable to an Imperial Court, for a military force to withstand foreign enemies and for police to protect property. However, when the farmers are left to do as they wish, there is no active industry among them. This was the reason why in ancient times the statute of slave economics was approved of and the farmers and slaves were forced to work. It was simply the outcome of the conditions of the age.

The Conquest of the Savages of the North-Eastern Provinces. The rebellion of the Ezo race which broke out in northern Japan in the reign of the Emperor Konin could not be suppressed, even though all the forces of the country were used for it. Although in 789 Kosami Kino, generalissimo for the subjugation of the barbarians, in his exaggerated dispatch to the throne, reported Ezo as conquered, in reality only 89 people of Ezo were killed, while the Government army had lost more than 1,000 killed and about 2,000 wounded. The

Imperial Court deprived Kosami of his rank, and also Mahira Ikeda of that of Vice-General. In 791 Otomaro was appointed as General for the subjugation of the barbarians, and Shintetsu of Kudara, Tamuramaro Sakanoue, and others were appointed to assist him. The eastern provinces were ordered to supply military provisions and arms. This campaign lasted for three years, and in June of 794 the generals besieged Yizawa Castle. In these operations 457 people of Ezo were killed, 150 taken prisoner, 85 horses were captured, and 75 tribal settlements destroyed by fire. In 796, 9,000 people were transported from Sagami, Musashi, Kazusa, Hitachi, Kozuke, Shimozuke, Dewa, and Echigo to Mutsu, which was a military colony. But in 801 Takamaru, a northern barbarian, issued from his stronghold in Tagaya and attacked the surrounding provinces, and at length conquered Suruga and marched on to the barrier at Kiyomi. At this the Imperial Court was badly frightened and ordered Tamuramaro Sakanoue to attack him. Tamuramaro drove the invaders back to Mutsu, and when the Imperial Army was in desperate straits through lack of ammunition, Tamuramaro turned the tide by slaying Takamaru on Kakura Hill. From this time the barbarians of the northern provinces were in subjugation to the Emperor.

THE EXPEDITION AGAINST THE NORTH-EASTERN PROVINCES IS CHECKED.—The Emperor Kwammu was on the throne for twenty-three years, during which time he travelled to seek pleasure in an unprecedented manner through all the provinces two hundred and twenty-four times. In addition to travelling he had a fancy to building palaces. At first he built a palace in Nagaoka, setting to work in the 3rd year of Enryaku, and before it was completed he built another in Heian, demolishing the first in the 10th year of Enryaku. All this work made a great call upon the labour of the people. To make the burden heavier, after the end of the reign of the Emperor Konin, the barbarians of the northern provinces sometimes rose in rebellion. Such being the case, the people of the five provinces around Kyoto were tired out with the construction work, and those of the north-eastern provinces were tired out with campaigns. When, therefore, in December of 803 the Emperor fell ill, Uchimaro Fujiwara (General of the Imperial Guard), Morotsugu Fujiwara (Councillor), Mamichi Sugawara (Councillor), and others met together and discussed what policy they should pursue, Morotsugu declared that what annoyed the whole country at that time were the wars and the building operations. Therefore those two things had to cease. Mamichi disagreed, asserting that, in order to extend the influence of the Emperor to the northern part of the land, conquest was necessary. This was the beginning of the conflict between the party who wished to extend the national power and that which confined its ambition to the administration of domestic affairs. The Emperor Kwammu, who was on the point of death, agreed with Morotsugu, and had the war and the construction stopped, and shortly after he died. The first son, Prince Yasuda, succeeded to the throne, and was called Emperor Heijo.

THE ANTAGONISM BETWEEN THE EX-EMPEROR HEIJO AND THE EMPEROR SAGA.—During the reign of the Emperor Heijo there was nothing remarkable in his administration to describe; but he arrested Prince Iyo, his younger brother, believing that the Prince harboured plots of treachery, and was relying upon the favour of the ex-Emperor. The Emperor had Prince Iyo confined in the Kawaraji Temple, where he poisoned himself. The Emperor was a literary genius as well as a man of taste, but of delicate health, and so only four years after his succession he abdicated the throne in favour of his younger brother Kanno, who was called the Emperor Saga. Saga, recognizing the fact that he owed the throne to Heijo, chose Prince Takakura, son of Heijo, as Crown Prince. Heijo frequently changed his residence after his abdication, and finally he decided to live in Heijo Palace, in Nara, where there was a lady attendant called Kusuko Fujiwara. She had first married Nawanushi Fujiwara and bore him three sons and two daughters. When Heijo was the Crown Prince she gave him her eldest daughter in marriage, and was made the lady attendant of the Crown Prince, who proceeded to live in illicit relations with her. The Emperor Kwammu was much disgusted, and expelled Kusuko from the palace; but when the Crown Prince acceded to the throne he allowed her to come back. Kusuko was a charming and attractive woman; while Nakanari, her elder brother, was a boisterous and ill-mannered drunkard, full of pride and frequently insulting the Court nobles. This pair, then, foresaw great trouble for themselves when Heijo abdicated, and tried by every means to alienate the ex-Emperor from the reigning Emperor. And at last, under the guise of transferring the capital to Nara, they levied a large force, by the order of the ex-Emperor, and planned to dethrone the Emperor. Upon hearing this the Emperor Saga was not a little surprised, and he sent an army immediately to apprehend Nakanari and his party. The ex-Emperor then himself took a hand and sent out men from Kinai and Kii, who were routed by the Imperial forces. Heijo returned to Nara and shaved his head, and Kusuko poisoned herself.

MOTOTSUNE DETHRONES THE EMPEROR YOZEI.—After reigning for fourteen years, in 824 the Emperor Saga abdicated the throne in favour of Prince Otomo, his younger brother-in-law, who is called the Emperor Junna. Ten years later this Emperor abdicated the throne to the son of the ex-Emperor Saga, Prince Masayoshi, who is called the Emperor Nimmei. Thus from the time of the Emperor Heijo the throne did not descend in the order from father to son until Nimmei abdicated in favour of his son, Prince Michiyasu, whom the people called the Emperor Buntoku. Buntoku died at the age of thirty-two, in the eighth year of his reign, and the fourth son, Junnin, was crowned at the age of nine years. He was called the Emperor Seiwa. The mother of Seiwa was the daughter of Yoshifusa Fujiwara, and, as the Emperor was so young, Yoshifusa administered all the affairs of State as Regent. Seiwa, in his turn, after he had reigned eighteen years, transferred his throne to his first son, Prince Sadaaki. He is called the Emperor Yozei, and was nine years old when he acceded to the throne. Mototsune Fujiwara, the Regent, dethroned him on the ground of insanity, and the third son of the Emperor Nimmei, Prince Tokiyasu, was crowned as the Emperor Koko. During the seventy years between the accession of the Emperor Heijo and that of the Emperor Koko, there were only two events of any importance, both internal: one was the revolt caused by Kusuko, and the other was that, in the 9th year of the Emperor Nimmei, Hayanari Tachibana, Governor of Tajima, attempted to raise an army, aided by Prince Tsunesada, the Crown Prince, after the death of the Emperor Saga. But they were arrested and exiled.

THE FUJIWARA FAMILY BECOME RELATED TO THE IMPERIAL HOUSE. Politics in this age were concerned with the private matters of the Imperial Houses and had little concern with the national welfare, and yet there is interest to be found in the general affairs. From early days consorts had been chosen from the Fujiwara family for Emperor and Princes, and therefore the relation between the Imperial Family and the Fujiwara family had become more and more intimate. The young grandson of Furutsugu Fujiwara, Minister of the Left, succeeded to the throne as the Emperor Buntoku; and when the Emperor Seiwa succeeded in his 9th year, Yoshifusa Fujiwara was the first subject to become Regent. Thus the right to administer fell to the Fujiwara family, and when Regent Mototsune dethroned the Emperor Yozei, no one ventured to criticize him. To reinforce the power of the Fujiwara family, Furutsugu established the peers' university for the training of their sons, and almost all the leaders of the age sprang from the Fujiwara families. The multitudinous tasks of reform and proclamation of the laws of Konin in 830 were chiefly carried out by the Fujiwara family, though with the assistance of others; in fact, the administrative power at that time was almost monopolized by the house of Fujiwara.

THE FUJIWARA FAMILY BECOME PROSPEROUS AND THE IMPERIAL FAMILY DECLINE.—The heads of the main families of the Fujiwara became Prime Ministers and heads of the branch families Ministers of the Right and the Left, while the lower members of the house had high places in various offices; and where there were Government offices there were iden, kuden, and private lands. Iden and kuden were at first held only during the life of the possessor, but almost imperceptibly the hereditary transference of land came into force. The land system of the Taika and Taiho were destroyed, with the exception of land allotted to the people; the fiefs of the Fujiwara covered the whole country, and their families levied taxes quite independently. Among the Imperial Families, only the family which had direct relations with the Emperor lived in luxury. All other families had very few possessions, and many were financially ruined and roamed the country seeking a livelihood. In 848 (13th year of Showa) the provinces in Kinai were ordered to look up the names of the Imperial Families and to register them. Among others there were Yukihira Ariwara and Narihira Ariwara, his younger brother, who were famous for their physical beauty, and who were called subjects, since their father himself had presented a memorial to the throne asking to be given a plebeian name as a subject, prince though he was. He was given the name of Ariwara. Neither was his the only case; other similar families sank their Imperial names in order to gain a livelihood.

The Increase of the Temples.—A marked phenomenon in the Heian period was the increase in the number and power of the temples. When the priest Dôkyo, in 769, had founded a Buddhist Government within the Government which had proved to be a failure, the priests began to understand that the policy of attempting to establish a sacerdotal power allied with the palace was dangerous and had in it the seeds of failure, and no one again attempted it. The monks then planned to become leaders of people by building great independent temples in the country, rather than by wearing the scarlet robes and purple gowns of the Imperial Court. In 783 (2nd year of Enryaku) the priests were forbidden to build temples and cloisters privately. This shows that Buddhism had been propagated all over the country and the priests were able to live independently on the offerings made by the people, without relying wholly upon the protection and favour of the Imperial Court and the nobles. Under these conditions the religious world produced a number of great men, and Doei, a Chinese priest, founded a new sect called Kegonshu during the time of the Emperor Shomu. Shodo went to Mount Nikko and founded the Gusha sect. During the 21st year of Enryaku, Saicho and Kukai went to China (To) to study Buddhism. After returning to Japan, they stirred the whole nation with their knowledge. Saicho brought back the tenets of the Tendai sect and set up an altar for ordainment, while Kukai built a great temple on Mount Koya. Buddhism at this time controlled the life and the belief of the people. Gempin swept away the corrupt atmosphere left from the time of Dôkyo, and the age was religious in reality as well as in name. When Kachiko Tachibana, the Empress consort of Saga, and one of the most beautiful women of the time, died, she ordered her dead body to be left unburied in the fields so that those who saw to what corruption a woman's beauty came would be touched and turn to Buddhism.

THE DIFFICULTIES OF THE PRIESTS IN CROSSING THE SEA TO CHINA. The prosperity of Buddhism of that time can be noted from the zeal of the priests, and their zeal is proved by the frequency with which they made the difficult journey to China. When Tsunetsugu Fujiwara was sent to China in 838 (5th year of Showa), there was a priest called Ennin, afterwards called Jigaku Daishi, who wished to study Buddhism, in his suite. The mission was carried in nine ships, which were often forced apart by stress of wind. Sometimes more than sixty miles separated two vessels, and there was a rule that they should keep in touch by a fire on the deck at night. Soundings were taken by sinking a piece of iron at the end of a rope. There was an interpreter for the language of Shiragi, the southern province of Korea, in each vessel, who not merely translated the conversations between Japanese missions and Chinese, but also gave information as to the depth of the sea and the way in and out of the ports; in fact, they seem to have been both interpreters and pilots. It is recorded that the mission embarked on the 13th of June, but there being no fair wind for three days, during which they anchored, they sailed at midnight on the 17th and reached China on the 2nd of July, taking seventeen days to cross. Although the size of the ships is not on record, they were of various burdens, as we are told that one ship carried thirty sailors, including archers, and another sixty. At Loochoo they wanted to get three robes made and exchanged 2 large ryo of gold-dust in the market, with which they bought 2 hiki of white silk, costing 2 kwan in all. One large ryo weighed 7 sen, and 7 sen corresponded to 25 large bu, which was worth 9 kwan 400 mon. But at that time there was a scarcity of gold-dust, and the Imperial Court gave the sailors and officials in the ships silk as well. All who went to Choan of China were supplied with 270 ryo of gold-dust and 1,350 hiki of silk, and those above the sailors in rank had 6 hiki of silk per head extra. The mission gave the priests sent for study 35 hiki of silk, 10 jo of flax cotton, 65 cho of long cotton, and 25 ryo of gold for their studying expenses in addition. This silk was used as a substitute for money in case of dealing with Koreans or Chinese. The real difficulty of this voyage was not in the smallness of the ship or the high seas, and there was not much anxiety about shipwreck; it lay in the long duration of the voyage, which caused many to become ill, as the speed of the ships was very slow. During this voyage two people died and over sixty fell ill. For all the above difficulties the merchants continuously came and went.

THE PRIESTS' DIFFICULTIES ON LAND.—Ennin, the priest studying Buddhism, met with similar difficulties on land to those on the sea. At that time the Imperial Court of China welcomed the visits of Japanese, but did not allow members of the mission to visit the market, or leave the ships or the hotels built by the Government. When the attendants of the mission, Nagamine and Kiyomine and four students sent for study, tried to buy medicine, leaving the ship at Shantung, they were repulsed by the authorities and had to leave 200 kwan of money when they ran away. Ietsugu Awata, a guard of the mission, and Sadakiyo Mihitobe, archer, and others were arrested when they left the ship and were in the city. After this many were arrested for leaving the ships, the reason of which was unknown, except that the Chinese authorities seem to have disliked members of the mission to transact business without any permission from them. Such being the case, when Ennin wished to climb Mount Tendai, where he desired to study the secrets of Buddhism, the authorities declined to allow it; and even to the communication from the Japanese mission they answered nothing. So Ennin left China with the mission, and stopping the ship off the coast, he slipped ashore and wandered round Shangtung, calling himself a Korean. In a Chinese village of Korean people, his disguise was penetrated, and he changed his story, now stating that he once belonged to the mission, but had missed the ship and could not go home. Thus he entered Tendai by land with much difficulty and visited Choan, the capital. He had arrived in China with the mission in June 838 (5th Showa); the mission left in March 839, but Ennin did not return from China till 843 (19th Showa), being absent about six years. These were the difficulties facing students and priests entering China, and the fact that they were willing to face them in their efforts to understand the continental civilization shows how deep was their love for their country and how keenly they desired to get at the truths of Buddhism.

THE TEMPLES FOUNDED A STATE WITHIN THE STATE.—As the natural result of the efforts of such enthusiastic and brave priests, Buddhism became prosperous and the temples powerful, with a consequent crisis in economical and governmental circles. It arose thus: the temples were given wide lands as contributions, reclaimed new land with their own slaves, and with the resultant profit bought more. In addition, they held fiefs, that is, they had the right to tax the people within the sphere of their administration, and most of the fiefs were exempted from national taxation for pious reasons. Later on, the landowners in the neighbourhood of the temples presented their lands to the temples with a view to being exempted from national taxation and labour, but they soon came to administer the lands as deputies of the temples. As the power and wealth of the temples thus increased, the nature of religion became again depraved. In case of need, the priests became to levy troops from the people in the districts under their administration, making the temples thus a state within the state. In fact, the priests and the descendants of the emperors and nobles who established the manors became feudal lords, and the system of land nationalization of Taika and Taiho was completely uprooted. The temples were the first to form this barony with both land and military power, and the descendants of the emperors and nobles followed their example. The two chapters " The Temples Establish a State Within a State " and " The Progress of the Manorial System " show fully the way in which the temples broke up the land system of Taika and Taiho.

Death of the Regent.—When Mototsune Fujiwara, Prime Minister, was Regent in 855, he dethroned the Emperor Yozei and installed Prince Takiyasu, the third son of Nimmei, as the Emperor under the name of Koko. The Emperor had once been the Governor of Hitachi and was well acquainted with the condition of the people, so that when he came to the throne at the age of fifty-five he was of ripe experience. But unfortunately he died only four years after his accession. At the close of his life, Mototsune induced him to install as Emperor, Prince Sadayoshi, his seventh son, who had taken the family name of Minamoto and become a subject. The Emperor Koko was greatly pleased and called in Prince Sadayoshi to his death-bed. Taking the Prince's hand in his right hand, and Mototsune's hand in his left hand, he said, " That I and you can accede to the throne is entirely due to the Minister. Bear it in mind and never forget it," and then, says the record, he burst into tears. Thus Prince Sadayoshi became Emperor under the name of Uda, and although he had no affection for Mototsune, he was obliged to listen to his wishes. But Mototsune died in 891 (3rd Kwampei), and thereafter the Emperor gradually extended his power. The first step he took in the direction of the direct Imperial rule without a regent was to call Michizane Sugawara into his service.

Promotion of Michizane Sugawara.—Michizane was not born in a great house, but his family had always been learned teachers of literature, and so nobles in large numbers visited the house. It was then by his own merits that Michizane founded a house side by side with the four great families—Minamoto, Taira, Fujiwara, and

Tachibana. The Emperor Uda showed a ruling wisdom at first, but was of weak constitution, with a poor digestion which troubled him throughout life. Indeed, at the age of seventeen, he tried to be a priest and forsake the world. After he succeeded to the throne, he devoted too much time to literature, and although times were rapidly changing, he did not understand the necessities of the social and economical reforms. The only thing he cared for was metrical study, which the gentry and nobles believed to be of the greatest importance. The Emperor then chose as his tastes directed him when he gradually promoted Michizane from common office to councillor, and finally Minister of the Right. As it was very rare for one who was not by birth Minamoto, or Ṭaira, or Tachibana, or Fujiwara, to be promoted to high position and rank, some people admired him, some envied, and others were jealous of him.

The Personality and Opinions of Tokihira Fujiwara.—At the same time in the Fujiwara family there was a son of Mototsune, called Tokihira, who kept abreast with Michizane. In the 9th year of Kwampei, when Tokihira was Minister of the Left and Michizane of the Right, the Emperor Uda became a monk and abdicated the throne in favour of the thirteen-year-old Crown Prince, Atsuhito, who took the name of the Emperor Daigo. Michizane gave one of his daughters to Prince Tokiyo, son of the Emperor Uda, and another to the Emperor as his third consort, relying greatly on her influence. His reputation was high, and he had many pupils among the nobility and was acknowledged as the most learned man of his day. Moreover, he was a favourite with the ex-Emperor as well as with the reigning monarch. Forgetting his own humble origin, and ignoring the fact that he was trespassing on the sphere of the Fujiwara power, he proudly fulfilled his duties. Proud and harsh as he was, as almost all young nobles were, Tokihira was versed in the administration, understood essential points, and also was of a very stout spirit. He was really a man of ability, and more unlikely to be gained over than anyone in the whole country, let alone the Fujiwara families. By that time the Statute of Taika and Taiho had been disturbed, only the nominal allotted land existed, and newly reclaimed lands were privately owned by the young princes, the young nobles, the Court ladies, and temples. Thus the manor was born. The more the people increased in population, the less the owners of land increased, and all who had no land had to work on the land of others, and thereby the number of serfs increased. As the manor became untaxable land almost before anyone was aware of it, there was more land in the manors owned by the young princes, the young nobles, the Court ladies, and the temples than public land governed by the local officials, and consequently the number of people belonging to the manors increased more and more, and those belonging to the public land correspondingly decreased; while the governors of the manors who were the representatives of the owners of the manors took turns in fighting with the local governors. As a consequence the revenue of the Central Government decreased. It was an undoubted crisis, and if the tendency had not been checked, a great rebellion would have broken out, and the Central Government would certainly have fallen. Many as were the faults of Tokihira's personality, it must be conceded that he was a great and far-sighted man inasmuch as he espied the critical condition of the country and thought that a great reformation of the affairs of state was necessary.

Michizane did nothing and was Commonplace.—But Michizane was only elegant and did not love vigorous action. He was somewhat lacking in the capacity to discern the crisis and elaborate measures to deal with it. Tokihira always acted quickly, while Michizane worked slowly; Tokihira advocated bold measures, and Michizane half-hearted ones. Thus in everything the two acted contrary to each other. Tokihira was twenty years old at that time, and Michizane was fifty-five; and their spirits differed even as their ages. On hearing that the two Ministers were at cross purposes, the ex-Emperor Uda advised the Emperor to make Michizane Prime Minister in order to unify all state affairs, but Michizane declined. A rumour of the appointment spread, and Hikaru Minamoto, who was the father-in-law of the Emperor, and Sadakuni Fujiwara, who was very high in rank, were much incensed at the idea of being below Michizane, and advised Tokihira to expel him on the ground that Michizane intended to dethrone the Emperor Daigo and install Prince Tokiyo instead, who was his own son-in-law. The Emperor finally exiled both the Prince and Michizane, and all affairs of state again fell into the hands of the Fujiwara families. Tokihira seized the chance to enforce the system of allotting the land and prohibited the extension of the manors of the descendants of the emperors and the princes. Under severe penalties for disobedience the farmers were forbidden to escape taxation and service by becoming manorial serfs of the descendants of the emperors and the princes.

The Grandson of a Prime Minister became a Pirate.—The Emperor Daigo died in 930 (8th Encho), after a reign of thirty-three years, and the Crown Prince Hiroaki, eight years old, was installed and called the Emperor Sujaku. His reign lasted for thirteen years, during which, from 935 to 941, Masakado Taira and Sumitomo Fujiwara raised a rebellion. Sumitomo was a great-grandson of

Nagayoshi Fujiwara, who was favoured with the posthumous title of Prime Minister and son of Yoshinori Fujiwara, Governor-General of Kyushu. He was always lamenting his ill-luck, but on hearing that the governors in many provinces of South Japan were idle, proud, and self-indulgent, and neglected the people so that they fell into bad ways and became robbers, he planned to satisfy his ambition by taking advantage of the disturbances, and begged to be appointed a governor of Iyo Province. His request was granted. Going down to Iyo, he summoned some head men of the thieves and told them that they were only poor people along the beach, and, thieves as they were, they might die at any time of hunger; therefore they had better join his train. His great-grandfather had been Prime Minister, which would help him to make a name in the world, and if he did so, they would rise with him. The ringleaders of the bandits highly approved of this and made Sumitomo their leader. Hiburi Island of Iyo was their headquarters, and they cruised about the coast, attacking and plundering the ships. This was in May of 936 (6th Shohei). The Imperial Court worshipped at many shrines for divine help to weed out the thieves, and in June of the next year appointed Yoshihiko Ki, the Governor of Iyo, with orders to chastise the pirates.

On coming down to Iyo, he adopted methods of lenity, and those who came in and followed him were given land. Many robbers came under his sway, and the power of Sumitomo began to weaken. But in 938 (2nd Tenkei), when Masakado Taira raised an army in Hitachi and brought disorder into Eastern Japan, Sumitomo at once broke loose and attacked at first Kokate Fujiwara, Vice-Governor of Bizen, and subdued him, and then plundered in all directions. In 940 Masakado was suppressed and killed by Sadamori Taira, Hidesato Fujiwara, and others, and the Imperial Court, in September, ordered Yoshifuru Ono and Prince Mototsune to attack Sumitomo at the head of 30,000 soldiers and 200 vessels. Sumitomo set out to meet them and also plundered many neighbouring provinces. For example, he captured the mint at Suwo, attacked Yahata-gun Tosa, assaulted the inshore of Sanuki and Awa, marched on to Bingo, and in April of 941 (4th Tenkei) he attacked and captured Dazaifu, Kyushu. This was the end of his career, for Yoshifuru encountered his army at the port of Hakata and routed it. Sumitomo escaped to Iyo, where he was caught in a cave and killed. Both Sumitomo and Masakado were descendants of the Imperial Families, and one went into the distant provinces to get land, and the other went down to the coast to make himself a pirate. The deeds of the two show the tendency of that time, that even the Imperial Families, except the family succeeding to the throne, and even the Fujiwara families, except those who flourished in Heian, were unable to resist the economical pressure and were forced to make their living by burying themselves in the provinces.

THE SO-CALLED GLORIOUS REIGN OF TENRYAKU.—The Emperor Sujaku abdicated the throne in favour of Prince Naruaki, who was the maternal younger brother of the Emperor, and who was called the Emperor Murakami. During his reign the four eras—Tenryaku, Tentoku, Auwa, and Koho—passed by. Later generations call both Engi and Tenryaku glorious reigns, and make them the golden age of the Heian era. But Tenryaku did not deserve to be called a glorious age any more than the age of Engi. They were marked only by Imperial banquets and elegant literature. In the 1st year of the Emperor Murakami, he invited many princes, nobles, and literary men to a dinner held in the Ryokiden, and Prince Shigeaki played on the koto (a kind of harp) a piece imitating the notes of the Japanese bush-warbler, and made the guests compose poems. When a poetical competition was held in the Suiryoden Palace, all those assembled were divided into two parties, right and left. Each party contained over thirty persons, who wrote odes on the subject of the haze, the willow, the bush-warbler, the cherry-trees, the wistaria, the late spring, the early summer, the cuckoo, love, the flowers of summer, and similar subjects, and decorated the flowers and trees with gold and silver. Everyone who composed an ode was rewarded, and when all were ready, music was played, and the guests read an ode in turn until midnight. It is recorded that one Tadami Mibu died of melancholy and shame, because a love song which he had composed was adjudged inferior. At the same time, in the provinces, robbers were rife everywhere, and the royal subjects abused the officials for depriving them of the private lands, and thus the whole system was being broken completely; while in the Imperial Court all the nobles were sunk in dilettantism and living lives of ostentation. One day the Emperor Murakami asked an old gate-keeper at the south hall what he thought of the present state of affairs. The old man answered him that the Emperor's reign was one of peace, about which he did not know anything to say. But he added that the judge's court was seen to have used many torches and a royal store-house was overgrown with weeds. On hearing this the Emperor seemed to be ashamed, for the use of many torches showed that most of the law-suits were conducted by night, and the weed-covered godown showed that the number of tax-payers had decreased. The Empress consort, Tasuko Fujiwara, was the first daughter of Morosuke, the Minister of the Right, and greatly favoured with the Emperor's love. The younger sister, Toko, became the princess of Prince Shigeaki, but was left a widow, and when she attended the Imperial Court to see her elder sister, the Emperor took such a fancy to her that, after the Empress died, he made her lady attendant and kept her in the Court. Her ability and beauty brought her every kind of favour, and all other Court ladies were thrown into the shade. From this time the Emperor became tired of administration. He had the heart to be a good king, for he was large-minded and gentle, loved the people, and was anxious about the state of the times. In the 10th year of his reign he ordered the expenditure on his clothes and food to be reduced, the taxes not paid since the 5th Tenryaku from the five provinces near Kyoto and seven departments to be remitted. This reduction and this remission were made on the initiation of the Emperor and show how deeply he felt for the people. But as the monarchical system was loose at this time, and many local authorities and governors of provinces were strong enough to ignore the Imperial orders, they were mostly dead letters, though issued with all good intentions.

THE FUJIWARA FAMILY CHECKED THE ADVANCEMENT OF OTHER FAMILIES.—The Emperor Murakami died in 964, and his son, Prince Norihira, succeeded to the throne and was called the Emperor Reizei. The reign of this Emperor is especially noted in Japanese history for a revolt. The Emperor Murakami made a daughter of Morosuke Fujiwara, the Minister of the Right, the consort of Reizei, and she bore him two princes, Tamehira and Morihira. Tamehira was his parents' favourite, and so all the Court followed their example, believing that he would succeed to the throne. Takaaki Minamoto gave him his daughter. But the Empress consort passed away, and consequently Tamehira's position was somewhat shaken, though the Emperor still wished him to be installed as Crown Prince. Many of the Fujiwara magnates were against it, and in the event the succession devolved upon Prince Morihira. Taking advantage of his anger, Shigenobu Tachibana, Chiharu Fujiwara, and others attempted to raise a rebellion in the east in Prince Tamehira's favour, but the Imperial forces were too strong for them, and Takaaki, Shigenobu, and others were seized and exiled. The Fujiwara familes had now lost all administrative capacity, and politics was nothing but their family affairs. The Imperial Court, composed of the young sons of the race, was a mere nest of love-making, poetry, eating, and drinking. The Prime Minister and all other magnates were weak-kneed courtiers, and even those who were not weak had only a kind of low cunning. There was not a statesman among them. This state of affairs lasted for about 200 years, until the rebellion of Heiji, and history during this time was nothing but anecdotes of the Court nobles.

FUJIWARA INTRIGUES AND JEALOUSIES.—After the Emperor Murakami, in about 970, in the reign of Enyu, three brothers rose to the surface from the Fujiwara families—Koretada, Kanemichi, and Kaneie. Koretada was the Regent. Kaneie was promoted General of the Right over the head of his elder brother Kanemichi, who was very angry and asked his younger sister, the consort of the ex-Emperor Murakami, to give him a secret autograph letter. This letter laid it down that should the regency be vacant, the brothers should assume it in order of age. When Koretada, the Regent, was sick in bed, Kanemichi in great anxiety went to the Court and attempted to report to the Emperor, who disliked him. Kanemichi took hold of him by his skirt and showed him the consort's letter. As she was the mother of the Emperor, he was obliged to put Kanemichi in charge of the Court, and later he appointed him Keeper of the Privy Seal. Thus promoted to be keeper of the seal, he gave his daughter Yoko to the Emperor and asked for the post of Prime Minister, which he received. Kanemichi himself now fell ill, and Kaneie, the younger brother, presented himself at the Court, saying his time to become regent had come. Hearing this report, Kanemichi, ill as he was, rose from his bed in a passion, crying: "I will carry out to-day my last will." Then he repaired to the Imperial Palace in spite of his weakness and memorialized the Emperor that Yoritada, Minister of the Left, should become Prime Minister instead of him, and Kaneie should be discharged from his present post and degraded to a lower office. The Emperor was compelled to agree. After Kanemichi's death, Kaneie was again appointed the Minister of the Right, and then gave his daughter Senko as the second consort to the Emperor, who loved her exceedingly for her skill and beauty.

As she bore a son, Chikahito, Kaneie wished her to be Empress consort, but the Emperor was afraid of Yoritada, the Prime Minister, whose daughter Junko was one of his consorts, and he made her Empress consort. Incensed at his failure, Kaneie called Senko back home and would not let her return to the palace. The Emperor summoned Kaneie, and told him that after a reign of twenty-nine years he was tired of the affairs of state and wanted to abdicate in favour of the Crown Prince, and install Chikahito, grandson of Kaneie, as the Crown Prince of the new Emperor. Kaneie was pleased with this, and appeared again in the palace. All this intriguing shows that the Fujiwara families acted just like proud tyrannical women, and the administration was like a toy in the hands of a boy.

THE RETIREMENT OF THE EMPEROR KAZAN FROM THE WORLD.—Meanwhile, Prince Morosada, younger brother of the Emperor Enyu, succeeded to the throne as the Emperor Kazan. The Emperor loved Teiko, who was a daughter of Tamemitsu Fujiwara, and a lady of great charm, and when she died in her third month of pregnancy, His Majesty could not restrain his grief. He shunned all the Court ladies and turned to religion. At the same time, Kaneie wanted to become Prime Minister, but failed. Further, he requested the Emperor to abdicate the throne immediately in favour of the Crown Prince Yasuhito, as he was unwilling to let Yoshichika Fujiwara, the Empress's father, share in the administration, and wished to monopolize all affairs of the state, as he could when he was the Imperial father-in-law. At the same time, Michikane, son of Kaneie, recommended the Emperor to retire from the world into the mountains and promised to follow him. The Emperor, being then full of his sorrow for Teiko, gave way and entered the Kazan Temple, and immediately Kaneie installed Chikahito as the emperor under the name of Ichijo. The ex-Emperor Kazan now regretted his action, but it was too late. And Michikane, who had promised the ex-Emperor to retire from the world with him, broke his word and was appointed General of the Right.

THREE EMPERORS CAME FROM THE HOUSE OF MICHINAGA IN HIS LIFETIME.—In the reign of the Emperor Goichijo, who ascended the throne in 1017, Michinaga Fujiwara was promoted the regent. He was youngest son of Kaneie. As the Crown Prince Atsuakira was a son of Akimitsu Fujiwara, and did not come out of Michinaga's family, Michinaga had a spite against him, which, when it became known to the Court nobles, prevented them from visiting the Crown Prince, whose gate was covered with weeds, while the doors were festooned with spiders' webs. The Crown Prince could not bear this and wished to resign, and told Yoshinobu, son of Michinaga, his intention. Yoshinobu said to him, " Why don't you say so in a letter to someone ? " " I would like to do so, but there is no one I can trust," was the Crown Prince's reply. On hearing this, Michinaga had an Imperial order issued to depose the Crown Prince, and made Prince Atsuyoshi, younger brother of the Emperor, the Crown Prince. He was a grandson of Michinaga, who became Prime Minister in 1017, and resigned in January next year. This only brought him more honour than ever, for his real power was greater than that of a Prime Minister. At the same time, his third daughter, Takeko, was given to the Emperor Goichijo as the Empress consort. The mother of the Emperor Goichijo was a daughter of Michinaga, and Takeko was her younger sister, so that the Emperor had his aunt allotted to him as the Empress consort. At the time the Emperor was only ten years old and the Empress was nineteen years old. Prior to this the first daughter of Michinaga became the Empress of the

Emperor Ichijo, the second daughter that of the Emperor Sanjo. Thus the one family of Michinaga sent forth three empresses, and the emperors and the younger brothers of the emperors were all his grandchildren by his daughters. Such being the case, his power was boundless.

CHAPTER X

THE AGE OF THE MANORIAL SYSTEM

Temples the first to break the Statute of Taiho.—By the reform ordinance of Taika the whole land was nationalized, all people of the country were subjected to the Imperial House, and a centralized monarchical system was established, superseding the old despotic tribal system. This was, indeed, a great step, and by supplementing and correcting the statute it became an admirable one for all times. But the system contained a few defects which were at first not recognized, but which gradually grew and upset the whole system, just as a little leak will sink a great ship. The defect was this: shrines and temples were endowed with people and lands as permanent possessions. The gift carried with it only the right of taxation, and the temples never had such power over life and property as the feudal lords had later on. However, the power to tax people permanently, through long established custom, placed the temples in the same situation as a lord. All the lands of temples and shrines were untaxable, i.e. they were exempted from any kind of national taxation, thus placing them under special jurisdiction. Not only the land given to temples and shrines by the state, but also the land contributed by the Court in return for prayers for the happiness of forefathers and descendants were made untaxable by the order of the Government. In this way the temples and shrines came into possession of serfs, and extensive lands, and also the right to govern the people and their lands; therefore, politically, they became very influential. Not content with this, they enlarged their lands by reclaiming waste fields and by buying up other fields with their profits. And yet the Government made this land untaxable by tally, in accordance with the request of the temples, without considering how tremendously the influence of the temples was growing. When the temples became very influential, it sometimes happened that those who wanted to be exempt from taxes and from the services of the state gave their land to a temple, thus making it untaxable, and then by private agreement received it back from the temple as a fief. Thus the land policy of nationalization of Taika and Taiho was first broken up by the temples. The condition was accentuated by the fact that some of the Royal Families, Court nobles, and Court ladies of the Fujiwara and others imitated the example shown by the temples; that is, they transmitted their kuden and shiden by heredity, and thus made them untaxable, calling them shoen or manors. When the manors became independent of the control of the Government of a province, the systems of Taika and Taiho were completely destroyed.

Then what was the manor established by temples and the descendants of the Emperor and some Court lady? Shoen (manor) was really betsugyo (villa), and means simply land the produce of which is given to the landlord, just like the *villa rustica* in old Rome. However, shortly after the Statute of Taiho was proclaimed, betsugyo became a manor which did not pay tax to the Imperial Court, and the master of which had the same power as a lord. He declined to allow the governor of a province to interfere with him and established an enceinte where the power of the state did not run. This is the origin of the feudalism of the later ages.

MANORS ORIGINATED FROM SHOKUDEN.—Prior to the reform of Taika, the powerful families who held such offices as Omi, Muraji, Agatanushi and others had possessed a great area of land and all the people living there, and had collected necessary products from them. But when the reform of Taika was instituted, this private system was abolished. All the land and the people of the country were completely nationalized, and these powerful families were granted iden, shokuden, and shiden, respectively, according to their position, occupation, and merit. The fief included iden and shokuden, etc. The manor was already changed to the fief. The manor differed originally from a fief, for a manor was hereditary private property, both nominally and really, while a fief was dependent upon specific qualifications, such as position or rank. So if a man died, or if the qualifications disappeared, the fief could be withdrawn. In spite of the fact that the system was complete, by the Statute of Taiho shokuden was provided as follows: Those who were dismissed or retired from office for reasonable causes were to be pensioned with half the income of the shokuden, but all shokuden were withdrawn from local officials below the rank of governor of a province when they retired from office without any good reason. This was a great fault of the system, because, as the officials of the Court had a claim on half the produce of the shokuden throughout their lives after retiring, the private possession of land then originated. With the lapse of a few generations, iden and shokuden came into the private possession of the Court nobles, with the privilege of free land, which they sold, contributed, and transmitted to posterity. This is the origin of the manor.

MANORS FROM KUDEN, SHIDEN, AND KANDEN.—By the Statute of Taiho, kuden was described as follows: As to kuden, the land awarded for the greatest merit shall be transmitted to posterity permanently, that for great merit to the third descendant, that for middle merit to the second descendant, and that for small merit to the son only. The adaptation of this law is described as follows: If those who deserve to receive the iden have not yet received it, or have died before it is fully bestowed, the descendants cannot make a request for it; and if a father who deserves to receive kuden had not received it, or has died before it is fully bestowed, it shall be bestowed on the descendants. Therefore, kuden was more or less of a hereditary nature and differed little from iden and shokuden. As to shiden, the Statute of Taiho goes on to say that the land awarded to people by special Imperial order shall be called shiden. . . . Therefore the latter was entirely private. Lastly, kanden was established in the provinces under the direct control of the Emperor, such as 30 cho each in Yamato and Settsu, and 20 cho each in Kawachi and Yamashiro. This is the origin of the kanden, which is from the modern point of view just like the Imperial estate, that is a villa of the Imperial Household. This also changed to a manor in later years. Generally those lands were not governed by the owners or governors who lived in Kyoto, but by their deputies living on the spot; and when they changed to manors these deputies made themselves governors or commanders.

MANOR FROM KONDEN.—Konden (reclaimed land) was another of the precursors of the manor. By the Statute of Taiho it was stated that if anyone wanted to tenant fields which had been waste for more than three years, whether governmental or private, the officials should lend such land to him. In later years it was decreed that when a man who had begun to cultivate waste land died within six years, his descendant should cultivate it as tenant for a period of six years more. And one who built houses on konden, giving up his old for the new reclamation, was permitted to do so if it was better land. But in 713 (7th Yoro) the work of reclaiming was clearly defined by new rules. Probably at that time the population greatly increased, which caused the land in use to be insufficient to support the growing numbers. Therefore, the Imperial Court attempted to reclaim fertile land of about 1,000,000 cho (1 cho = 2·45 acres), and ordered local governors to tax 10 days' service upon the people in its sphere of jurisdiction, supplying them food and lending them tools. By this ordinance reclamation was so encouraged that a farmer who could produce more than 3,000 koku of grain by reclaiming waste land was decorated with an order of the sixth class. If he produced more than 1,000 koku, he was exempted from service throughout his life. From that time on, besides the land of the temples, shokuden and kuden, land could be possessed privately by anyone through investment and diligence. In these circumstances some of the konden were changed into manors.

The Two Kinds of Manors.—It cannot be explained in a uniform way how the iden, shokuden, shiden, kuden, and konden changed to manors, as the times and circumstances respectively differed. However, throughout all the changes of the manor, two kinds can be found: the first was land reclaimed already the manorial system was established by the authorities of the Central Government; the other was waste land brought under cultivation by local authorities, who gave it to the influential nobles of the Central Government in order to protect it from confiscation, but the produce of it was practically taken by the local authorities. Although both were called manors, these two lands were different in the end as well as in the beginning. In the former, the relation between the manor and its owners was nothing but that of tax-payer and tax-receiver. In the latter, as the reclaimer invested his capital and labour in it, and became acquainted with the workers on the manor, he not only levied the tax but he really possessed the land also, as he had many connections, both public and private, with this land. Therefore, in later years, when great changes took place, politically and socially, the latter manor, which had belonged for long years to the owners, passed out of their hands, and they were dispersed far and wide. In the former class, the owner turned into a general from a local magnate, and finally became a feudal lord.

The Two Currents in the Growth of the Manor.—Generally speaking there were two currents which ran through the history of the growth of the manor. In the first place, as the early stage of the Heian epoch was the transition period from slave economy, when property was reckoned by the number of slaves, to land economy, when property was reckoned by the area of land, the descendants of the Emperor and Court nobles tried to increase their property by getting hold of provincial lands. This was one current in the growth of the manor. In the second place, the long period of peace enabled the local authorities to devote themselves to the reclaiming of local lands and establishing manors. Then, with the materials produced and the military force in the manor, the tendency of making a connection with prominent men in the Central Government arose, and the whole country was filled with manors contending with each other, those of the province with those of the Central Government. Perhaps from the time of Tempyo and Shingyo money was in circulation. When materials which could be bought with money were produced and a certain degree of ease and luxury was in evidence, the courtiers felt a want of money, and successively attempted to be appointed a provincial governor and acquire riches.

In August of 775 (6th of Hoki) an Imperial order was issued stating that the local governor had much profit and wealth, while the central officials received small fees and were often destitute, and, therefore, all the officials hankered after provincial posts. As a make-weight the fees of the central officials were increased by dividing the produce among them. In every province one-fourth of the feud was taken from the sheriffs and their inferiors and was divided between the central officials. After this time such action will be prohibited. But such an ordinance could not suppress the descendants of kings, who continued to take local position; even when their tenure expired, not a few of them remained there, administering the manors. At the same time the prominent men in the Central Government established manors as often as possible. To understand the nature of the origin of the manor, and the fact that one kind sprang from the Imperial Power and one from the locality, one must first learn about the agricultural conditions and the productive power during the period from the end of the age of Nara to the age of Heian.

The Productive Power in Agriculture.—It is probably hard at present to know the productive power in agriculture from the age of Nara to that of Heian, but the manorial problem can never be understood unless the productive power of that period is fully described. At first, according to the principal taxes, i.e. so, yo, and cho, provided in the Statute of Taiho, it was defined that land of 30 bu in length and 12 bu in width made up a tan, and 10 tan made up a cho. From the area of a tan 50 bundles of rice plants could be produced, each bundle producing 5 sho of rice. One cho then could produce 500 bundles of the plants. According to the provision of kubunden, upon the above standards a man was furnished with 2 tan, which could produce 100 bundles. One sho at that time would to-day correspond to 0·5844 sho, therefore the amount got from 2 tan of kubunden corresponds to about 2·922 koku. Then by Taiho the tax levied from 2 tan of land allotted to one man would be 4 bundles, i.e. 12·8 sho, and by the law of Keiun it would correspond to 3 bundles, i.e. 8·76 sho. After deduction of these taxes the rice left in the farmer's possession was 2·9034 koku according to the Statute of Taiho, and 2·8343 koku according to the Statute of Keiun, that is, go 7·5 per day or go 7·7 per day, respectively, for a year of 365 days. A woman's possession was go 5·1 per day by the Statute of Taiho, and nearly the same by the Statute of Keiun. In those days, since the people's diet was usually mostly rice, if the crops were bad and the land was sterile, a man's income of go 7·6 or 7·7 and a woman's income of go 5·1 did not yield enough food for maintenance. Such being the case, when the taxes were strictly enforced in accordance with the rules, all the farmers could do was simply to exist and not really enjoy life.

Tax on Work other than Tillage.—As land-tax was levied on land produce, so two kinds of tax, i.e. cho and yo, were levied on the materials produced from labour other than land products. By the Statute of Taiho, cho and yo were equally assessed at 26 shaku of cloth, so the labouring hour imposed upon the people was equal in both cases. The amount of work being regarded as 2·6 shaku per day, cho or yo each demanded 10 days. (If the labour were not imposed at the rate of 2·6 shaku per day, then 26 shaku per 10 days were to be imposed instead.) Thus the total sum of labour imposed on a single man under the name of so (land-tax), yo (labour-tax), cho (tax on material produced) was as follows :—

Yo	10 days
Cho	10 days
So	20 days

How much Profit a Farmer received a Day.—However, it has been a regret to historians to have no exact documents of those early times to learn just how many bundles of rice plants a day's labour was reckoned to be. By chance a record was found in the article, " The order to cause all provinces in Dazaifu to cultivate public land," in the memorials of the throne on February 22, 14th Konin.

Rice plants, 5,054,120 bundles :—
  3,602 cho in Higo Province : 460 bundles per cho.
  8,493 cho 400 bundles per cho.
Excluding 3,973,699 bundles in several countries :—
  Yo : 1,351,400 bundles (120 bundles per cho).
  So : 181,425 bundles (15 bundles per cho).
  Cho : 1,507,790 bundles { (cho, 20 bundles per head). (yo, 10 bundles per head).

As cho and yo, which were to be calculated by days of labour, are recorded in these documents as the amount of grain, they can be taken for a standard in reckoning the amount of a man's labour per day. In other words, yo being reckoned as 10 bundles, which amount to 5 to, one day's amount of farming seems to have been calculated as 1 to.

Change in the System of Yo.—However, there came about some changes in the system of yo. While, according to the Statute of Taiho, a man had to serve the Imperial Court for 10 days a year, in February of 706 (3rd year), yo was reduced by half, so after Keiun the yo became 5 day's labour for a man. Now, the taxes of so, yo, and cho levied on a man who was given 2 tan of kubunden by the Statutes of Taiho and Keiun are described as follows :—

In the Statute of Taiho :—
So about 1 to 2 sho 8 go 5 shaku.
Yo about 5 to 8 sho 4 go 4 shaku.
Cho about 5 to 8 sho 4 go 4 shaku.

Total about 1 koku 2 to 9 sho 7 go 3 shaku.
Days of labour for the above, 22 2/5 days.

In the Statute of Keiun :—
So about 8 sho 7 go 6 shaku.
Yo about 2 to 9 sho 2 go 2 shaku.
Cho about 5 to 8 sho 4 go 2 shaku.

Total about 9 to 6 sho 4 go 2 shaku.
Days of labour for the above, 16½ days.

A Farmer's Labour for a Year.—After deduction of so, yo, and cho, to pay the Imperial Court, how many days of labour were required for a farmer who was given 2 tan of kubunden to get enough to live upon? Calculating by the above-mentioned standard, 58 days would be the answer, since he can make 7 go 6 shaku in one day. Added to this figure were days of labour for taxes, about 80 days in all. Therefore, a farmer had to serve the Imperial Court with labour amounting to one-fourth of the year, and received in consideration 7 go 6 shaku of rice a day for himself. This is, of course, not an exact calculation, but enough to give an idea of the conditions of farming in those days. Besides, every family had women and children. The allotment to women was two-thirds of a man's, i.e. 66 bundles of rice plants, or 3 koku 3 to 3 sho 3 go in rice. Now, if the efficiency of a woman was calculated as one-third of a man's, it required the labour of 100 days of a year. We cannot estimate exactly how much a woman's efficiency was, but, according to the ordinary standard, that is, one-half that of a man, one-third is taken as a rough estimate. We must also remember a farmer had to work to feed his children and the old man in the family, and get salt and catch fish.

Odd Jobs or Fatigue Duty.—As explained above, a farmer received 2 tan as allotment, and in order to get the necessary food for his family and to pay three kinds of tax—so, yo, and cho—to the Imperial Court, he had to work for 80 days. But the farmer's liability to taxation was not only this. There were also zatsuyeki, that is to say, odd jobs, which required less than 60 days' work a year. To sum up, they had to serve the Imperial Court more than 80 days, which outnumbered the days spent for their own livelihood. Notwithstanding the fact that the farmers were called citizens, they were simply serfs in reality, and the typical feature in the epoch of slave economics can be clearly seen. In the reign of the Empress Koken the odd job was regarded as too heavy a tax, and was reduced by half to 10 or 20 days in 754. But, later, it was fixed at 30 days in the reign of Engi.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF RECLAIMED LAND AND MANORS.—In 723 an ordinance was published in order to encourage the reclamation of land, allowing the reclaimers ranks, exempting them from tax, and enabling them to transmit the land to the third generation. But after a certain period the reclaimed land was all nationalized and then allotted to the people in general as kubunden (allotment of land). Some of the reclaimers begrudged giving others what they had got as the result of their hard work and industry, and they stopped their reclamation work. In some provinces, where the reclaimer was a local magnate, reclaimed land sometimes seemed as if it was a private holding, but in other provinces, where governors were too bureaucratic, or made bad use of the laws, the reclaimer became doubtful of the result of his efforts, and consequently the work of reclamation made very slow progress. Therefore, in May 743 (15th year of Tempyo), an Imperial decree was announced stating that reclaimed land was regarded as the reclaimer's estate, and private right in it was completely recognized. Thus the private right of the reclaimed land was permitted, but, far different from temple land or shokuden, it was taxable land. However, except for the land-tax, the two taxes of yo and cho were imposed upon the person or family, and however great an estate a man might have, it never increased yo and cho directly. Therefore, the owner of reclaimed land was only lightly taxed by the throne and most of the income accrued to him, which made the reclamation very profitable. Nevertheless, the work of reclamation could not be undertaken unless the farmer had leisure time. Had the provinces in those days been properly governed, the farmer would have had spare time, as was explained in the preceding paragraph, and the reclamation work would have prospered greatly. On the contrary, however, in spite of some great areas of reclaimed land here and there, it cannot be said to have prospered everywhere, the reason being that while temples, shrines, and local magnates who had much capital were enterprising and succeeded in the reclamation work, the provincial officials such as governors abused the laws of odd jobs, using the serfs on their own reclamation work. Therefore, the farmers had no time to reclaim even a small piece of land.

ADVANTAGES AND DISADVANTAGES OF THE CENTRALIZED MONARCHICAL SYSTEM.—The monarchical system is undoubtedly a good one, when over the Central Government a good king rules with wise ministers. It is always stable, and the Government discipline is always strictly enforced. But it may be also the very worst kind of system. The governors in the monarchical system had relations toward land and people totally unlike those of the feudal lords. They were appointed for a fixed period, and when the tenure expired the officials were removed to other provinces, so they had no continuous interest in their land and people. If they could rule their land and people wisely through their efforts and their industry, it was simply the result of the wise supervision of the king and the ministers and of the personal superiority of governors. On the other hand, if there was not a good monarch, and if the ministers were untalented, before their tenures expired not a few governors robbed the land, were cruel to their serfs, and practised jobbery. In those days, of course, the people were poor and had little to be robbed of, so what they stole was taxes and labour. But if they stole the taxes clumsily and were detected, they were liable to be dismissed or banished, so that what they stole was generally a part and not the whole of the tax. On the other hand, the men from whom labour was taken, who had no knowledge and no power of resistance, and who had no resource against robbery, were made the victims of jobbery and had to give 60 days of labour. Those who never stole the labour of the people are the only governors whose names have gone down in history, and whose good deeds have been handed down to posterity. The Imperial Court sometimes impressed upon governors that they should show integrity in office and foster the love of the people, but it was all in vain and had little effect.

FARMERS BECAME WANDERERS.—Why did the governor of a province impose these jobs upon the farmers ? Besides the public office within the control of the Central Government, the governor of a province administered the paddy fields and the reclaimed lands, for which purpose the odd jobs were imposed. In other words, the governor drove the farmers for his private gain as the local magnate, as well as fulfilling his proper occupation as governor. The farmers at that time were wanting in spirit to revolt against such hard service, but nevertheless they instinctively began to think out a way of escaping from their difficulties. There were two ways they thought of. First, abandoning the official land allotted by the Imperial Court, the farmers ran away to other provinces, where they made themselves ronin, that is to say, wanderers, and escaped many kinds of service and tax by not being on the census registers. Secondly, they fled to the manors or temple lands which had been created by the influential nobles, and escaped thus the service and taxes of the Court. Perhaps it was in this age that for the first time ronin appeared in Japanese history.

On October 26, 718 (11th Hoki), an order of the Government was published to drive the ronin back to their native provinces.

By the above Imperial order, about one thousand ronins were found in Ise only, and were sent back to their native provinces. It can be seen from this fact that to escape from the burden of taxation farmers in large numbers gave up their allotted lands and fled to other provinces. Some of them fled to the manors, and others ran far away to the frontiers. This tendency lasted for many years, so that in August 806 (1st Daido) the farmers of the other provinces were prohibited by the Imperial order from escaping the oppression of local government by running away into the provinces near Kyoto. In later years it was found impossible to prevent them wandering about from place to place, and in about 810 (1st Konin) the Government was forced to recognize a class of ronin because of the difficulty of driving them back to their remote native provinces. By Imperial order the tax of wide cloth levied upon a ronin was lightened to narrow cloth, from which we can deduce that the movement of these men was no longer avoidable.

THE SCATTERING OF THE HIDA CARPENTERS.—In 834 (1st Showa) the tendency of the peasants to desert was wide-spread. In Hida Province there lived many carpenters who were greatly in request by the Imperial Court for their work. These carpenters never continued to stay long on their work, but ran away. For this reason, in April 834 (1st Showa), an Imperial order was issued that those who employed the runaway Hida carpenters should be punished with a hundred blows of the rod, and those who employed them for only a day should be fined 100 mon of new coin.

THE FARMERS MADE A RUSH TO ENTER THE MANORS.—As a result, then, of the local officials robbing the farmers of their services by abusing the tax of odd jobs, the people became wanderers one after another, and in the long run found asylums in the manors created by the royal descendants or the temples. Jiden, shiden, and shokuden were at first of a different nature, i.e. taxable and untaxable as the kind of land varied. From the Tempyo Age those lands were generally called the manors, which became untaxable. With the first appearance of manors the royal descendants and the temples sent an agent to govern the lands, who, relying on the influence of his employers, defied the provincial governors and refused to pay taxes. The governors feared the owners of the manors and let the matter pass, and with the passage of time the manor was considered untaxable in its proper nature. Only rarely did a staunch governor try to correct these evil customs and collect taxes from the manors as governmental land, but the only result was a dispute with the holder of the manor, which, as it was settled by a judge in the Imperial Court who was himself a manor-holder, was almost inevitably decided against the governor. Thus, most of the manors became free land. Now, though the tax-free land was exempted from the tax to the state, the possessor could levy all kinds of taxes upon the people in the manor according as the Government ordered. However, as time progressed, what the manor-holder levied was only the land-tax, and seldom labour, for the purpose of repairing the rivers and banks, etc. On this, those who left their native province to be exempted from the odd jobs crowded into the manors, and those who had reclaimed lands and suffered under the oppression of governors, or those who tried to reclaim waste land in their leisure days, also joined the manor with their lands. The manors became, therefore, very prosperous, and formed an economic centre as well as agricultural. Generally speaking, those who became wanderers, leaving their native province, were apprehended and sent back; but when they once became manorial people, they could defy the governors from under the wing of the manor-holders. The manors were then the safest refuge for the farmer.

The Farmer's Hardship consisted in the Odd Jobs.—Many historians have vaguely stated that the farmers fled into the manors to free themselves from the heavy taxes of local governors and at last the manors became prosperous. But what the farmer chiefly objected to was not the ordinary taxes but the odd jobs already spoken of. The ordinary taxes were fixed as to rate and method of collection, and the governor could not enrich himself from them, but the odd-jobs tax he handled as he liked, which is undoubtedly the reason for the migration of farmers from the end of the Nara period to Heian. It is a fact that the farmers fled to the manors owing to the hardship of the heavy taxes, but the manors became prosperous chiefly because farmers of some means, incensed by the odd jobs, attached themselves with their reclaimed land. Therefore exemption from such taxes was the most important among the rules by which the manors were controlled.

After the Farmers ran away, the Official Land fell Waste. When the manors became the refuge of the farmers suffering under the oppression of local officials, the maxim of Mencius, that one who did humanity and justice attracted people around him, was realized, and the farmers gathered together on this free land, some with their land or others without, with the result that the official land governed by governors became short of men and, being deserted by the people to whom it had been allotted, fell waste. The exodus took place in the beginning of 9th century with two serious results. The taxes which should have come into the Imperial Court through governors decreased to some extent, and more days of odd jobs were imposed upon the farmers of every village owing to the decrease of those on whom the impost fell.

MANY MANORS AND LITTLE PUBLIC LAND.—At that time the national administration had already largely fallen into decay, and as no census registers or land registers were kept, it is not easy to compare the area of public lands with that of manors, but by analogy from later years. About two hundred years bring us to the age of Kamakura, and as the manors in that age were handed down from the days of the monarchy, we may justly compare the manor and the public land in the age of Kamakura with those of the Heian monarchy. According to the records of Kamakura there were 3,070 cho of cultivated land in Osumi Province. Out of this 2,761 cho was untaxable land, and taxable official land only 250 cho; that is to say, Government land was only one-tenth of the total in Osumi Province. In Bungo there were 850 cho of taxable land out of a total of 6,728 cho of cultivated land.

THE INCIDENCE OF TAXATION UPON THE FARMER IN THE MANOR. What was the position of the farmer in the manor? The odd jobs were very light and the rent of tillage land was very small. All the manors levied at first the three kinds of tax—so, yo, and cho—upon every family, but before long only the rent became important. Strictly speaking, rent is not a land-tax, but money paid for hiring the land. Even in the manor the imposition was not absolutely limited to the land-tax only; yo and cho service more or less existed. But they were temporary levies and very light. So at first the manor was really a paradise of liberty, though later the tenants were enrolled as soldiers.

THE SALE OF THE LAND TO THE TEMPLE WAS REALLY A PRETENCE. The manors attracted the farmers as a candle does moths, and in the first stage the temple manors were the chief attraction. This was because the temples seemed to offer the best chance of freedom from official control, and many farmers consequently contributed or sold their lands to the temples. The sale of reclaimed land to the temples meant, in reality, the lease of it, and though this is partly because the trade in land at that time was generally transacted in the form of hire and not the transfer of the ownership, the other reason is that the people only nominally offered their lands to the temples. They tilled them and pocketed the real profit themselves. They were only trying to free themselves from the interference of governors under the cover of the power of the temples, and, of course, when the law was weak, the safest method of protecting one's property was to get under the wing of the great temples, such as the Todaiji and Kofukuji.

The Imperial Court attempted to prohibit the sale of land very strictly by an Imperial order of April 27, 795 (14th Enryaku). According to this order, those who sold or offered their lands to the temples were liable to be very severely punished. But it was only a sham, and in reality many people and nobles offered their lands to the temples one after another.

THE SYSTEM OF MYODEN.—Myoden, which means "system of name land," seems to have arisen during this time. Farmers with ambition to get on were not satisfied with their allotted lands, and reclaimed more, but they offered them to the temples, seeing that they could not resist the invasion of the neighbouring grandee or the oppression of the governors. Such gifts were only a pretence, and the temples were used rather like a safe deposit. By giving their names, then, to the land, the lands were shown to belong to them. This is the system of name-land, and is the origin of the private ownership of land. The authorized size of a name-land was as much as would produce 13 koku of rice. In after years a feudal lord who owned wide lands was called daimyo, that is to say, great name, and the chief of a village, name-master.

THE ALLIANCE OF GREAT FARMERS.—Myoden was then the forerunner and the origin of land ownership, but it was not perfect ownership because the farmers lacked independence. Although among the local big families those who had a high spirit and power were dissatisfied and greatly wished to be the owners of wide lands, they could not prevent themselves from being annexed by the nobles living in their neighbourhood. Even if they were not annexed, alone they could not make head against the oppression of local officials. Many, therefore, combined with the superior farmers, or made up a party by offering their land apparently to them to protect themselves against the local tyrant. This is why the manor was divided into parts bearing the name of the actual land-owner and is one of the origins of the rise of name-land. After the 10th century the character of the manor changed totally. Before then a manor was established by a local or central grandee or powerful temple; after the 10th century many possessors of name-land combined and established a manor under the pretended ownership of some temple or shrine. In fact, the commoners established a manor for the defence of their interest. Hence the ownership of private land in the modern sense.

THE MANOR BECAME THE ECONOMICAL CENTRE.—In that period the manor was not only a combination of several small estates. There was the residence of the landlord,or his representative, and the merchants trading in the salt, linen, and cotton required by the peasants and the ronin, as well as the landlord and the wealthier farmers, etc. The manor, therefore, had become already an economical centre, even if it did not progress so far as the castle town in the Tokugawa epoch.

Military Clans spring from the Manors.—In 1145 (1st year of Kyuan) Fujiwara Tadamachi held as his manor the three provinces of Iwami, Iyo, and Bizen, and such a usurpation prepared the way for the rise of the feudal system. To hold a manor was equal to becoming the possessor of a piece of land, so the form of a fief or territory was already in existence. But when one man took possession of a whole province, a great change must have been effected in the institution, as the provincial and district governors, as well as the manor-holders within the province, would fall under the control of the new lord. This was only eleven years before the wars of Hogen and Heiji, in which the two families of Minamoto and Taira, the possessors of extensive manors, fought against each other with their families and followers gathered from their own lands. And here began the transfer of the ruling power into the hands of the military class. The manors belonging to the Fujiwara family were mostly established through the influence of the central power, a number of already existing districts being annexed into one manor, over which was set up the right of the lordship. Consequently the establishment of these manors was due to the power from above. On the contrary, the holders of the Minamoto and Taira manors were first local residents, and the development of the manors meant the prosperity of their own localities, building therefore on a firm foundation. The fall of the central monarchical system was due largely to the rise of the manors established by the Fujiwara, the Minamoto, the Taira, and other powerful families, but the main factor was the manor locally developed.

Encroaching upon Private and Official Lands.—As the manors became prosperous, they were all made tax-free lands, with or without official sanction, and the agent or intendants of such lands assumed haughty airs. They defied the provincial governors and even invaded and plundered the lands allotted to the temples and shrines, which had originally been objects of envy to princes, noblemen, and other influential families, as they were free from taxation. The manors had been established in imitation of these free lands, but the times had changed so much that these temple and shrine lands were now encroached upon by the holders of the manors. Manor lands were established in succession by the powerful central and local families and stood outside the jurisdiction of the provincial governors. The provincial governors were then obliged to tax the lands belonging to the temples and shrines, disregarding the question of tax-free lands, and some lands were even confiscated and transformed into official lands. If the provincial governors had not encroached upon the lands of the temples and shrines, they would have starved, and, preferring the line of least resistance, they began to plunder these sacred lands. The temples, which were encroached upon by the provincial governors as well as the powerful families, in turn oppressed small families who were powerless to defend themselves, and annexed their lands to the temples.

GOVERNMENT ORDERS ISSUE FROM SEVERAL SOURCES.—These three influences vied with each other for the land in the local districts, and there were sometimes instances when two or three people claimed the ownership of one manor. As for the instructions from the Imperial Court regarding the manor, some were issued through the Government, some at the command of the retired Emperor, and some by Imperial rescript. With Government orders thus issuing from several sources, there was no uniformity possible. An Imperial rescript was issued to the effect that all the manorial lands belonging to the princely families should be abolished, with the exception of the Tomoku manor, which supported the Imperial House. In 1001 (the 2nd year of Choho) the Governor of Shima, named Yoshimitsu, acted in accordance with this order and confiscated the manor of the peers' college upon the ground that there was no legal reason for the existence of such a manor. But Yukitada, intendant of the manor, made a petition to the Court regarding this confiscation, whereupon the Court judged that the governor's action was illegal. That the Court decided the action of the governor to be unlawful, even when he had carried out Government orders, shows clearly the confusion of the land system and how Government orders were issued from different sources. In May 1023 (3rd year of Jian), in the reign of the Emperor Goichijo, Prime Minister Fujiwara Yorimichi gave a lecture on the Buddhist scriptures, at the palace of the Koyoin, but none of the priests of the Yamashina Temple attended the meeting. Various manors of the Yamashina Temple had been confiscated by governors and no land rents paid to the temple. Therefore, all the priests, taking advantage of this meeting to show their grievances against Yorimichi, refused to attend.

THE EMPEROR GOSANJO'S FAILURE IN THE ADJUSTMENT OF THE MANORS.—In 1068 (1st year of Sakyu) the Emperor Gosanjo succeeded to the throne, and in February of the same year promulgated an Imperial rescript ordering the abolishing of all the manors which had been established since 1045, and also those of an earlier date, if they had no authorization for their existence, or if they were contrary to public interests. However, this reform ended in a failure, owing to the influence of the Fujiwara family, who were great holders of manors, just as the attempt to wrest the ruling power from the Fujiwara family had been unsuccessful. Fujiwara Yorimichi had been in power for fifty years, and held vast manors in almost all parts of the country. Gosanjo ordered Yorimichi to present proofs regarding his manors, but Yorimichi replied that he had no documentary evidence, and added that if his titles were found invalid he was prepared to surrender his estates. The Emperor was afraid to carry his investigation any farther, and finally a special decree was issued exempting from proof of title the manors owned by Yorimichi. Gosanjo established a registration office and did his best to abolish unlawful manors. However, it is no wonder that he could not carry out his reform successfully, as he failed against the greatest offender. The reform of Gosanjo was a mere fancy and could by no means be carried into practice, because the manors were established in all parts of the country and were a source of livelihood for princely families, noblemen, high officials, Court ladies, and powerful local families.

APPEARANCE OF THE MINAMOTO CLAN.—In spite of his difficulties, Gosanjo persisted in his attempt to enforce the reform policy of the manor and confiscate the manors to the state, which alarmed the big local families who had usurped other men's land and established a manor, and they looked for some strong power to support them. Just at this time Minamoto Yoshiie appeared on the stage. He was a holder of a great manor and a soldier serving in the Imperial Court. In 1055 the Emperor ordered Yoshiie and his father to suppress a barbarian revolt in Northern Japan, where they fought for twelve years and won great praise from the military class for bravery and tactics. Their manor was in eastern Japan, around the present Tokyo, and when Gosanjo endeavoured to enforce the suppression of the manors, hundreds of manor-holders in eastern Japan began to transfer their manors to Yoshiie to escape confiscation as retainers of a powerful military man and enjoy a care-free life as his agent on the manor. The Court was alarmed at this and hastily issued an order throughout the country prohibiting farmers from offering their farming land to Yoshiie. The incident shows how the manors were giving birth to the feudal lord.

A MILITARY CLASS ARISES IN THE MANOR.—Historians, heretofore, have thought that there was no distinction between the warring and the farming classes in early times; that the farming people were recruited as soldiers in an emergency, and when their services became unnecessary they were all released to return to their farming life. Therefore, finally the warring class came from the farming class. No historians have, however, explained by what process the farmers became soldiers, and their statements are very vague and with no exact proofs. However disturbed the country might be, farmers with no special training could not suddenly become soldiers, and, therefore, it can hardly be believed that such a governing class was formed all of a sudden. But from the account just given of the manor development it can be understood that, in accordance with the growth of local influence, the manor being its centre, a new economic system developed around it, and a new power arose from this economic system. It would be natural that a military class should grow up round this new power. It was only possible for those having considerable economic means to maintain a group of warriors, since they had to keep a large number of these non-workers, furnish them with arms, and guarantee them a livelihood. In ordinary times these warriors worked on the land to some extent, but when they were called up for service, there had to be sufficient number of farmers who would take over their work, and, therefore, the possession of these warriors was limited to those who owned wide manors and had a great number of people under their control. It was, of course, probable that real farmers might be sent out to the battle-field, but the headquarters' staff and the main body of soldiers had to be composed of professional warriors, who in times of peace led an idle life. For this reason no military class came from some of the manors whose lords were high officials in the Central Government, and who had no other concern than the taxation of their lands. A fundamental cause that brought forth a warring class from the manor, large and small, was that the lord or his intendant hereditarily possessed or administered the manor, because he had to support his large family and his followers, and furnish them with their livelihood in ordinary times, in order to send them out to fight in times of emergency. These followers went to war because of their deep personal obligation to the lord or the intendant of the manor, and these deep-rooted obligations could only spring up when there was hereditary possession or administration of the manor.

SHIMAZU MANOR OF SATSUMA PROVINCE THE LARGEST.—In 1024 Taira Suemoto lived in Kyushu, holding the position of governor. During his official career he had done reclamation work, and he further purchased reclaimed lands and annexed half-established manors. With these he set up a manor called Shimatsusho, extending over the three provinces of Osumi, Hyuga, and Satsuma. Learning that Fujiwara Yorimichi was considered the most powerful man in the state Government, he presented his Shimatsu-sho manor to Yorimichi, and he himself assumed the position of its intendant, taking charge of the taxation in the lands. In the time of Regent Tadanori, he made a further extension of the manorial lands. The territory of this vast manor covered one-third of Osumi and Hyuga

Provinces and a quarter of Satsuma Province, and was ranked as the largest manor in the whole Empire. In fact, though a manor in name, it was in reality a dominion. An innocent reader might suppose that when Taira Suemoto offered this vast estate to Regent Yorimichi, he was disinterested, but, on the contrary, he was consulting his own interests. The foundations of the manors were rather unstable, and if their possessors were once suspected by the Imperial Court or by influential officials, they might be dispossessed. Therefore, the manors were presented to some powerful personage in order to maintain their existence, and the contributor himself assumed the position of the intendant. Holding the ruling power of the manor, he sent in a certain portion of the revenue to his patron, but all the rest accrued to him. Thus it will be seen that Suemoto contributed his manorial lands only in name, but that the actual power was kept by himself. He paid something to the nominal possessor, who was an influential official, and, sheltered behind his name, he could hold on to his manor without fear. Moreover, a contributor of manors did not lose anything at all, but had further advantages, as the name of the influential personage to whom his lands were presented might be used most conveniently in the case of annexing small reclaimed lands, and also in many other cases.

Many historians have told us that the Minamoto family was descended from the grandson of the Emperor Seiwa, and that when Mitsunaga was their head, they were called the Tada-Genji because they then resided in the Tada district, and it seems to have been thought that the influence of the Minamoto family was simply due to their Imperial descent. However, the power of the Minamoto family was not due mainly to their Imperial blood, but to the fact that they had settled in the manor of Tada in Settsu Province, some distance from Kyoto, reclaimed vast lands there, and thus had attained close connection with the local power. The district of Tada was located five miles north of the present Itami, and covered the locality of Musetani and Higashi-tani. When Mitsunaga was appointed Governor of Settsu, he established a manor in this district, reclaiming new lands and exploiting a mine for gold. This Tada mine later turned out to be a silver mine, from which a great quantity of the metal was produced, which, in the period of Toyotomi Hideyoshi, was a great financial help to the Central Government. In the meantime the manor of Tada supplied abundant resources to the Minamoto for the bringing up of their family and their retainers. Yorimitsu, of the Minamoto family, was said to have kept four brave warriors, called the Shittenno, and with them to have conquered the devils of Mount Oeyama in Tamba Province. We presume that he could carry out such a difficult work of subjugation because he had made great profits from cultivation and mining in his manorial lands.

THE MANORS OF THE TAIRA FAMILY WERE MOSTLY IN THE NEIGHBOURHOOD OF KYOTO.—When the Minamoto family extended their influence towards the eastern provinces, the Taira family also made an expansion of their manorial lands in the districts surrounding Kyoto and the western provinces. The Taira family first held their manors in the provinces of Ise, but in 1146 Kiyomori became Governor of Aki in Chugoku district. Not only did he govern the province by Imperial order, but it is clear that he actually possessed the same province, as he improved the Straits of Ondo for the sake of the transportation by sea. Such a work could not well be carried out by an official who would be transferred to another province in six or seven years. The fact that he already possessed Hyogo when he came to serve in the Imperial Court in Kyoto is sufficient ground for belief that the manorial lands of the Taira family were in many places between Aki and Hyogo. In addition, they held a number of manors in the provinces of Iga, Ise, Omi, and Tamba. Perhaps the Taira family surpassed the Minamoto in influence in the Imperial Court in Kyoto because they had such a great figure as Kiyomori as their patriarchal head; but another reason is that their manorial lands were located in the neighbouring provinces of Kyoto and in the Chugoku districts, which are comparatively near the capital, and in an emergency in Kyoto they could send soldiers to the capital in larger numbers and sooner than could the Minamoto family.

THE ORIGIN OF MANORS.—We can now see how the system of the state ownership of land set up by the Reform of Taika and Taiho came to be abolished, and how the system of manors took its place. The manors sprang from a double source. In one case they were established by princes, nobles, etc., in the Central Government, to supply them with an income, and were composed of a number of villages already in existence which had been gained in some way or other. In the other case they were established by powerful local people and consisted of lands which people had newly reclaimed in their spare time. When the country became turbulent, the manors of the former class were lost by their lords and fell into the hands of intendants and actual contributors, while the manors of the latter class began to increase in power.

THE MILITARY SERVICE OF THE INTENDANTS OF THE MANORS.—The intendants and the other officials of the manors obtained an abundant income from the lands, and the manorial system was more beneficial to these officials than to the holders of the manors themselves. But as the revenues of the intendants were large, some special duties were imposed upon them. We find an article in the *Miscellaneous Record*, of the Daigoji Temple, that an intendant presented fuel to the temple, in 1131 (1st year of Tensho). This was a duty other than the regular manorial taxes, and was a levy upon the manorial intendant. Besides this, there were instances where the manors of temples and warring clans sent forth soldiers. There were many cases where the intendants of manors proceeded to the front with a number of their soldiers, and often they were killed in battle. In the period of the Minamoto and the Taira families, Shigetada, who was intendant of Hatakeyama manor at Chichibu, Musashi, served Yoritomo, and became famous as one of his great generals. It shows that intendants had long been occupied with military affairs and finally made it their hereditary profession.

FREEMEN AND SLAVES ON MANORIAL LAND.—People on manorial land consisted chiefly of freemen, who possessed their own lands for cultivation and were engaged in agriculture, and also in the production of the necessaries of their daily life. There was, however, a large number of migratory people besides the above farming class. Some of them had escaped from the lands under the jurisdiction of the provincial governors, who would levy taxes upon them. Others were the slaves in other districts who escaped their owners' surveillance and succeeded in running away. The people of this class possessed no lands of their own and were obliged to gain their livelihood by labour. A manorial land was an economic centre, so it was in a position to supply the people with a living in exchange for their labour. Besides these migratory people there were, as well, slaves in the possession of powerful families. Their number was considerable in some manors, but very small in others. They were numerous in the provinces surrounding the capital, and also in Chugoku or the southern district, because whenever there were hostilities, captives were first brought to the neighbouring districts of Kyoto, and were then distributed. Slaves were chiefly made gate-keepers, messengers, night-watchmen, executioners, etc., but they were sometimes put to the work of cultivation or some manual labour. A record regarding the Governor of Omi contains the account of a slave named Edamaru, who was thirty-nine years of age, was engaged in the work of making wagons, and who was sold for 1,400 koku of rice. It may be seen that people who were employed in manual work were bought and sold as slaves. Besides, there were other slaves, not in the possession of individual families, but owned by the community of a village. Similar to the private slaves of powerful families, these official slaves were put to the work of cultivation, and also miscellaneous kinds of work.

NO EXISTENCE OF MANORS WITHOUT MANORIAL PEOPLE.—During the period of the manorial system, slave economy gradually gave way before the rise of land economy. The wealth and power of a family were in proportion to the size of the lands in its possession, and the land naturally became more valuable than slaves. Consequently, manorial lands were often presented in lieu of money, and in such case all the residents in the manor were placed under the control of the new holder at the time of the change of ownership. In this epoch communication facilities were meagre, and a great movement of the people could not be effected; while, on the other hand, money economy had little influence, and there was, accordingly, no means of importing labour from other districts. As no inhabitants can exist apart from the land, so no land is worth anything without inhabitants. It naturally follows that the transfer of manorial land had to be accompanied with that of the inhabitants of the land. When viewed from the idea of gaining regular revenue by the cultivation of land, the transfer of a manor must have been made with more consideration to the cultivators of the land than the land itself. This will remind us of the reason why the Imperial Court bestowed fiefs on Government officials and powerful families prior to the development of the manorial system. As the land and people were in such close relations, the manorial people were considered to be the subjects of the manorial owner. Accordingly, the position of the manorial people was somewhat similar to that of the people in the period of the slave system, and they seemed to be in a piteous condition; but when viewed from another standpoint we can see there was some progress. The holder of a manor had the right to enforce taxation as well as to hold other administrative power on the land, but the right of the use of the land fell into the hands of farmers closely connected with the land, and the land was of no value without the farmers. The right of land-holding for profit must have been the most important item among the actual profits produced by private land ownership, and farmers now obtained this important right of land-holding for profit. This right was obtained at the most important stage in the history of the development of the system of private ownership, and was, of course, not limited to the farmers of manors. The farming people of kubunden, or allotted lands, had the right of land-holding for profit in the actual sense; but the kubunden was limited to one generation and was not hereditary in the eyes of the law, so the cultivators cannot be put on the same footing with the manorial people who enjoyed the perfect hereditary right of land-holding for profit. Moreover, what was paid from the kubunden to the Imperial Court was real taxes, while what was paid to the owner of the land and by his manorial people must be considered as land rent, but not as a tax. Such was the difference between the natures of the official lands and the manors. The establishment of the manors was quite a long process. First, farming people reclaimed lands by their own efforts, then the lands became name-land—myoden—and a number of myoden were amalgamated to form a manor, and, therefore, it is only historically natural that they should reach the stage they did. The condition of the manors was, as above described, from the middle ages of the Heian period down to the rise of the two clans of the Minamoto and the Taira.

THE JAPANESE MANOR AND THE ENGLISH MANOR.—The manor of Japan was something like the English manor, but with a few differences. The English manor belonged to a lord, but its inhabitants were divided into two classes, the pure tenants and the ordinary farmers. In the 11th century the manorial lands were classified into demesne and villeinage. The former lands were cultivated for the benefit of their holders, like our koeiden, or official lands, while the latter were for the profit of the farming people, like our kubunden. But the difference between the two lies in the fact that cultivation was carried on in common throughout a manor or one section of a manor divided into smaller portions, and the harvest only was divided between the lord and the farmers. In this point the English land system was more primitive than ours, and is somewhat similar to the condition in Japan prior to the Taika Reform, and, moreover, the labour service of the English farmers due to their lords was much heavier than that of our farmers. The first duty of the farmers in a manor was that the heads of families had to offer the lord labour service of two or three days per week. The second duty was to give several days' labour besides the above in the spring sowing-time as well as in the autumnal harvest reaping; and as the third they were obliged to pay tribute of money, chicken, eggs, barley, etc. At the time of the second labour service, the lord often requisitioned even the wives and the daughters of farmers, or their whole families. Though the number of days for the second labour service is not clearly known, the number of days for the first was 104 days a year, on the basis of two days a week, and 156 days a year at three days a week. The second labour service was called the Love-Boon, or the Boon-Day, in the same sense as the modern Thanksgiving Day. During this labour service farmers were supplied with food by their lord, and, therefore, it is similar to our system of ryueki. The facts given make it clear that the duty of English farmers was heavier than that of our farmers who served their lord about 80 days in a year. In the 13th century these serfs found it convenient to pay a monetary tribute in place of their labour service, and at the same time the lords welcomed it. Therefore, the duty of the labour service was abolished in the 13th century.

CHAPTER XI

DECAY OF THE FUJIWARA CLAN

The Glorious Michinaga.—The Fujiwara clan reached their highest glory at the time of Michinaga, but it was also about this period that their prestige began to be threatened. In 1019 Michinaga fell ill, shaved his head, and became a lay-priest and visited the Todaiji Temple with a retinue consisting of the Regent Yorimitsu and all the other Court dignitaries. The procession was almost as ostentatious as a royal one.

As was the case with most of his predecessors at the head of the house of Fujiwara, Michinaga made it his life-work to erect a grand temple, and constructed the Muryojiin Temple on a square of 4 cho. A great statue and hundreds of life-size images of Buddha were made by Teicho, with the help of 100 specialists and 30 carpenters. Five masons and 1,000 gardeners were also employed in the construction of the building and laying out of the grounds, which gives an idea of the dimensions of the place. It is unrivalled by any other temple erected in the Fujiwara period in architectural grandeur and splendour.

Invasion by Toi Barbarians.—While Michinaga was engrossed in temple building, the coastal districts of Kyushu were subject to ravages by foreign enemies. The Toi were a tribe of Kittan, powerful in Liaotung, who turned their attention to Japan because the Korean defences were too strong for them, and on March 28, 1019 (3rd year of Kanjin), they made a sudden attack on Iki Island with a fleet of more than 50 ships. All the men were wiped out, including the Governor, Fujiwara Noritada, and most of the women carried off, after which they landed on Tsushima Island and destroyed the silver mines and carried off inhabitants, men and women. A priest just managed to escape from Iki and carried the news to the Governor-General of Kyushu (April 7th), but before any steps could be taken the invading forces landed in Ido county, Chikuzen. Then, seizing Noko Island, they marched into Hakata, which was made another theatre of spoil and destruction.

Their ships varied from 8 to 12 hiro (arms' length) in length, and were propelled with 30 or 40 oars. The forces were composed of parties each comprising 20 to 60 men armed with swords, and 70 or 80 men with bows and shields. Disembarking in separate units they butchered cattle, ate dogs, killed the aged, and took back on board men and women fit for labour.

Desperate Fight of Kyushu Warriors.—Takaie, the Vice-Governor, equipped 30 ships and attacked the invaders, who were obliged to withdraw to the coast-line, although the defenders of our country were much weaker in equipment.

On their way back home they were encountered and defeated by the Korean naval forces, who sent back more than 200 Japanese prisoners who had been captured by the Toi. Takaie presented the messenger with 300 ryo of gold in appreciation. At this period the Korean men-of-war were provided with a projecting iron ram to break through enemy's ships.

Temple threatens Court.—When Michinaga's illness became worse, the Court tried to intercede with heaven by proclaiming an amnesty and remitting arrears of taxation to sundry defaulters. The Emperor went so far as to make a personal inquiry after him at the Muryojiin Temple, granted the temple 500 families, and ordered 2,000 priests of the Kofukuji and Enryakuji Temples to offer prayers for the recovery of Michinaga. Indeed, all possible means were availed of as if a mighty sovereign were involved. All in vain. Michinaga passed away in the 4th year of Tenjin.

As Fujiwara-no-Norimichi had assumed the office of Prime Minister before Michinaga died, the centre of administrative power was not shaken by his death, but the temples had already waxed great and began to prove a menace to the Court. Priests were carrying matters with a high hand, taking advantage of the power attached to religion, and became arrogant enough to contend against local governors over the determination of the boundary lines of their manors, or for the exemption from taxes of their temple estates. When a settlement went against them, they tried to force the Court with threats to expel the Governor. At the same time they were constantly wrangling with other temples over the extension of their power and interest, and kept fighting forces under the lead of scoundrelly priest-soldiers to uphold their interest by force. Soldiers were recruited from among people in the temple estates, and, thus equipped with military power, the temples became powerful local lords.

When the Court appointed Bishop Myozon of the Enjoji Temple to the post of Lord Abbot of the Tendai Sect in 1039 (3rd year of Choreki), the priests were opposed to the appointment, and waited upon the Prime Minister Norimichi in numbers to demand the withdrawal of the appointment. When he refused to grant their request the temple forces attacked his residence and destroyed the gates, and he had to repulse the assault with the soldiers of the Police Commissioner.

In 1050 (5th year of Eisho) the Governor of Yamato, Minamoto-no-Yorichika, rightfully took possession of what the priests of the Kofukuji Temple of Nara called their temple estates, which they had illegally purchased from the people, and, converting it into public land, imposed taxes on it. Although they recognized that the Governor was legally right, the priests were not willing to surrender their land, as it was a generally accepted custom that temples bought up fields which were then exempted from taxation, so they attacked Yorichika with their military forces. They met with a vigorous resistance in which many soldier-priests fell, but the shavelings appealed in threatening numbers to the Court, which was compelled to surrender and exile Yorichika to Tosa.

Dependence of Court on Warriors for Protection.—Disputes between the Court and the temples, plunder of people's lands by temples, and armed struggles between temples grew more frequent, and when these devilish priests with forces under their command came up to Kyoto and ravaged the capital itself, even the existence of the Court was menaced. The forces on which the Court could depend for protection in these emergencies consisted of guards recruited from the local provinces, who were chiefly employed as mere gate-keepers or porters, and could not be counted upon to cope with the military power of the temples.

The Court was driven as a last resource to call up for protection the powerful local grandees in the districts near Kyoto, who had at their disposal a large number of private soldiers. Among the rest, Taira-no-Naokata and Minamoto-no-Yoshiiye were called upon. These two clans at first were quite manageable as guards under the direction of Court officials, but in course of time they gained power, and finally the actual sovereignty fell into their hands.

To sum up, the Fujiwara were overwhelmed by the growing power of temples which they had themselves erected from generation to generation, and to which they had accorded such abundant aid and such wide estates that they could organize powerful military forces. The irony of this was that they had finally to depend for their protection against their own creations on such local grandees as the Taira and Minamoto. The strange destiny of the Fujiwara family was that while resorting to the two powerful clans for protection against the temples they finally permittted the Taira and Minamoto clans to usurp the actual power.

Land as a powerful Factor.—The history of the transfer of authority from the Fujiwaras to the Taira and Minamoto clans furnishes an apt illustration of how much the power of the land had to do with it. At the beginning of our monarchical periods the architecture and

Government institutions of the Court were of a primitive form, and the Imperial Family did not live much better than other local families of influence. But with the extension of royal power and the introduction of the elaborate institutions of China, life became more complex and architecture grander after the Chinese model. The Court life gradually lost contact with the soil, and the Imperial Families lived a life of total seclusion from the people in general, which allowed the intervention of powerful lords, who were also land-owners, between the Court and the people.

Under the almost unbearable pressure of those lords, about the time of the transfer of the capital to Kyoto by the Emperor Kwammu, not a few families of the blood had to descend to the status of subjects and become local officials beyond the reach of the influence of the powerful Court lords. They obtained tracts of land, and, with their subsequent assimilation with the local grandees, they changed from vacillating Court families into sturdy warriors. The Taira clan originated from Prince Kuzuhara, son of the Emperor Kwammu; while the Minamoto clan, descending from Tsunemoto, a grandson of the Emperor Seiwa, owed its foundation to his son Manju, who settled at Tada in Settsu. Tada lies five miles north of the present Itami, and the Tada mines, which yielded an abundant supply of ores in the later period of Hideyoshi and afforded an inexhaustible fund for the glories of the Momoyama period, were originally worked by Manju for alluvial gold.

Manju turned waste land into an estate, placed land and people under his ownership, and worked gold and silver mines. That Manju's son Raiko killed the devil of Oyeyama is, of course, a mere legend founded upon his subjugation of local families of power.

The Court depended for its protection upon Raiko and his brother Yorinobu, and from them sprang the powerful military clan of Minamoto. This fact shows that the Minamoto family and the Taira, too, became influential by getting the land in their grip and becoming local grandees, when other nobles lingered about Kyoto and spent their time in petty struggles for insignificant Government offices.

NORTH-EASTERN EXPEDITION OF MINAMOTO YORIYOSHI.—In 1055, in the reign of the Emperor Goreizei, the Minamoto clan was given a favourable start in the race for supremacy owing to Monamoto-no-Yoriyoshi being charged with the conquest of Abe-no-Yoritoki, a chief of the northern barbarians, who had under his control a wide territory covering the whole of northern Japan.

This Yoriyoshi, who had been dispatched to conquer Abe, was an object of admiration in the eastern districts on account of the valour he had already displayed in war, and when he was appointed Governor of Mutsu and Resident-General, and proceeded on the expedition with all the soldiers available on his extensive estates, the local eastern grandees were easily recruited. However, as an amnesty was then proclaimed, Yoriyoshi refrained from attack, and Yoritoki willingly vowed his allegiance. Later, Sadato, a son of Yoritoki, proposed for the hand of a daughter of Fujiwara-no-Satotada, Vice-Governor of Mutsu, who refused him, classing him as a mere barbarian.

Fired by indignation, Sadato attacked Satotada, who was a subordinate of Yoriyoshi, who in his turn took fire and ordered the arrest of young Abe. Yoritoki, Sadato, and their families rose jointly in arms, and it was nine years before the revolt was suppressed.

Yoriyoshi remained in his post after the expiration of his first term of his office, but when he still held on at the end of the second term the Court appointed Takashina Tsuneshige to succeed him. The eastern districts were not willing to lose their famous Governor and refused to obey the newly appointed man, and the Court was obliged to nominate Yoriyoshi afresh.

Grandees of Kanto Districts tender Estates to Yoshiie, Son of Yoriyoshi.—In 1087 (1st year of Kanji) Yoshiie succeeded in subduing Kiyohara Iyehira, the head of a powerful family in Mutsu, the war being called " The Later Three-year Campaign " from the period covered by it.

In all these campaigns it was the forces of the eastern grandees mainly that were employed, and Yoshiie's methods of the iron hand in the velvet glove made him very popular. In addition, they thought it a wise course to offer their manors to a general so noted for his valour, both for protection against the Court officials, who were liable to seize their possessions through legal procedure and turn them into public estates, and also for exemption from taxation. They, therefore, presented their manors to Yoshiie and remained safe as his subordinates or local chiefs, with real power on their former estates where they resided. So extensive became the territory under the control of Yoshiie, covering the provinces of Kozuke, Shimotsuke, Musashi, Izu, Sagami, Kazusa, Shimosa, etc., that in 1091 (5th year of Kanji) the Court had to forbid the local people to offer their land to Yoshiie. The case was not limited to the Minamoto clan alone, but may be applied to all other grandees. Their power was gradually nurtured on their manors.

Local Grandees brought under Control of Minamoto and Taira.—A powerful influence had thus been established when the Emperor Gosanjo acceded to the throne in 1068 (4th year of Jireki) and created a registration office to carry out the investigation of manors, with a view to transferring manors established without Court sanction to public possession and placing them under the control of governors.

Ex-Prime Minister Yorimichi was the first to be informed of this reformation, but as he was the owner of most extensive manors, covering several provinces, most of which had been acquired by his own power and not by Court sanction, he was rather restive; but he replied that what the Emperor contemplated was entirely reasonable, and that as most of his possessions had been established without due sanction they must be taken up by the Court. The Emperor, however, upon the receipt of the reply, ordered the Registration Office to place the manors held by the ex-Prime Minister out of the scope of its investigation. The Court had then to alter the original provisions so that all the manors established after the 2nd year of Kantoku, and also such possessions as were established before that date, the sanction of which was doubtful, and were deemed harmful for general administration, should be forfeited. With the reform thus emasculated, the Court could only deal with weak local manors and the possessions held in central districts by some ancient families. But as it was a matter of life and death for those whose land was forfeited they were in no way resigned to the fate, and suits were so numerously brought that it became almost impossible for the Court to decide them all. At the same time, local families holding manors became aware of the possible danger of being stripped of their possessions by a stroke of the pen of some Court official, and felt more strongly than ever the necessity of depending upon powerful lords or temples for protection. As the Minamoto and Taira clans, with absolute military power, were looked upon as the most reliable, local grandees began, from the reign of the Emperor Gosanjo, to add their manors to those of the two clans and became their subordinates. The reformation of the Emperor Gosanjo, which is said by historians to have been a meritorious and drastic measure, served, in effect, only to further the already growing power of these two clans by driving powerful local families to merge themselves with them.

THE EMPEROR GOSANJO CHECKS THE FUJIWARA.—Although the Registration Office established by the Emperor Gosanjo proved futile in its calculated results, yet the Court succeeded in some degree in freeing itself from the pressure of the Fujiwara. It was not infrequent that governors requested to be reappointed on account of some particular meritorious deed, and such requests were for the most part granted until the Emperor Gosanjo discontinued the practice for good. The Emperor even rejected the petition made for the exceptional reappointment of a governor by Prime Minister Norimichi, who feared lest the change in the governorship should delay the building of the Man-endo Temple then in contemplation. The Emperor said that his predecessors had had to yield to the requests made by the Fujiwara in deference to the family relation, but he could not allow himself to be swayed by family influence to withdraw a decision already made public. Thereupon Norimichi defiantly declared that the divine protection of the ancestor god would cease from that day, and that the service of the Fujiwara family in the Court would be no longer of any account. He then abruptly left the Emperor's presence, all the other Court officials following him. The Emperor had no course left but to comply with the request of Norimichi, and the first attempt to conduct affairs irrespective of the power of the clan was thus frustrated. After three years Gosanjo was succeeded by his Crown Prince, and he himself became ex-Emperor to the new Emperor. This he did with a view to conducting Court affairs personally, to help his young successor, and returning the sovereign rights to him when he grew to years of discretion, instead of allowing some Fujiwara to assume full power as Prime Minister, as had hitherto been the practice when an infant emperor was set upon the throne. This proved a complete success, and the Fujiwara family had to contract their power within a narrow limit. But at the same time it furnished a beginning to an abnormal state of government, where contradictory decrees were issued simultaneously from ex-emperors and emperors, and where villanous Court officials were given ample opportunity for their ambitions, leaving the people helpless against inconsistent Court decrees.

THE EMPEROR SHIRAKAWA REIGNS INDEPENDENTLY.—Under the guardianship of ex-Emperor Gosanjo, the Crown Prince obtained his full rights at the age of twenty, and became the Emperor Shirakawa. In 1073, having attained the age of discretion, and with the ex-Emperor assisting him in the conduct of all state affairs, the new Emperor was well guarded from external influences, greatly in contrast with some of the preceding infant sovereigns, who were crowned even at the age of six and nine. Consequently no room was left for the Fujiwara clan to interfere in Court affairs. Two years after Shirakawa was crowned, the ex-Emperor died, and he now could have his own way, liberated from the curb of his father and quite independent of the influence of the Fujiwara.

Consequent on the death, in the 2nd year of Enkyu, of Prime Minister Michinori, various conjectures arose as to his successor. During his life-time Michinori frequently requested the Emperor to appoint his son Nobunaga, Keeper of the Privy Seal, to succeed him, and secured his informal consent. But the Emperor suddenly conferred the vacant seat upon the Minister of the Left, Morosane, at the request of a Court lady, Kashi-ko. Court officials of high rank were now appointed at the pleasure of the Emperor, and all, including the Regent and the Prime Minister, were kept under his control. In everything he was supreme.

State Affairs conducted by the Emperor in Person.—Shirakawa was the only Emperor during a period of three or four hundred years to conduct affairs at his own free will. The only thing he could not control was the ungovernable power of the Enryakuji, Enjoji, Kofukuji, and Todaiji Temples, Kimpozan Shrine, Tonomine Shrine, etc., which raised disturbances in face of Government authority, and used their military forces to intimidate the Court. In fact, they erected " a state within a state," and were so recalcitrant that the Emperor is said to have complained of the defiant attitude of the turbulent and uncontrollable priests, comparing them with the current of the Kamo River and the fall of the dice. However, the Emperor himself was quite despotic and gave way to his impulses to such an extent that one day he condemned a basin of rain water to prison, because he had been several times prevented from proceeding to the Hojoji Temple by rainy weather. With a free hand he could have accomplished a great deal to enhance the national welfare had he devoted himself more to administrative affairs. In the 4th year of Kanji, actuated by a dream, he granted a tax-free manor of 600 cho to the Kami-Kamo Shrine. This was followed by numerous donations to other temples or shrines, and also to favourite subjects, with the result that the attempt made by his predecessor to eliminate the private manor was eventually frustrated. Government posts were sold to obtain funds required for the construction of large buildings successively undertaken by the Court. At one time even three or four men were simultaneously appointed governor of one and the same province, and no one could tell who was the real holder of the post. The Emperor was fond of musical and dancing entertainments, and it was not a rare occurrence that music was enjoyed all night long. The characteristic of this era was the introduction of gorgeous life into the Court circles, for which the Heian period is particularly noted.

Reign of the Ex-Emperor.—The Emperor Shirakawa favoured Court lady Fujiwara-no-Kenko, and when she fell ill, he could not bear to part with her or allow her to return to her parents' house, as had hitherto been the general custom with empresses and Court ladies. When she passed away, the Emperor was so cast down that he suspended the Court for three days, and, wearying of the world, he abdicated in favour of Prince Yoshihito, born of her in 1086 (3rd year of Otoku), who was called the Emperor Horikawa. The retired Emperor, however, retained hold of sovereignty for thirty-six years, covering the reign of three emperors. Decrees issued by the retired Emperor were called Inzen, and orders promulgated by the officials in the retired Emperor's Court on his behalf were called Shita-bumi. To them were attached greater importance, and they were followed more readily than Imperial ordinances and Government orders. Officials of the ex-Emperor's Court were therefore more powerful than ministers and generals of the Government, with posts of various ranks, and the ex-Emperor's Court assumed the aspect of a complete government. The Court guards were divided into two ranks, and the retired Emperor gathered about him many Court ladies and handsome boy favourites, whom he enlisted in the guards when they were grown up. Composed of such people the guards were naturally most presumptuous and unmanageable.

THE TRIUMVIRATE.—The Emperor Horikawa died in 1106 (1st year of Kasho), and was succeeded by his eldest son, Munehito, under the name of Toba.

Fujiwara-no-Akiko, who was the lady attendant of the Emperor Toba, was a daughter of Fujiwara-no-Kimisane. She had been a favourite of the retired Emperor Shirakawa from his youth and had borne a son, Prince Akihito, in favour of whom, though he was only five years of age, the retired Emperor suggested that the Emperor Toba should abdicate. The child succeeded as Sutoku. Public opinion was aroused against the abdication of the throne by Toba when he was only twenty-one to an infant emperor on the recommendation of the retired Emperor. It was even rumoured that the Emperor Sutoku might not be a son of the ex-Emperor, but of the retired Emperor Shirakawa. Toba had abdicated unwillingly, and, as ex-Emperor, bore a grudge against the retired Emperor, and disliked the Emperor Sutoku. As soon as the retired Emperor died, which occurred in the year of the accession of the Emperor Sutoku to the throne, the ex-Emperor Toba began to show his dislike of the child openly, and the people began to feel uneasy about the position of the Emperor Sutoku and feared disturbances. The temples also had become quite recalcitrant, and when they were thwarted by governors, or they were not satisfied with the Government, they formed large forces to intimidate the Court.

SHRINES ALSO THREATEN THE COURT.—Temples were not alone at that time in using their military power to intimidate local governors and the Court. Shinto shrines were another cause of trouble. With extensive estates, a large body of serfs, and great wealth, the Grand Warden of the Atsuta Shrine was audacious enough to compare himself to a feudal lord at the time when the Emperor Shirakawa was on the throne. He wielded unrestricted power over his domains, and, claiming divine authority, stalked haughtily about with more than thirty stalwart warriors in attendance on him. He was too proud even to pay his respects to a newly appointed governor. The Warden of the Hakozaki Shrine of Chikuzen was another, who dared to charge the Governor with the robbery of the shrine manor and ill-treatment of the Warden. The Court was obliged to give in, however unreasonable the appeals of the shrines might be, and, consequently, they behaved themselves more and more independently. In the time of the Emperor Horikawa, Minamoto-no-Yoshichika, Governor of Tsushima Province, was set at naught by the Warden of the Hakozaki Shrine, and was finally condemned on the charge of disobedience to an Imperial decree. When, in September of 1111, the Kofukuji and Todaiji Temples of Nara came into conflict with each other, priests of the former set fire to the Todaiji. The Kofukiji opposed the appointment of Enzei, a priest of the Enryakuji, to the post of head of the Kiyomizu Temple of Kyoto in March 1113 (1st year of Eikyu), and the priests of the Kofukuji and the Kasuga Shrine went up to Kyoto, with a body of 5,000 serfs from their estates, and appealed to the Court by force to appoint a priest of the Kofukuji to displace the present head, on the ground that the Kiyomizu Temple had once belonged to the Kofukuji. The Court had to give way and change the head, reappointing Abbot Eien to the vacated post. Indignant at the change, the priests of the Enryakuji Temple attacked Kiyomizu with a large force and destroyed all the temple structures. In April the priests of the Enryakuji, in alliance with the Warden of the Hiyoshi Shrine, marched a force of 2,000 serfs into Kyoto and requested the Court of the retired Emperor Shirakawa to exile Junior Abbot Jikkaku of the Kofukuji. The retired Emperor consulted Prime Minister Tadasane and others, and reached a decision that Jikkaku should remain at his post, as he could be charged with no offence. Thereupon the temple forces rushed into the palace, but Minamoto-no-Mitsukuni, Taira-no-Masamori, Minamoto-no-Tameyoshi and others fought and repelled them. Later, however, the retired Emperor instructed Fujiwara-no-Tamefusa, Minister of the Treasury, to exile Jikkaku temporarily, in compliance with the request of the temple, although he was innocent of any offence. On hearing of this decision, the priests of the Kofukuji became angry and declared that they would march into Kyoto with a great force composed of of a large number of priests, people of the Kasuga Shrine, and serfs on their estates, and that they would burn the Gion Temple and then have it out with the Enryakuji. First, however, they sent a petition to the Prime Minister Tadasane asking him to comply with the following three requests :—

1. Ningo, Lord Abbot of the Enryakuji, and Kasuga, also Lord Abbot of the Hojoji, who had been the ringleaders in the destruction of the Kiyomizu Temple, should be exiled.

2. That the banishment of Jikkaku be reversed.
3. That the image of the deity enshrined in Gion be returned to the Kofukuji.

The retired Emperor ordered Tadasane to pacify them, but they would not listen, and went on to make war arrangements. The Enryakuji found themselves less powerful than the Kofukuji, and thought of invoking the aid of the Emperor to oppose the Kofukuji in the name of defending the Imperial cause. The Court was struck with terror, the Court officials were quite dismayed, and they prayed at the seven shrines for the prevention of disturbance. A decree was issued to seven great temples, not to side with the Kofukuji or to aid it with reinforcements. Although the Kofukuji was thus isolated, it still had its own forces of more than 10,000 men, which it actually marched into Kyoto, where Minamoto-no-Yameyoshi, Mitsukuni, Fujiwara-no-Morishige, Taira-no-Masanori, and his son Tadamori, and others repelled them. The temple forces lost in the fight more than fifty killed and more than forty wounded, and on returning from the unsuccessful campaign they imprecated evils upon the retired Emperor. Later, in September, the priests of the Enryakuji Temple met in great number at the Gion, and urged the Court to reappoint the Lord Abbot of the Tendai; but the retired Emperor refused, and ordered Fujiwara-no-Morishige, Minamoto-no-Shigetoki, Taira-no-Tadamori, and Minamoto-no-Munesane, to disperse them. For years following this the degraded priests of Nara and Hiei continuously disturbed the peace every year.

Growth of the Military Class.—As the Minamoto and Taira clans were depended upon for the protection of the Court from the violence of temples and shrines, their influence grew greater and greater. By this time the Taira and the Minamoto clans had become conspicuous on account of Tadamori and Tameyoshi and Taira-no-Kiyomori. With soldiers recruited from among the young men on the extensive estates held in various districts, these warriors began distinctly to constitute a powerful military class, and attempted to establish their power in the Court by ingratiating themselves with influential Court officials. Heedless of the relaxation of administrative order, and the insecure condition of property owing to lax police regulations, the Court continued to lead an easy life, engrossed entirely in extravagant entertainments, literary competitions, compilation of poems, changes in Court uniforms, etc. Besides, the dethronement of the Emperor Sutoku was generally apprehended, as he had by this time entirely lost the favour of the ex-Emperor, and there was a clear indication of serious internal disturbances. While it afforded the most favourable opportunity to ambitious people who wished to rise into power, it was the most detestable period for those righteous men who felt concern only for the national welfare and social peace.

ENMITY BETWEEN COURT LADY AND EX-EMPEROR.—Fujiwara-no-Tokuko, who was the peerless favourite of the ex-Emperor Toba, was a daughter of Nagasane and was noted for her matchless beauty. Her father was exceedingly particular as to the selection of a husband, and did not allow her to become married till he died. But when she was left single and without a support, the ex-Emperor secretly took her and lavished affection upon her. She bore him the Princesses Eiko and Shoko, and when the third child, Prince Yoshihito, was born in 1130 (5th year of Hoen), she suddenly gained great power in the Court, which made the Emperor Sutoku feel very uneasy about his position. The ex-Emperor forced the Emperor to adopt Prince Mihito as Crown Prince, for whom, in 1140, the Emperor was obliged to vacate the throne. The successor was then only three years old, and was called the Emperor Konoe. The ex-Emperor Toba remained in the Court, and continued to conduct state affairs. Further, he made Tokuko the Empress Consort, for whom an office was specially created with a lord steward and others, as if she had been an empress. Sutoku was not allowed to participate in the conduct of state affairs, which the ex-Emperor Toba retained exclusively in his own hands, and was, of course, discontented. When, in 1155 (2nd year of Kuji), the Emperor died childless, the ex-Emperor wished either to come again to the throne or to have his son, Prince Shigehito, succeed the late Emperor, and the Court officials were for a time in favour of the Prince. A rumour was spread by a diviner that the death of the late Emperor was due to the sudden loss of eyesight from a curse put upon him by some enemy. Surprised at the rumour, the retired Emperor and Empress Consort thought that it was probably Sutoku and his adherents who had cursed the late Emperor, and they prevented Sutoku from resuming the sovereignty or enthroning Prince Shigehito. In his place the retired Emperor set up Yoshihito, a brother of Sutoku, aged twenty-nine, under the name of the Emperor Go-Shirakawa.

INTERNAL DISTURBANCES OF HOGEN.—When, on the 2nd of July, 1156 (1st year of Hogen), the retired Emperor Toba died, the ex-Emperor Sutoku wished to succeed him. But the Empress Consort and the Court ladies did not like the idea of the ex-Emperor installing himself in the later retired Emperor's Court, and caused Fujiwara-no-Masakata to reject the ex-Emperor on the pretext of instructions left by the deceased retired Emperor. The ex-Emperor was indignant, and called upon Yorinaga for assistance in the attempt to take the throne by force. The Empress Consort, however, had had her Court guarded by Minamoto-no-Yoshitomo, Minamoto-no-Yorimasa, Taira-no-Kiyomori, and several other warriors noted for their valour, and had provided against the possible uprising of the ex-Emperor on the demise of the retired Emperor. Ignorant of these preparations the ex-Emperor ordered Fujiwara-no-Yorinaga to summon Minamoto-no-Tameyoshi to attack the Empress Consort. At first, Tameyoshi did not respond to the call, but the gift of manors in Iba of Omi and Aoyagi of Mino overcame his reluctance. He set about his preparations with his six sons—Yorisuke, Yorinaga, Tamemune, Tamenari, Tametomo, and Tamenaka—his eldest son, Yoshitomo, having joined the opposite camp to serve the new Emperor. About 1,000 soldiers were raised at the palace of Shirakawa, as against 1,700 for the Emperor Go-shirakawa. Yorinaga disregarded the advice of Tameyoshi and Tametomo, and failed to beat off the attack of the Emperor's forces upon the Shirakawa Palace. The ex-Emperor took refuge in the Ninnaji Temple and became a penitent priest; but the Emperor Go-shirakawa nevertheless exiled him to Sanuki, and confined Prince Shigehito in the Todoin Temple. Some of his followers were sentenced to death, and others exiled. Further, Yoshitomo was commanded to kill his own father, Tameyoshi Kiyomori, and his own uncle, Tadamasa, and Tametomo was exiled to Oshima with his bow arm mutilated. The affair is called the Disturbance of Hogen.

DISTURBANCE OF HEIJI.—In 1159 (1st year of Heiji) Prince Morihito succeeded the Emperor Go-shirakawa and became the Emperor Nijo. At that time there was a certain Fujiwara-no-Nobuyori who was very artful and sycophantic, and who was holding the position of Police Commissioner. He requested the ex-Emperor to give him the post of General of the Guards, but the request was rejected. Nobuyori was disappointed, and retired from service on the pretext of illness. Minamoto-no-Yoshitomo, who had rendered meritorious services in putting down the Disturbance of Hogen, and who had even killed his own father by the order of the Court, was only granted the post of head of the Left Guards in reward for his deeds, while Taira-no-Kiyomori, his rival, was appointed to the higher post of Governor of Harima. Yoshitomo hated Kiyomori for this and made every effort to get the better of him in the struggle for supremacy. Taking advantage of this strife, Nobuyori won over Yoshitomo to his side to take up arms and depose Kiyomori. When Kiyomori was travelling in a remote part of the country, they besieged the Sanjo Palace, where the ex-Emperor was residing, and burnt it down. The ex-Emperor was closely confined, and removing the Emperor to the palace at Kuroto, Nobuyori himself assumed the posts of Minister and General, and, taking the reins of government in his hands, promoted Yoshitomo to be Governor of Harima and gave various ranks to other supporters.

When Kiyomori returned to Kyoto to meet the situation, courtiers who were keeping the Emperor under guard by the order of Nobuyori allowed him to disguise himself in a female costume and flee to the residence of Kiyomori ; while on the same night the ex-Emperor also fled, and took refuge in the Nin-naji Temple. A battle followed between forces of 3,000 men of the Taira and 2,000 on the Minamoto side, which ended with a complete defeat of the latter. Yoshitomo and his followers fled to an eastern province, and Nobuyori was killed, some of their people also being executed and others exiled. Taira-no-Munekiyo, a retainer of Kiyomori's in Mino, arrested Yoritomo, the third son of Yoshitomo, and sent him to Kyoto. But Munekiyo felt pity for the lad, and persuaded Kiyomori to spare his life and exile him in Izu instead. The trouble, which is known as the Disturbance of Heiji, thus resulted in the practical extermination of the Minamoto clan and the annexation by the Taira clan of their manors. When the disturbance had been put down, the Emperor Nijo took as his Empress Consort Fujiwara-no-Oko, the Empress of the Emperor Konoe and his own mother-in-law. He refused to listen to the remonstrances of Court officials against such a step, and declared that as an emperor was above human relations with anyone, there is no mother to an Emperor and there was no reason why he should not make his step-mother his consort, and that they should refrain from interfering in his personal affairs. Takeko was thus twice made empress, and was generally called the " Two-Generation " Empress. As time went on, there arose a conflict between the Emperor and the ex-Emperor, and if it had continued to grow there might have been another grave disturbance, but in July 1165 (1st year of Eiman) the Emperor died and was succeeded by his second son, Norihito, who was then only two years old, and was called the Emperor Rokujo.

Taira-no-Kiyomori obtains the Reins of Government.—Priests of various temples attended the funeral service which was conducted for the late Emperor Nijo in August of the next year. Boards were erected to fix the order of seats for the temples, and when the priests of the Enryakuji Temple placed its boards above that of the Kofukuji Temple, the priests of the latter set its own above the board of the former, and priests Kannon and Seishi cut it to pieces with their swords and stalked away in triumph. Greatly incensed at the insult, the priests of the Enryakuji burned down the Kiyomizu Temple in retaliation. In October the priests of the Kofukuji broke into Kyoto, carrying away with them the tabernacle of the Kasuga Shrine, and urged the Court to drive Lord Abbot Shunen of the Enryakuji into exile. The ex-Emperor was afraid of the possible violence of the priest forces, and tried to pacify them. Taira-no-Kiyomori, in the meantime, after his services in destroying the Minamoto clan, was then enjoying increasing power, and the ex-Emperor had begun to harbour an aversion for his ever-growing arrogance and wished to put him in his right place at the very time when the Enryakuji Temple marched its forces into Kyoto to fight with the Kofukuji. A rumour was then spread that the Enryakuji had dispatched a force by the order of the ex-Emperor to make an attack upon Kiyomori. Thereupon Kiyomori raised his followers and made war preparations, and when the ex-Emperor proceeded to his residence to explain the situation, he avoided the interview on the pretext of illness. The ex-Emperor could only appease the wrath of Kiyomori by electing Norihito Crown Prince in October. Norihito was an uncle to the ex-Emperor, and his mother was the sister of Kiyomori's wife. In November Kiyomori was appointed Keeper of the Privy Seal, and in February of the next year promoted to Prime Minister, his son Shigemori, Munemori, and many other members of his family being installed in high position. Moreover, the ex-Emperor caused the five-year-old Emperor to make over the throne to the eight-year-old Crown Prince in February 1168 (3rd year of Jin-an) in order to please the Taira clan. The reins of government, which had been held exclusively by the Fujiwara clan for five hundred years since they were secured by Kamatari, thus fell to the Taira clan.

CHAPTER XII

RISE AND FALL OF TAIRA AND MINAMOTO CLANS

The Taira Clan rises rapidly into Power.—No one ever secured power as rapidly as the Taira clan. Kiyomori's father, Tadamori, who was a mere warrior in the guards of the ex-Emperor Shirakawa, won his favour for a slight service which he used to render in escorting him on his nightly visit to a favourite lady. In 1129 (4th year of Taiji) the ex-Emperor appointed him Governor of Bizen, to clear the inland sea districts of pirates who had become very bold. When, in 1132 (1st year of Chosho), the ex-Emperor Toba had the Tokuchojuin constructed, Tadamori was ordered to superintend it, and he was promoted to Lord of the Penal Department and admitted into the Court on the completion of the building. He was, however, held in contempt by the Court nobles on account of his low origin, and the upstart's presence in the Court was so disdained that, on the occasion of the Homei festival, an attempt was made to insult him in the dark. But the tables were completely turned when Kiyomori became the Prime Minister and all his relatives and retainers obtained important positions, with their estates extending over one-half of the Empire. So rapidly did he acquire power that it was even rumoured that he was in reality the son of a lady who had been a favourite of the ex-Emperor Shirakawa, and who had been given to Tadamori as wife when she was with child by the ex-Emperor. There are, however, no historical data available to determine whether he was a son of the ex-Emperor, and even if he was, he did not rise into power because of his Imperial origin. He secured it as a holder of manors, which constituted a basis of local power, with considerable wealth and large military forces derived therefrom and placed at his free disposal. The Minamoto clan was also possessed of extensive estates, and in their earlier days far excelled the Taira clan in prestige. The military fame which it gained in the Early Nine Years' War and the Late Three Years' War, fought by Yoriyoshi and Yoshiie, respectively, induced local grandees in the eastern provinces to give up their manors to the clan and to become its retainers. However, the power secured by the Minamoto clan in districts remote from the political centre did not enable it to throw forces quickly into Kyoto. The Taira clan, on the other hand, found itself in an advantageous position, with manors in provinces whence it could call forth the necessary military forces for immediate use at Kyoto, and it availed itself freely of this real power of an estate holder.

Kiyomori's Attempt at Reorganization.—The Minamoto clan had more extensive manors and excelled the Taira clan in valour and popularity, but its power was considerably reduced owing to the frequent internecine strife, and as there was no one competent to control the whole family its power was divided into separate units. The Taira clan, on the contrary, found in Kiyomori a great man to organize and control its cliques, and consequently it rapidly came into possession of great power. Court nobles and warriors of those days were all fond of conventional customs and were content with things done by halves. They made much ado, but lacked thoroughness in everything; while Kiyomori was quite free from conventionality, penetrated directly into the core of things and carried all his plans to consummation. No thought remaining unexpressed, and no attempt being left unfinished, he was indeed a natural man. It was solely because he accomplished thoroughly and on a great scale what few had tried successfully, or what had been found difficult and given up, that he was called an atrocious tyrant by the astounded people. Even a cursory study of his undertakings is enough to convince one that he was a long way above his contemporaries in far-sightedness and strength of will, and that he did not rely on sheer physical force only. In 1146 (2nd year of Kyuan), when Governor of Aki, he improved the Strait of Ondo and saved considerable trouble and time for the passage of merchant vessels. This was unlike other Court nobles and local grandees, who lived upon a pension without rendering public services, and who were solely occupied in accumulating private riches by seizing people's land. On the settlement of the Disturbances of Hogen and Heiji, he contemplated building a great harbour in Hyogo, 1162 (1st year of Oho). He had Mount Shizuchi levelled to reclaim the foreshore extending over 30 cho along the Inlet of Susa, what we now call a "shore protection work." Fifty thousand labourers were employed in this work, and it was finished in twelve years. This was the origin of the port of Kobe. Although Kiyomori was condemned as atrocious by historians of later periods, he only made use of the labour of his own estates and never drew upon the state Treasury. He was actuated to construct a great harbour by the desire to protect the national communications from danger, and to secure a safe anchorage for both native and foreign vessels.

Trade with China.—Kiyomori not only constructed a good harbour at Hyogo, but erected a lighthouse at Wado-no-Matsubara for the benefit of vessels plying at night. Since the abolition of the dispatch of Imperial messengers to China in the end of the 9th century, Japan had been almost completely isolated from both the civilization and commerce of the continent. International intercourse was barely maintained by the priests, who went to China for study at private expense, and by messengers dispatched occasionally by the Governor-General of Kyushu. It was to develop the foreign commerce that Kiyomori constructed a harbour for accommodating vessels engaged in overseas trade. Not free from popular superstitions, however, he believed in divine protection, and made the Itsukushima Shrine on the shore of an island of the same name his tutelary shrine, to which all the way from Hyogo he paid a monthly visit. This was unlike the Emperors Shirakawa and Toba, who trusted in deities residing deep in the mountains of Yamashiro and Yamato Provinces. The improvement of the Strait of Ondo to facilitate the navigation of merchant vessels, the construction of the Hyogo Harbour to develop overseas trade, and the belief in a marine shrine, all combine to show that Kiyomori undertook to erect a maritime empire to take the place of a land empire for the first time in the five hundred years since the Emperor Tenchi.

POWER OF THE TAIRA CLAN.—When Kiyomori was assured of supreme power, he annexed the manors held by the Minamoto clan, and consequently his possessions expanded to cover nearly one-half of the Empire. There were created sixteen nobles and about thirty courtiers from among his family, and besides, more than sixty of his relatives were made guards of the Court, with soldiers recruited from the manors which had been allotted to them in various districts. With the exception of the Fujiwara clan, there had never been a family who took possession of power so exclusively among themselves. As the power of the Fujiwara, gradually accumulated in the course of a long period covering several hundred years, was divided among several branches of the family, and they were constantly at daggers drawn with one another on the question of predominance, the family in the Court and in provincial districts did not make a compact unit. The Taira clan, however, secured power so rapidly that all the family remained united and under the single authority of Kiyomori. The Fujiwara clan even in its prime was not so powerful as Kiyomori. The Taira family were so exultant in the monopoly of power that Taira-no-Tokitada once asserted that a man was worth little unless he was of the Taira family. When Tadamori first constructed his residence at Rokuhara it occupied only 1 square cho. But Kiyomori erected a mansion consisting of more than 170 separate buildings, covering 20 square cho. The buildings constructed for the accommodation of the family and their retainers numbered as many as 2,500.

KIYOMORI, A NATURE'S SON.—Had Kiyomori been more artful he would have assumed a modest attitude and kept his family from abusing their power when at its zenith. Being a self-made man, however, he did not constrain himself either in thought or action, but was thoroughly open and frank. The Taira family were so powerful that members of the Fujiwara family, for the most part, had to cringe before it, but some still maintained a defiant attitude and formed a plot against the Taira clan. Most of them were trusty nobles of the retired Emperor in personal attendance, and so a watchful eye was kept by the Taira upon his actions, and he had to bend before them. He even tried to clear himself of Kiyomori's suspicions by visiting the Itsukushima Shrine, and also his villa at Fukuhara, Hyogo, and, later, by becoming a Buddhist disciple, only to show that he had severed all connections with worldly affairs. When, in 1171 (1st year of Shoan), a ceremony of gembuku (initiation of a samurai's boy to the rank and file of a warrior) was conducted for the eleven-year-old Emperor Takakura, the retired Emperor adopted the third daughter of Kiyomori, Tokuko, whom he adopted as his child, and later the Empress.

Nevertheless the Fujiwara clan did not remain impassive at the collapse of the power which they had held for several hundred years, but made every effort to make use of the retired Emperor's position to withstand the Taira clan. Moreover, plots were continuously formed among the Court nobles to avail themselves of the power of temples which had been considerably enlarged and become almost sufficient to cope successfully with the Taira. Kiyomori, therefore, arrested the chief leaders of the intrigue, including Fujiwara-no-Narichika, Priest Saiko, Priest Shinkan, and Police Commissioner Fujiwara-no-Yasuyori, and sent them into exile. They were all personal attendants of the retired Emperor; and as Kiyomori thus took a defiant attitude towards him, in spite of his repeated efforts to curry favour with Kiyomori, the retired Emperor could contain himself no longer and openly showed his indignation. In 1179 (3rd year of Chisho) Kiyomori recommended Fujiwara-no-Motomichi to the retired Emperor for the vacant post of Chunagon. Motomichi was then nineteen years old, and was a son of the late Regent Motosane, who was the only person of the Fujiwara family to be on good terms with Kiyomori. But the retired Emperor refused, and appointed to the post an eight-year-old son of the Regent Fujiwara-no-Motofusa, who was at bitter enmity with Kiyomori. Moreover, directly on the death of Shigemori, the heir of Kiyomori, in the following year the retired Emperor restored to the Court the manor of Echizen Province, which had been given as kuden, without consulting Kiyomori. As kuden, which was an estate given in return for some service, had been generally left in the possession of a family for two or three generations, its sudden withdrawal by the retired Emperor was looked upon as a challenge to the Taira clan. Kiyomori responded to it, and came up from his manor with troops on the 19th of November. He drove the Regent Motofusa into exile and made Motomichi the Keeper of the Privy Seal and Regent, and then sent away Prime Minister Moronaga and the retired Emperor's favourite subject, Minamoto-no-Sukeyoshi, with his sons and Suketoki, to a remote part of the country. He deprived about forty others, including his own brother Yorimori, of their posts. These vacated posts were given to people of his family and their followers as a reward for the services which they had rendered. As the retired Emperor still continued to intrigue, Kiyomori besieged the Hojuji Palace with his forces in November, and confined the retired Emperor in the Toba Palace with only Priest Joken and Tango, a daughter of Fujiwara-no-Norisue, to attend him.

Kiyomori rejoices at Fukuhara.—In 1180, owing to illness, the Emperor Takakura, at the age of seventeen, abdicated the throne in favour of his son, Prince Kotohito, the new Emperor being called Antoku. He was then a child only three years old, the son of Tokuko, who was a daughter of Kiyomori, and he was therefore Kiyomori's grandson. Kiyomori stayed at Fukuhara (Kobe), which had become a *de facto* centre of government, with Munemori stationed at Rokuhara to keep guard on Kyoto. After abdicating the throne, the ex-Emperor started from Kyoto on a tour to Itsukushima, proceeded down to Daimotsu-ura, breaking the journey on the 13th to take a rest at the mansion of Fujiwara-no-Kunitsune at Terai, which is situated in the neighbourhood of Amagasaki. When he arrived at Fukuhara, Kiyomori placed at his disposal a boat, rowed by Chinese, which had been specially constructed in Chinese style. He also entertained him with dances by eight ladies dressed in costumes in a Chinese religious service at Itsukushima, and escorted him there in a boat of the Chinese type. The construction of a harbour at Hyogo to invite foreign vessels had proved a success, and a number of Chinese and Korean merchant vessels carried on a very brisk trade. The way in which Kiyomori entertained the ex-Emperor will show vividly that he was deeply interested in the novelties introduced by those vessels and felt proud of imitating them.

Maritime Policy rouses Opposition from Priests.—Kiyomori accomplished an epoch-making enterprise by transferring the capital, hitherto located in the districts of Mount Higashiyama, Hieizan, and Mikasayama, to Wadamisaki, fronting the sea of Settsu, and by creating a maritime empire in the place of a mountain empire. However, it proved the cause of the downfall of the Taira clan, for severe opposition was raised by old-fashioned people who clung to the unprogressive old mountain empire, and who did not like the new maritime empire. When the ex-Emperor, on starting for Itsukushima, proceeded to the Toba Palace for a parting call, the retired Emperor Go-shirakawa felt uneasy about the voyage to Itsukushima, which seemed to him to be several thousand miles away from the capital. Putting up at Kojima of Bizen on his way, Kiyomori, in the presence of the ex-Emperor, showed elation over the ground view of the broad expanse of water. After Kiyomori had retired, the ex-Emperor looked around the sea and asked where the residence of Kiyomori was. When he was told that it was far away on the sea, he became quite despondent and melancholy, and his attendants felt lonely and were also dispirited. The Imperial Family and the Court nobles, who confined themselves within the narrow limits of the miniature-garden-like city of Kyoto, were so ignorant of the outer world that they looked down upon the eastern provinces as districts inhabited by barbarians, and nothing was more remote in their conception than an empire built on the sea. The ex-Emperor and his attendants naturally felt as if they were being driven into exile in a strange part of the world. Kiyomori forced upon them an entirely new situation, and the Fujiwara clan, who had been deprived of power and bitterly resentful of the Taira clan, could not remain inactive when Kiyomori was founding a sea capital and maritime empire by transferring the time-honoured capital to Hyogo. Even those of the Fujiwara family who had been cringing to the Taira clan were against the scheme and opposed it secretly and openly. By this time the fighting power of the Kofukuji Temple and Todaiji Temple of Nara, the Enjoji of Mii, the Enryakuji of Hiei, etc., had reached its zenith, and the Court was entirely at their mercy. They took advantage of the powerlessness of the Court and the nobles, and could carry everything their own way. After Kiyomori came into power, however, the Court became strong and was not willing to yield to the power of those temples, but often showed a defiant attitude. The temples, which had been dependent upon the Court and nobles for donations, and which had formed a ruling class with them, feared lest their income should be reduced considerably and they should be deprived of their governing position, if the capital were transferred to a remote district. They began to bear a deep grudge against the Taira clan and raised repeated opposition. All the temples became enemies, and the feeling of the Court was also against the Taira clan; and thus the founding of a new capital at Fukuhara gave rise on all sides to deep hostility directed against Kiyomori.

PRINCE MOCHIHITO RISES IN ARMS.—Prince Mochihito, the second son of the retired Emperor Go-shirakawa, who expected to succeed the Emperor Takakura when he became dangerously ill, became angered at the accession to the throne of Prince Kotohito, who was then three years old. This dissatisfaction, coupled with his indignation at the audacity of Kiyomori in confining his father, the retired Emperor Go-shirakawa, drove him to a desperate attempt to overthrow the Taira clan with the aid of the temples and the military forces of the Minamoto clan. The disturbances of Hogen and Heiji had dissolved the Minamoto clan and reduced their power to a considerable degree, but the family was then not quite extinct. There were still some with a little power all scattered in remote provinces. If united and placed under a single control, they could have secured power from the Taira clan. Minamoto-Yorimasa pursuaded Prince Mochihito to take up arms. The secret getting out, however, Kiyomori tried to send the Prince in exile to Tosa. He narrowly escaped, in the guise of a woman, to the Enjoji Temple, which sent a manifesto to the Enryakuji and the Kofukuji Temples urging them to rise in arms in alliance with them. Kiyomori, with an opportune donation to the Enryakuji, deterred it from responding to the call of the Enjoji, but the Kofukuji sided with the Enjoji in favour of Prince Mochihito. The forces were composed of more than 700 men. In addition, a body of about 1,000 soldiers was drawn from the followers of Yorimasa. When the Enryakuji, which had been bribed by Kiyomori to side with him, made an attack upon the Enjoji, the family of Yorimasa, with about 300 priests, decided to fall back on the Kofukuji in Nara, and on their way they encountered the Taira forces at Uji. They fought a desperate struggle by the river with an enemy composed of more than 20,000 men, but there was no contending against such odds, and they sustained a crushing defeat. Yorimasa died by his own hand at Byodoin, and Prince Mochihito was killed on his retreat to Nara by a stray arrow. The Kofukuji Temple had marched up its forces as far as the Kizu River to meet Prince Mochihito and his party, but when they heard of his death they withdrew and returned to Nara. Prime Minister Motomichi heard of the revolt of the temple and sent a messenger to pacify it, but the priests arrested him, used violence, and then set him free. Kiyomori searched for the author of the declaration which had been made by the Kofukuji in response to the call of the Enjoji, and in which Kiyomori had been bitterly impeached, and discovered that it was Shinkyu. But when he attempted to arrest him, Shinkyu fled to a northern province.

Yoritomo overthrows the Taira Clan.—Although Kiyomori at a stroke swept the opposition party from Kyoto and its neighbourhood, yet he could not altogether stamp out the power of the Minamoto clan which had firmly taken root. It is true that it was deprived of power in the central districts, but it still held its ground in the eastern provinces, and, as Kiyomori had been too eager in the pursuit of his policy of asserting his power on the south-western sea to care about the eastern districts, the Minamoto family in those localities were still in possession of the same power as in the bygone days.

As soon as he had crushed the forces of Prince Mochihito, he set about the extirpation of the Minamoto clan in the east in June 1180 (4th year of Chisho). Miyoshi Yasunobu, whose mother was a sister of the wet-nurse of Yoritomo, secretly sent his son Yasukiyo to Hojo in Izu to inform Yoritomo of the projected expedition of Kiyomori and enable him to provide against it. Yoritomo determined to take up arms against the Taira clan. To begin with, he set upon Taira-no-Kanetaka at Yamaki village, and killed him in August of 1180 (4th year of Chisho). Then, in October, he crushed the forces of Taira-no-Koremori on the Fuji River, and this marked the beginning of the decline of the Taira clan. In November the Enryakuji Temple of Hieizan aided Minamoto Yoshitsune, a branch of the Minamoto family in Omi, with its fighting forces, and in the next month the Kofukuji Temple rose in arms and rushed upon the Taira clan. When the clan marched on Nara in its counter-attack, the priest-forces built ramparts at Narasaka and Hannyasaka and made a desperate resistance, but with a large army the enemy broke through the ramparts, set fire to seven great temples, including the Todaiji, Kofukuji, and Daibutsuden, and killed more than a thousand people. Kiyomori died of illness in 1181 (1st year of Yowa), and when Minamoto-no-Yoshinaka's forces poured into Kyoto in July 1182 (2nd year of Juei), Taira-no-Munemori fled westward, taking the Emperor Antoku with him. The retired Emperor, who had taken refuge in Hieizan, returned and set Prince Takanari, the fourth son of the Emperor Takakura, on the throne. The new Emperor was called Go-toba. In 1182 (3rd year of Juei) Minamoto-no-Yoshitsune, the younger brother of Yoritomo, killed Yoshinaka in a battle, marched on to Fukuhara and routed the Taira forces, and on their complete annihilation in the battle on the sea of Nagato in 1185 (1st year of Bunji), Yoritomo, the Chief of Minamoto clan, gained possession of the reins of government.

CHAPTER XIII

THE SHUGO SYSTEM OF THE MINAMOTO AND THE HOJO REGIMES

Yoritomo might have led a Life of Leisure.—Yoritomo, who destroyed the Taira clan and established the foundation of the Minamoto Dynasty, was the third son of Yoshitomo, who had ruined himself by fighting with Kiyomori of the Taira clan in the war of Heiji. After the war of Hogen, when Yoritomo was only eleven years of age, Yoshitomo was promoted to the post of Left Chief of Imperial Guard and allowed to proceed to the Imperial Court to serve Princess Toshiko, who was the sister of the Emperor Go-shirakawa and the second empress of the reigning emperor. She was a vain, elegant woman and the leader of the fashion of the time. Once, when the Empress Kinko visited the Toshiko Palace, she wore a long crimson overdress and gay kimono with a pattern of red sumach and maple leaves. The sleeves were tenfold. Toshoko had found out what her visitor was going to wear and prepared white clothes with tenfold sleeves for herself. The lady attendants of the two also vied with each other in their gorgeous clothes. Yoritomo was placed in this Court atmosphere at the age of eleven. If the war of Heiji had not occurred, and if Yoshitomo, his father, had not been defeated, the son would have led an indolent Court life and been nothing more than an ordinary nobleman of elegant taste. But, fortunately for him, Yoshitomo was defeated and the little noble of twelve years old had to escape through the Omi Pass. He rode off under cover of darkness, killing the men who pursued him, but was separated from Yoshitomo's party and concealed himself among the peasants. He was finally captured by Munekiyo of the Taira family, who was moved to pity by his youth, and saved the boy from his death penalty. He was exiled to Hojo in the province of Izu. How he spent his life in Izu, how he raised his army, and how he conquered the Taira clan is well known.

The Ambition of Yoritomo was small at first.—Judging from his success, it may appear that Yoritomo had great ambitions and a natural administrative capacity, but it is more likely that the mere effort of escaping from the life punishment imposed upon him forced the growth of these talents. When Prince Mochihito bestowed on him the empty rank of Uhyoe-no-suke, he and his followers were greatly delighted with the appointment. The Uhyoe-no-suke was the Vice-Commandant of Imperial Guards' office, and his duty was to take charge of the outer guard of the Imperial Court. As Yoritomo was much pleased with this title, it may be presumed that he had but small ambition, was content with Court honours, and did not entertain any ideas of national conquest. In 1185 the Taira clan was completely defeated in the battle of Dan-no-Ura, and Munemori and many other chiefs were made prisoners. Yoshitsune, who was a brother of Yoritomo and commander-in-chief, sent them to Yoritomo at Kamakura.

Kwanto was like Old Germany.—Ever since the Nara period it had been generally believed that the brave warriors from the eastern districts never received wounds in the back, but always in front. They were noted for bravery, ignorance, and faithfulness, but the admiration given them was merely due to the fact that they were managed with ease either as individual persons or as a clan. The eastern provinces were, in fact, nothing but a barbarous region. Even during the middle ages of the monarchial era this region had retained the name of Azuma-Ebisu, or Eastern Barbarians, and was considered to be a mere colony when compared with the provinces in the neighbourhood of the capital. Its relation to the old country surrounding Kyoto was similar to that of barbarian Germany to the old Roman Empire. In these districts there were a few farms reclaimed in accordance with the Handen system of the Taika and Taiho reform, but most land had been reclaimed by the manorial system, and the local families had consequently attained great influence. When Yoriyoshi and Yoshiie of the Minamoto clan governed the eastern and north-eastern provinces, and were heads of the local government, many families in these eastern provinces presented their lands to them in order to become their retainers, and it was a natural consequence that the eastern region was under the influence of the Minamoto clan. In such a favourable region, with such faithful people, Yoritomo built his palace and started his Shogunate Government, assuming the post of the generalissimo for the subjugation of barbarians (Seii-taishogun). Though his position was, of course, that of a subject to the Emperor, the situation of the times made Kamakura the capital of the north, and the generalissimo was actual king in the north. Not all historians have understood this relation, and concluded that a generalissimo who did not obey the command of the emperors was a usurper. We must, however, understand that the eastern provinces formed a colonial land which was placed outside the Imperial power from the very start, as explained above, and if we clearly realize that the two different countries, the new and the old, vied with each other for power, perplexing questions concerning that period can be solved.

THE OFFICE OF GENERALISSIMO WAS NOT GRANTED BY THE IMPERIAL COURT.—In view of the condition of the eastern provinces, and the great influence enjoyed by the local powerful families, we may say that the powers of the generalissimo did not come from above but from below—that is to say, Yoritomo did not receive his power from the Emperor, but obtained it by the good wishes of the local influential families. In accordance with this line of reasoning, he was the representative of the local powers; and though his Government at Kamakura was somewhat in the form of an autocracy, it was in reality the Government of a military republic, where the patriarchal heads of provincial powerful families, who were the holders of wide manor lands, congregated and carried on the administration. The power of the Minamoto clan sprang from reclaimed lands and manors; and though, after his death, Yoritomo was succeeded by his sons Yoriiye and Sanetomo, the actual power fell into the hands of the Hojo, the Wada, and the Miura families, who were the holders of great manors. After the death of Sanetomo, nobles and princes from Kyoto were elevated by turn to the post of the Shogun, but they were simply puppet-Shoguns, with no actual influence, and all matters were decided by the joint counsel of the local families. Historians have been apt to deplore the fall of the ruling power into the hands of the people, and considered that it was an evil tendency for the lower classes to aspire to a ruling position, but the Shogunate of Yoritomo itself was the production of local influences, and when those who held the position grew old, and tended to favour Kyoto ideas as against the local, their power passed into the hands of the local families who had the closest relation with the soil. The history of the transition of power from the Minamoto to the Hojo, and then to others, shows clearly how strong was the local power which was based on the mother soil.

THE JEALOUS YORITOMO KILLED MANY MEMBERS OF HIS OWN FAMILY.—Yoritomo assumed the Shogunate with the tolerance of the local grandees, but he did not understand the circumstances in which he was placed, and believed that the Minamoto clan would be able to hand down its power to posterity. He endeavoured to remove, then, those whose existence he thought would endanger the safety of his Government. First of all he planned to destroy Yoshinaka, his half-brother, who had entered Kyoto and obtained power before him, and sent his two brothers, Yoshitsune and Noriyori, to conquer Yoshinaka, who was killed in Omi Province. This was when the Taira clan had not yet been entirely subjugated and had been raising troops. He caused the assassination of Yoshitaka, who was the son of Yoshinaka, and his own daughter's husband. He, moreover, killed his brother Yoshitsune, being envious of his renown as a great general. Another brother, Noriyori, was also killed by him as he suspected an ambition on his part to usurp his place. The same fate was in store for his relatives, generals, and old retainers who had done great deeds but had not been sufficiently humble before him. Jealousy and suspicion may have been his by nature, but they were deepened by his desire to retain power in the hands of the Minamoto clan permanently. He died at the age of fifty-two years in 1199 (1st year of Shoji), and was succeeded by Yoriiye, his eldest son. After all his efforts to perpetuate his clan, before the lapse of a year Yoriiye was confined by Hojo Tokimasa, the post of Shogun being filled by Yoriiye's brother, Sanetomo.

THE CAUSE OF YORIIYE'S CONFINEMENT AND ASSASSINATION.—History tells us that the confinement of Yoriiye and his subsequent overthrow from the Shogunate were due to his life of cruel debauchery. The record says that when he admired the beautiful concubine of his important retainer, Asachi Kagemori, he ordered him to proceed to Mikawa Province for the subjugation of banditti, and in his absence seduced the woman, with whom he dallied in the house of Ogasawara Nagatsune. All this is true enough, but it does not entirely explain his shipwreck. In 1199 sixty old generals and senior vassals at Kamakura gathered in the grounds of the Hachiman Shrine and jointly signed a memorial to the Shogun, complaining of the treachery of Kajiwara Kagetoki, and asking for the expulsion of such a wicked retainer. Kagetoki escaped towards Kyoto, but was killed on the road by some soldiers. In 1203 Hiki Yoshikazu, father of Wakasa-no-tsubone, who was a concubine of Yoriiye and mother of his eldest son, Ichiman, was indignant at the arbitrariness of the Hojo family and tried to expel them, but the Hojo were too strong for him, and Ichiman himself was killed during the disturbance. In the same year Yoriiye schemed to conquer the Hojo family by the help of his important vassals, Hori Chikaiye and Nitta Tadatsune, but these two were in their turn subjugated by the Hojo. The clash among the powerful families at Kamakura had gradually intensified, and Yoriiye was finally placed in a completely isolated position. Thus it was only natural that he was destined to imprisonment. But the chief reason why he lost credit with the generals at Kamakura, and why his presence was disliked by them, was due to the fact that he considered the estates of these grandees to be too extensive and planned to limit them. There was a man named Tayubo Gensei who was much favoured by Yoriiye on account of his skill in the game of football. He was also an authority on mathematics, and was able to tell the size of fields at a glance, never failing in the survey of dimensions. Yoriiye himself examined the registry-book of the estates of the grandees in all provinces, and ordered Gensei to calculate and make record of the lands bestowed on grandees since the time of Yoritomo. He wanted to effect a uniform revision, restricting each grandee's estate to 500 cho, and planned to confiscate to his Government all the excess lands above that limit. If the Kamakura Administration had not been of a republican nature composed of many grandees, and if it had been a purely monarchical Government, this plan might have been a wise reform, but as the Shogun existed only by the tolerance of the powerful families, no Shogunate Government could exist if it curtailed their power. Yoriiye planned this reform without paying due consideration to all the circumstances. The plan was more extraordinary and thoughtless than that of the Emperor Gosanjo, who established a registry office and tried to adjust the manorial lands of local grandees as well as of Government officials, and was much more against the general trend of the time. Hojo Tokimasa and other elder vassals attempted to dissuade him from carrying out his ill-judged scheme, and Yoriiye was much displeased and insisted on bringing up the matter again the next year. If the reform had been put into practice, the Hojo and other families would all have become landholders of but 500 cho or less, which would have necessitated a corresponding decrease in the number of their followers, with a consequent decline in their influence. Therefore, it was really a sort of revolution, and naturally Oye Hiromoto, Hojo Tokimasa, and others were keen for him to abandon the plan. They were successful for a time, but Yoriiye insisted on putting his idea through the following year, and they were forced to the belief that the existence of Yoriiye would endanger the prosperity of the powerful families. This was why, when Yoriiye estranged the friendship of the different powerful families, there was no one to support him, and he was confined until his death.

THE HOJO CLAN SATISFIED THE DESIRE FOR LANDS OF PROVINCIAL FAMILIES.—Yoriiye died during his imprisonment, and his brother Sanetomo became the Shogun, but he was assassinated by the Priest Kugyo, a son of Yoriiye, the legitimate line of the Minamoto clan thus being broken. Although the Minamoto clan was destroyed, the Kamakura Government lasted for the long period of one hundred and eleven years under the firm coalition of the Hojo and other families, which shows us that the Government itself was nothing other than republican in nature from its very beginning. How could this republican Government of powerful families maintain a peaceful reign over the country? It was solely due to the fact that its land system and the law of taxation were quite in accord with the desire of all the people. From the middle ages of the monarchial era, local families rose in all districts, extended their influences into neighbouring regions, and finally set up manors. Once the custom of the private ownership of lands and people was installed it spread with a rapid progress all over the country, and the institutions of Taika and Taiho were entirely destroyed. The principles of state ownership were gradually abolished, and the general trend of the time was conducive to the birth of the feudal system. The system might have been good or bad, but there was no time wasted in the discussions of the pros and cons, as feudalism was the general trend and the time for reasoned discussion was gone. In the time of Yoritomo and the Hojo clan, peace was maintained all over the land, because they had established the feudal system in accordance with this tendency. In these circumstances the aspiration of local grandees for the private ownership of lands and people was first uniformly recognized by the law, and these holders of private lands and people were subordinate to the Kamakura Government, who protected and controlled them. This great problem, which had been pending for three or four hundred years, was finally solved. The flood-water will find its way in spite of all obstacles, and will finally settle in the proper channel. The peaceful reign of over one hundred years by the Minamoto and the Hojo clans may be due to various reasons, but the most important cause was that they allowed the local powerful families to satisfy to the full their desire for the private ownership of lands and people. Thus was established the system of feudalism.

Conflicts between the Imperial Court and the Military Clans were of an Economic Nature.—The Imperial Family and the nobles related to it by blood, together with the group of their principal retainers, were named the Kuge, or the noble families; while the two families of the Minamoto and the Taira, with their partisans, especially after the Minamoto attained power, were called the Buke, or the military familes. Conflicts between the Kuge and the Buke were not first experienced in the Minamoto epoch, but the feeling between them became more intensified later. As the result of these conflicts there were many changes among state officials, including the posts of the Regent, Prime Minister, or Ministers of the Left or Right, and promotions or degradations in Court rank among high officials were common. It has been hitherto considered that these occurrences were episodes in the struggle for power, or the rise and fall of the Imperial or the military parties. It is, however, an axiom not confined to any one country that the power of any party or group comes from the right of revenue collection. If the power did not carry with it this right, no one would struggle for it; and even if there were such a struggle, it would be of no importance. The prosperity and decay of the Imperial power changed with the increase and decrease of the Imperial revenue and accordingly the conflicts between the Kuge and the Buke were not only of a legal nature, but also of an economic nature. This will be understood by those who have studied the history of the manorial development. In any time and in any country the ruling power means the right of revenue collection, and the usurpation of this right means an encroachment upon the ruling power. The history of Japan is no exception to this rule. When the manorial system was established in many districts, and the tax-free lands were increased, the Court was greatly alarmed at the decrease of its revenue and attempted frequently to abolish the system by the promulgation of laws, but with no success. The Emperor Gosanjo was most anxious to stop the development of manors, but his efforts resulted in driving provincial families into the arms of the two clans of the Minamoto and the Taira, under whose patronage they endeavoured to escape from the restrictions imposed upon them by the Imperial Court. The Court's chief anxiety had been how to control some provincial families who made partial and occasional intrusions on the right of revenue collection in different localities. Minamoto Yoritomo now held the whole land under his sway and set up the feudal system, whereby the encroachment upon the Imperial right of revenue collection became universally successful. The Minamoto's reign lasted only for three generations, covering a period of thirty-six years. This is no long space of time, but their epoch imprinted a striking mark in history, chiefly because the Minamoto clan established new officials called Shugo, or high constables, in each province, with Jito, or land-stewards, in each manor, and controlled the right of revenue collection in the whole land. Oye Hiromoto was the author of this radical departure from the old custom.

Objects of the Establishment of Shugo and Jito.—Like King Charles I of England, the two Emperors, Go-shirakawa and Go-toba, exercised the Imperial power to an autocratic extent, causing disturbances in their period and a split among the nobles of Kyoto and their partisans. Some, like Saigyo, famous priest, were afraid of the coming great disturbances and abandoned their conventional life, concealing themselves in the mountain regions; while others sided with the military families, with the hope of effecting a sound administration with the aid of the military class, to whom they would give the help of their profound learning. Oye Horimoto was an example of the latter class. He was a noble of high birth who had long perceived the corruption, avarice, and dishonesty in the administration of the Kuge class, and concluded in his mind that a military administration was the only way out of the mess. Upon the news of Yoritomo's rising in Izu, he hurried thither and offered him his services. In 1185, when Yoritomo expelled his relative, Yukiiye, and his brother Yoshitsune as enemies, and attempted to subjugate their partisans, Hiromoto presented a memorial to Yoritomo and persuaded him to establish Shugo, or high constables, and Jito, or land-stewards, in all provinces. In reality, the newly established Shugo were intended to supplant the provincial governors of the monarchial administration, and the several Jito placed under the Shugo were to control manorial and other lands. Thus the administrative organs of the Kamakura Government would supplant the old organization, and its final object was nothing less than the acquirement of the whole ruling power.

The Shugo and Jito System effected an entire change in the Country.—The power of Shugo and Jito thus established was first exercised in charging a uniform tax upon the state-owned lands under the jurisdiction of provincial governors as well as on the manorial lands in possession of nobles and high officials. First of all, Yoritomo installed the system of demma (post-horses) and ekiro (post-roads) in the provinces of the Tokaido district, and charged the military tax of rice upon the manorial lands along the main route, and then he dispatched Shugo and Jito into all the provinces. Shugo were appointed from among the retainers of the Minamoto or their partisans, and Jito were selected from the partisans of lower positions, and thus the Kamakura Government was enabled to sway the whole country from Kamakura. Manorial lands, which had been granted to princes, nobles, Court ladies, and temples, and were held free of all taxes, were placed under the control of Shugo and Jito, and became subject to the military tax of rice. Thus the situation of the whole country underwent a great change. Previously, when Kiyomori of the Taira took the power, the estates in the possession of his family and followers extended over thirty provinces out of the sixty provinces of Japan, including more than five hundred manorial holdings, and his influence alarmed the whole country. Even at that time there were many manorial lands of princes and nobles in these thirty provinces, and the holders claimed their historical rights. Thus, all the manorial lands were still free from taxation and the enormous estates of the Taira clan yielded no revenue to the Government. In the time of Yoritomo this characteristic nature of manors was destroyed, and the lands were made just the same as the common lands, being subject to the military tax as levied by the order of the Shugo and Jito. While this tax was called a military tax still, it was nothing but the ordinary tax in reality. The land system of Yoritomo was entirely different from the plan of the Emperor Gosanjo in this one point, that he allowed provincial families to feast their desire for the private ownership of lands and people, but was able at the same time to destroy the evil system of manorial lands, which were established for the purpose of escaping taxation by being placed quite outside Government jurisdiction. This important reform was an ideal that all the emperors had aimed to put into effect, but in vain. It was first realized in the time of Yoritomo.

POWERS OF SHUGO.—What authority was given to Shugo? There are two views, that from the legal institution and that from the practical side. From the legal point of view, as the duties of Shugo were to recruit soldiers and try rebels and murderers, the military and police authority was placed in his hands, but it seems that he was not allowed to interfere with the civil administration.

THE EXTENSION OF SHUGO'S AUTHORITY.—When viewed from the standpoint of the legal principle above mentioned, the Shugo appointed by the Kamakura Government was equal to a divisional commander of present time, while the provincial governor who was appointed by the Emperor at Kyoto was like a prefectural governor at the present day; and it seems to have been expected that the difference between the civil and the military authorities would have been maintained, but, in practice, it was not so, and provincial governors were interfered with by Shugo, and many of them lost their practical power; while Jito deprived the descendants of manorial holders of their power, and numbers were driven away from their lands. In so far as the establishment of the Shugo and Jito system was intended to insinuate the Kamakura policy into the monarchical organization, this motive came to sway the minds of Shugo and Jito, without any special encouragement. This was one of the chief reasons for the situation that arose. The second reason was that the existence of the Imperial Court, the backer of the provincial governors, depended upon the benevolence of the Kamakura Government, and naturally Shugo and Jito, under the Kamakura influence, increased their power. The third reason may be found in the fact that, in the still disturbed state of the country, the administration was chiefly concerned in suppressing insurrections, and it was only natural to see the civil power encroached upon by the military authority.

Provincial governors, moreover, were mostly appointed from among the officials in Kyoto, while Shugo, or their substitutes, were in most cases those who had previously settled in their lands. It was, therefore, natural that they should be a thorn in the sides of provincial governors. Deprived of the military and police powers in favour of the Shugo, provincial governors had charge of the civil administration only, and the authority of taxation in the civil administration fell into the hands of Jito who controlled the manorial lands and counties. Such being the case, provincial governors appointed by the Kyoto Court had no practical power in the administration, and their chief business was to receive a certain quantity of taxes, which they transferred to the Court and nobles at Kyoto.

SHUGO WERE MOSTLY LOCAL SETTLERS.—We have elsewhere mentioned how powerful the provinces were, as shown in the rise and fall of the Shogun at Kamakura, and now we see again their immense influence in the appointment and discharge of Shugo by the Shogun. The duty of Shugo was chiefly that of military administration, and it may seem that any soldier might be appointed to the post. But power has always, irrespective of its outer appearance, the economic interests of the people's life under its control. Especially is this so in remote districts, far from the Central Government, where legal orders were issued; there were many characteristic local customs, and a strong control was exercised by those who governed these localities in conformity with these customs. Therefore, when the Kamakura Government appointed Shugo, they were chiefly chosen from those persons who had a standing in the localities, making it clear that their power was not entirely due to being appointed Shugo or Jito. Provincial powerful families had close interests in their localities, and it was impossible to ignore them in the appointment of Shugo or Jito. Accordingly, the post of Shugo was bestowed upon such as had long been in charge of the local administration or lords who had a close relation with the locality.

THE PRESENCE OF DEPUTY-SHUGO.—It is superficial to conclude that the Shugo were limited to local grandees only, and there were no importations from other districts. The policy of the Kamakura Government was to appoint the retainers of the Minamoto clan to the post of Shugo in all provinces of the country. Though the Minamoto retainers were found in all eastern provinces, such old retainers were not numerous in western districts, and the authorities were obliged to appoint such officials from among grandees in other provinces who had recently taken sides with the Minamoto. In these cases the Shugo was not born in the province of his new jurisdiction, which was also not the place of his residence, and, as far as his direct control was concerned, it was a case of "a long whip goes too far to hit the horse's belly." For this reason his representative was chosen from the local grandees residing in his province. This representative was called the Shugo-dai, or Deputy-Shugo. When the Shugo was changed there was a new deputy, but all the deputies were chosen from the powerful families in the province in question. In numerous cases deputies were brought from other localities, but it proved a complete failure. To sum up, the post of Shugo had very close relations with the soil, and in the final event the two could not be separated from each other. The post of Shugo could not be held without the actual power in its locality, and in case a Shugo had little connection with his jurisdiction, and appointed a deputy from among the local grandees, his influence fast declined.

THE INCOMES OF SHUGO.—We will next see how much income the Shugo was given. Historians have heretofore agreed that he was given no legal income of a fixed amount, and that the attainment of the post did not mean that his livelihood was secured, but it is a hasty conclusion to say that there was legally no income allowed. It is absurd to suppose that the Shugo was responsible for the maintenance of peace and order, but had no regular income. During the Bunji era, Tsutsumi Tadasue, brother of Shimazu Tadahisa, was appointed the Shugo of Wakasa, and he was given for his services the manorial land of Imatomina in that province, which is the present town of Obama. During the Shokyu disturbance, Tadasue died in the battle of the Uji River, and his son Tadatoki assumed the post of Shugo, but the land of Imatomina was bestowed upon his widow, who was named Wakasani. Though this was only one example, we must believe that in other provinces also certain land was surely given to the Shugo as his salary at the time of his appointment. In the *Shikimokusho* it says : " In former times there were no persons who wished to become Shugo. If one became a Shugo, one was liable to painstaking labour in governing the province, but had little gain. Therefore no one was anxious for the position." This is rather an exaggerated statement, because the power of the Shugo was eagerly sought after by the warriors of the time, but it is true that it carried no great income with it. We must remember that in a time when the law was not strictly carried out, power was always a source of income. As the Shugo assumed the military authority, which could be said to be the supreme power in the province, and had the responsibility for the recruiting of soldiers as well as for the suppression of rebels and thieves, he could frequently levy various military taxes upon the pretext of the military administration in his province. As the power of military administration was in his hands, his influence would extend to the civil administration, and, as a natural result, he would finally trespass on the governor's rights. In the end, the Shugo, trespassing upon the authority of the Jito, assumed the duty of tax collection ; and when people were suspected of some crime, no thorough trial was given, but their lands were confiscated under certain pretexts and fell into the possession of the Shugo. In some cases the Shugo seized reclaimed lands or invaded manorial lands. In fact, by every means the Shugo tried to expand his influence and to increase his revenue.

Conflicts between Shugo and Jito.—The Kamakura Government established Shugo and Jito for the purpose of opposing the provincial governors and manorial intendants, but considered at the same time that it would be rather dangerous to give too much power to the Shugo, so the power of taxation was bestowed upon the Jito in order that the two might check one another. At first the Shugo and Jito worked in harmony against the encroachment and influence of the governors and manorial officials, but when their end was secured, the Shugo began to encroach upon the authority of Jito. From the later period of the Hojo Dynasty to the time of the Ashikaga Dynasty may be said to be the period when the influence of the Shugo overwhelmed the authority of the Jito, and the former began to assume the position of pure lords of the provinces and the latter only their subjects. We find also many Shugo who were also Jito.

The Dawn of the Feudal System.—During this time the word "fief" began to appear in documents, official and private, and the Shugo was not content with being merely the official in charge of the administration, and of receiving a certain quantity of rice as salary, but aimed at the private ownership of lands and people, like the feudal lords of later years. Such was the situation at this time. During the first period of the Minamoto clan regime the obstacles facing the Shugo were the provincial governors as well as the holders of manorial lands and their intendants, but these three classes soon wilted away before them, and the only obstacle in the way of the Shugo gaining more power was now the Jito, created at the same time as they were, and the Shugo devoted their utmost efforts to undermine the Jito's authority. Their best chance was the absence of the Jito, or the ejecting of him on some pretext or other, in which case the Shugo would assume for themselves the additional post of Jito. In fact, the men who were first entrusted with a portion of the administration began to regard their province as if they were feudal lords. It was not at all an uncommon practice for Shugo to confiscate lands from those who fell under suspicion for no good reason, or to hold in custody their wives and daughters, who were placed in the service of the Shugo.

The Shugo were like Feudal Lords.—It was, however, the tendency of the time that lifted provincial families into the possession of a county or a province and made them aspire to feudal lords, and nothing could stop this tendency. In no short time Jito became the retainers of the Shugo, who, in turn, began to confiscate all the land-taxes that had so far been levied by Jito. A very real cause for the increase of the Shugo power was that their post was maintained hereditarily. In so far as the family system was the foundation of the community, and the duty of fighting as well as the punishment of crime was allotted in conformity with this standard, it was only natural that official posts became hereditary positions. When the Kamakura Government rose into power, the campaigns were fought by soldiers who had hereditary connection with the Minamoto clan, and who were called the retainers of Kamakura, and, of course, the gains of victory were divided among these retainers. This was a very strong reason for the hereditary succession to official posts. It was considered advantageous in governing the people and to gain the confidence of the people. The Shugo and their deputies were the supreme organs who represented the Shogunate influence in provincial districts, and they would not be so likely to inspire respect if they were changed every few years, like provincial governors. But if the principle was clearly laid down that the Shugo were not liable to removal except for some serious offence, they would be at ease as to the future, and be able to treat the people and the land as they would their own possessions, and devote their best endeavours to building up a good administration. Shugo possessed a certain amount of lands where they enjoyed the rights of ownership, such as taxation, the recruiting of soldiers, and the civil administration, and besides they held the same power in the lands under their jurisdiction. The difference was that they could directly administer their own lands as their lords, while in the other case the administration was often effected through Jitos.

THE GOVERNMENT MACHINERY OF THE HIGH CONSTABLE.—The residence of the high constable was his government office, called the Shugo-sho. If the fief of the high constable was closely connected with the lands of his administration, all the affairs were usually carried on here. But in case a high constable was in charge of several provinces, he would remain in his own fief and not proceed elsewhere, but dispatch his deputies to govern in his place. The procedure was similar to that of provincial governors in the monarchical era, who stayed in the capital and sent out their deputies for the actual administration of their provinces.

LANDS OUTSIDE THE JURISDICTION OF HIGH CONSTABLES.—As fully explained above, the Shugo system was established for the purpose of such military administration as the recruiting of soldiers, inquiring into cases of insurrection and robbery, etc., but the Shugo, or high constables, had trespassed on the right of taxation originally allotted to the land steward, and in time assumed all the administrative authority, civil and military. Then, could the high constable extend his power into any lands under his jurisdiction? It was not always so. In any province there was a district which was exempt from the jurisdiction of the high constable, and his power was restrained in this sphere, where extra-territoriality was in force. For example, the manorial land of Sogabesho in Tango Province was outside the jurisdiction of the high constable. Again, the Jingoji Temple at Takao in Kyoto had Mongaku Shonin as the great priest of the Minamoto period. It was he who encouraged Yoritomo to raise armies, and, therefore, the temple had had close relations with the Kamakura Government. Because of this association the temple obtained a permit from the Kamakura Government that its domain should be exempt from the jurisdiction of the high constable.

THE ORIGIN OF THE EXEMPTION FROM THE SHUGO SYSTEM.—The origin of lands exempted from the Shugo jurisdiction was in the tax-free lands specified in the Taiho Ordinance. These were at first shrine lands, temple lands, and lands bestowed for highly meritorious service, but nobles and others established wide manors where no taxes were collected. This system had spread all over the country, and civil and military officials, as well as provincial grandees, vied with one another in the establishment of these tax-free lands. Now, in the Minamoto era, all the previous systems were destroyed, and manorial and private lands all became subject to the general taxation. Then nobles, Court ladies, high officials, and others lost their influence; all the land was placed under the control of high constables and land-stewards, and tax-free land became a thing of the past. But the Minamoto Government did not dare to include in this uniform system the manors belonging to temples and shrines, or those in the Imperial possession with a legitimate history, and they made an exception in exempting these lands from the Shugo jurisdiction. This was in pursuance of the policy of special respect towards the old regime so as not to disturb the public mind. The land system was then partially restored to the Taiho system, and the domains of shrines and temples were made tax-free land, with the new addition of the Imperial manors. It will be seen that the Imperial Court was able to retain a small privilege for historical reasons.

LANDS OUTSIDE OF THE SHUGO JURISDICTION BECOME LANDS FREE FROM TAXATION.—Lands outside the Shugo jurisdiction came in time to lose their extra-territoriality and unable to resist the control of the high constables. They became only tax-free lands and lost its local self-government. When powerful families began to establish the feudal system, the chief factor in this innovation was the power of the high constables. At the time when feudalism was the general tendency there was ample proof that the high constables would assume an increasing power in time, and, accordingly, the Kamakura Government devised the system of land-stewards for the purpose of restraining the expansion of the high constables' authority. But in practice this policy was of no avail, and in course of time land-stewards were made the retainers of the high constables, who usurped all their powers. Such being the case, extra-territoriality could not be maintained in the lands of temples and shrines or those of the Court, which became subject to the jurisdiction of the high constables, but they were for a long time exempt from taxation. As to the time when lands outside the Shugo jurisdiction became lands whose privilege was to be tax-free, it can but be supposed that this was effected towards the end of the Hojo period. After the middle of the Ashikaga period, when the high constables or land-stewards granted permits to temples and shrines under their jurisdiction, the permits contain simply the word "funyu." It meant only free from taxation. The present village of Funyuto in the suburbs of Tokyo was clearly formerly the manor of a shrine, and such names are found not only in the suburbs of Tokyo, but also in the provinces of Kazusa, Suruga, etc. They are all the remains of lands outside the Shugo jurisdiction.

CHAPTER XIV

JITO SYSTEM IN MINAMOTO AND HOJO REGIMES

FUNCTION OF LAND-STEWARDS.—The principal function of the Jito, the land-steward, consisted in the collection of taxes. There was, however, a long list of various other duties entrusted to him, including reclamation of waste land, regulation of public roads, control of barriers and ports, management of inns and markets, and the apprehension and judgment of criminals. The relation of the high constable to the land-steward, and their respective positions in the administrative system of the state, were that the former represented the power of the Central Government, exercising a part of the state power, while the latter constituted a local administrative organ and was merely an agency assisting the former, though he often performed duties similar to those of the former. During the Minamoto period, heads of military class secured their power not from the Central Government, as the Prime Minister, Ministers of the Right, and others did in the monarchical period, but it rested upon their own local estates. This was especially true of high constables, whose power was based entirely upon the military men whom they recruited in their manor.

Land-stewards were also appointed by the Central Government. They were either natives of the localities or had lived for many generations in their respective districts; and as their functions were similar to those of county chiefs in an early period, and of local chiefs in a later period, their positions were naturally of a local nature. Representing the power of the Central Government, a high constable had had under his control several provinces, or at least half a province, while a land-steward's power covered a far smaller locality, ranging from an island at the largest to no more than a few cho at the smallest. Their jurisdiction was for the most part limited to two counties, one village, half a village, two-thirds of a village, or one-third of a village. Thus a great disparity arose in course of time between the two classes of officials, and, after the middle period, the high constables rose to be feudal lords, and land-stewards became, as their subjects, Oshoya (grand village chiefs) or Shoya (village chiefs).

ALLOWANCES OF LAND-STEWARDS.—As the land-stewards represented the local power based on land, they drew an income in proportion not smaller than that of the high constable and closely connected with their power of taxation on the manor. Provisions regarding it were first made in 1185 (1st year of Bunji), in the Military Provisions Collection Order, by which the Kamakura Shogunate placed the provinces under the control of high constables and land-stewards, and collected 5 sho of rice from each tan of land in order to meet the war expenses incurred in the subjugation of Yoshitsune. Fifty bundles of rice plants were collected from 1 tan at the time when the Taiho Statute was inaugurated; and as 5 sho of unhulled rice was obtained from a bundle, the rate of taxation of 5 sho on a tan was one-fiftieth of the income. The collection of rice for military purposes was then called kacho (additional taxation). It was, however, not collectable from farmers in addition to the regular taxes paid to the holders of the estates, but was levied by the Kamakura Government upon the income of manor owners.

LAND-STEWARDS NOT DEPENDENT UPON FARMERS FOR RICE.—It was not the farmers but the owners of manors, many of whom were Court nobles who paid the tax for military provisions. On the inauguration of this system the Court nobles were completely upset at the unfavourable position they were placed in, and were led to suspect this as a scheme of the Kamakura Government to deprive them of their land under the pretext of collecting military provisions. Regent Kanesane felt so uneasy about it that he even took the earthquake, which occurred on the 20th of December, 1185, for an omen of the seizure by the warrior class of all the provinces, and prophesied that the country would be totally ruined by the following spring at the latest. This is cited among other incidents to show how the Court nobles were against the system, which was too hard for them to bear. Requests were repeatedly made to Kamakura to exempt from the taxation the manors of Takase and Kanzaki, along the Yodo River, which were under the direct control of the Court, and which felt an especial strain under the new system. There were many other estates which were put outside the operation of the tax by Kamakura at the request of the ex-Emperor. Among them were the Mike in Chikugo owned by Wada Yoshinori, the Abu in Nagato owned by Doi Sanehira, the Uragami in Harima owned by Kajiwara-no-Kagetoki, and the Soryo estate in Totomi owned by Itagaki Kanenobu. Petitions were so numerous that the Kamakura Government gave way to the complaints of the Court nobles and suspended the new system of taxation in February of 1186.

YORITOMO SECURED THE POSITION OF LORD HIGH CONSTABLE ON A COMPROMISE WITH THE COURT.—The abolition of the new system of taxation was effected as a result of a compromise between the Court and the Kamakura Government. Yoritomo instituted a system to place provinces under the control of high constables and land-stewards, and collect 5 sho of rice per tan on all the manors, but it was not enforced in all parts of the country. The Court was then powerless but still had some influence left, and, taking advantage of the situation, where the power of the Minamoto clan had not extended over all the districts, raised stubborn opposition to the new institutions of the Kamakura Government. A negotiation was carried on in 1185, and it was agreed that the Kamakura Government might enforce the new system of creating high constables and land-stewards and collecting military provisions in all the districts, except in the thirty-seven provinces around Kyoto. However, estates located in the above-mentioned thirty-seven provinces, if possessed by the Taira family, were not exempted, and it was understood that the new system would apply also to these estates, which the Minamoto clan laid claim to by right of conquest. Even after the above compromise was made the exempted districts were still subject to despotic treatment by warriors influenced by the Kamakura Government, which was, in some cases, even more outrageous than in other districts where the new system was enforced. Besides, repeated complaints were made by Court nobles of the collection of rice on their manors in the districts under the control of Yoritomo. Such being the situation, Yoritomo had to compromise with the Court, the new system of taxation being abolished on the one hand, and on the other the entire Empire brought under his control in February of 1186. On the 1st of the following month he was given the post of Lord High Constable over the sixty-six provinces of all Japan, and was allowed to instal high constables and land-stewards also in the thirty-seven provinces around Kyoto. Further, an order was issued by the ex-Emperor at the request of Yoritomo to subjugate Yoshitsune and Yukiiye, its application being expanded from the narrow limits about Kyoto to all parts of the country. In short, Yoritomo secured the post of Lord High Constable and obtained controlling power all over the Empire at the cost of giving up the new system of taxation. The manors held by Court nobles were said to number more than three thousand in the thirty-seven provinces exempted from the new taxation, and it was not without reason that the nobles had to set up the Court as a figure-head in their opposition to the direct control of the Kamakura Government. This goes to show that political disputes are invariably based on economical questions. The Kamakura Government was true to its promise and abolished the new system of taxation for military provisions. High constables and land-stewards in the local districts, however, were not willing to give up their power and lucrative positions, and continued the collection of rice as before. Their practice was complained of as unlawful seizure of property, but the Kamakura Government took no particular measures, only giving occasional instructions against the collection. Collection of rice was, therefore, allowed to exist as a matter of fact. It was apparently with the intention of abolishing the exemption of the thirty-seven provinces from new taxation that the Kamakura Government withdrew the system for a short period in 1186.

DISTURBANCE OF SHOKYU CAUSED BY STRUGGLE FOR INTEREST.—The Court nobles, who tried with petty intrigues to influence Yoritomo by appointing him Lord High Constable over the sixty-six provinces on condition that the rice taxation should be abolished, were in effect duped by him. It was impossible for the Court to reject any request for a governmental position made by Yoritomo, who had overthrown the powerful Taira clan which boasted of Kiyomori's holding the highest rank accessible to a subject, with many important posts held exclusively by the family. But Yoritomo was contented merely with the post of Lord High Constable, whose power was expected to extend only over manors. The Court nobles thought the post insignificant and felt relieved, but were quite dismayed when their rights over their respective manors were completely destroyed at a touch of his power. However, when the Minamoto clan became almost extinct after the three periods of Yoritomo, Yoriiye, and Sanetomo, and Fujiwara-no-Yoritsune was called from Kyoto to succeed to the post of Shogun, disquiet prevailed among the followers of the Minamoto family owing to the absence of central power, and the Court took advantage of this unstable situation to rise in arms to overthrow the Kamakura regime. The disturbance was called the war of Shokyu. Viewed from one standpoint, the disturbance was a political war fought to restore the royal power, but the immediate cause of it was the failure of the Court's attempt to displace the land-steward on some manors held by a favourite Court lady. Nothing is more preposterous than the attempt which was made by the Court to raise troops against the Kamakura Government because a land-steward encroached upon the manors which had been given to a professional dancing girl.

THE ENCROACHMENT OF HIGH CONSTABLES AND LAND-STEWARDS UPON ROYAL ESTATES AFTER THE WAR OF SHOKYU.—The Court was defeated in the war of Shokyu, and the Kamakura Government officially extended the system of war provisions taxation over three thousand estates located in the thirty-seven provinces which had hitherto been exempted from it. As has been stated, Yoritomo compromised with the Court, and withdrew the system of rice taxation in the 2nd year of Bunji, and obtained in return the post of Lord High Constable, holding the entire country of sixty-six provinces under his control, but he had not given official sanction to the collecting the tax from the thirty-seven provinces which then came into his direct control, although he installed high constables also in these districts, who were not all the followers of the Minamoto family. In the war of Shokyu, however, the Court nobles holding estates in these districts took the leading part in the attack made by the Emperor Juntoku upon the Kamakura Government. The Kamakura Government turned it to account, and placed all these districts under the control of high constables, who were its own followers, and began to enforce the system of taxation upon these districts, which had been called kacho (additional tax) instead of hyoro-mai (rice collected for war provisions) since the close of the war with the Taira clan.

Land granted to newly appointed Land-Stewards.—Land-stewards who might be newly appointed after the 2nd year of Teio were to be given, as their private land, 1 cho per 11 cho of manor under their control, and entitled to 5 sho per tan of the manor in remuneration. However, they might keep 5 sho of millet per tan only when the principal tax amounted to more than 1 to, and when it was less than 1 to they were allowed one-third of 5 sho; but the land and millet was paid to land-stewards, not by the farmers, but by the owners of the manor, and from the taxes collected by the manor officials. After July 1232 the power of land-stewards was extended in consequence of the war of Shokyu, and their allowance was increased to one-half from one-third. Formerly, land-stewards in those districts which had been placed under the complete control of the Kamakura Government were appointed mostly from among the influential grandees possessing land in their respective districts, and the allowance of 5 sho of rice per tan was deemed sufficient for them to control effectively the estates placed in their charge. But when the thirty-seven provinces, which had hitherto been exempted from the application of the new system, were controlled by the Kamakura Government as a result of the disturbance of Shokyu, land-stewards had to be selected to govern these provinces from among people in other districts because the native grandees could not be relied upon. As they were not natives, and had not their own land in the place where they were posted, they were allowed, as private land, 10 per cent. of every 11 cho of the districts under their control, in addition to the right of collecting 5 sho per tan. Beside this, the steward was given a part of the miscellaneous taxes. Such miscellaneous taxes as were collected from hunting and fishing were levied chiefly to constitute the income of the provincial governments, and with them the Kamakura Government did not interfere, except with the tax upon salt production, one-third of which was allowed to land-stewards. In July 1233, however, an order was issued whereby the taxes upon mountains and seas were divided into two equal parts, one of which was given to the governors of the provinces and the owners of the manors, the rest being allowed to the land-stewards, subject to an exception where contrary precedents were in practice.

PRIVATE OFFICIALS DEPENDENT UPON MANORS.—In the early development of the system of manors, their administrative organization was quite simple, and the owners, living for the most part away in the central districts, held their manors under control through several shoji (manor-superintendents) installed in them, whether in such manors as the owners had originally reclaimed at their own expense, or as they had tendered after reclamation to influential families in the central districts, to secure the safety of their position. In course of time a class of parasites grew and lived upon the manors. They called themselves manor officials in charge of the management of them, and these private officials were diverse in kind, most of the large manors keeping no less than twenty different officials. They were collectively called zassho (officials in charge of miscellaneous matters), and lived upon the principal taxes collected by the owners of the manors, with a fixed allowance.

CONFLICT OF INTERESTS BETWEEN LAND-STEWARDS AND MANOR OFFICIALS.—When the Kamakura Government decreed that manor officials were not entitled to a share in the principal taxes, and that land-stewards were to be given one-half of the income other than the principal taxes, it was rendered necessary for land-stewards to encroach upon the property hitherto allowed to manor officials. Protests were lodged successively, maintaining that the allowance to which manor officials had been entitled should be made from the principal taxes collected by manor owners, and not from the income, one-half of which went to the land-stewards.

To sum up, land-stewards were allowed as private land 1 cho per 11 cho of fields, and 5 sho of rice on every tan to be paid by the owners of manors, and were entitled to a share of the miscellaneous income in equal parts with manor officials, which was also an encroachment upon the privileges hitherto enjoyed by them. The addition of new items of taxation to the miscellaneous taxes already in force was forbidden.

MANORS OWNED BY TEMPLES EXCEPTED FROM CONTROL OF LAND-STEWARDS.—Thus Kamakura Government applied the system of high constables and land-stewards all over the Empire, but they hesitated to extend the control of land-stewards to manors held by temples, especially by such powerful ones as were located in Yamato, Yamashiro, and Omi Provinces, since they feared lest they should follow in the wake of the Taira clan, who had perished after a short period of prosperity owing to the enmity of the priesthood. Being aware of this, the priests behaved themselves quite overbearingly, and often threatened to march their forces to Kyoto. In 1236 there was an uprising of the priests of the Kofukuji Temple of Nara, who erected fortifications and defied the Government authority. When they refused to obey the command of the Kamakura Government to keep order, Yasutoki decided to appoint several land-stewards from among his bold retainers and instal them in Yamato Province to control the manors held by the temples. He had barriers fortified at several points and the supply of food cut off in order that he might fight successfully against the rebels and destroy them in case they rose against the authority of the land-stewards. Finally, the priests were starved into submission, and when they confined themselves within their temple grounds, devoting themselves to religious services, Yasutoki at once withdrew the land-stewards and returned the manors to the temples. In 1314 the Kamakura Government dispatched a land-steward to Nara when the adherents of the Kofukuji Temple were fighting with those of the Myorakuji Temple, but the priests and manor officials successfully opposed the installation of land-stewards in temple manors, maintaining that it had never been the practice to have their manors under the control of land-stewards.

Temple Manors usurped by Manor Officials.—The priesthood were thus successful in excluding their manors from the influence of the Kamakura Government, but the result was that the manors held by the temples of Nara came under the power of manor officials. Priests became dependent for assistance upon the manor officials, and those manor officials who had a large force at their disposal entered into league with each other to control effectively the temple manors. In the end the temple manors were divided among these families. Minor temples were also subject to usurpation.

It was natural enough that manor officials got hold of the estates, since they were the descendants of those who had tendered their reclaimed lands to temples or to courtiers to get exemption from taxes and labour collected by governors in the monarchical period. They remained in virtual possession of their property in their capacity of manor officials, either because manors had been expanded by temples or courtiers encroaching upon the neighbouring land held by the common people, or by infringing upon the neighbouring Government-owned land. Like those in the temple manors, manor officials installed in the remaining districts, who had for several hundred years been under the thumb of local governors, nobles, or temple authorities, gradually rose, with the appearance of the Kamakura

Government, into power based upon heredity and soil. Historians hold that power descended to land-stewards, but, in reality, it returned to its original holders.

CONFLICTS BETWEEN HIGH CONSTABLES, LAND-STEWARDS, AND MANOR OFFICIALS.—The political purpose of the installation of high constables and land-stewards was to insert a new system into the monarchical organization of administration in order to spread the power of the Kamakura Government all over the Empire, and displace the old system in course of time. It soon had the desired effect, and towards the middle of the Kamakura period local governors were almost entirely driven out of power, except in provinces remote from the central district. Manor officials, however, who either had firmly grasped the power in their native districts or were the descendants of the founders of estates, could not be readily rooted out, and numberless petitions and complaints were raised by those officials against the new system—so numerous that the Kamakura Government had to devote their attention almost exclusively to the settlement of these affairs. It is a mistake which historians seem to make to say that the Kamakura Government, with its powerful military force, carried everything its own way. On the contrary, manor officials in the estates of the thirty-seven provinces in the south-west offered a most vigorous resistance to the authority of the Kamakura Government, and did not easily yield, basing their defence on the ground of precedents and historical rights. These disturbances terminated in the war of Shokyu, but disputes based on precedents and rules and regulations rose successively in all the manors of the Empire. Disputes between land-stewards and manor officials were usually decided in favour of the former, unless they were charged with serious offences. Land-stewards availed themselves of this favourable situation for the expansion of their power and the promotion of their interests, and by the 13th century manor officials had been deprived of their power and interests by land-stewards, except in districts around Kyoto, where they still held their ground. The measures which land-stewards could resort to in extending their interests were :—

1. To deprive manor owners of their power of appointing and dismissing manor officials.
2. To seize the land of criminal farmers and confiscate it for their private ownership.

Manor officials were opposed to the first measure on historical ground, and to the second on the ground that land-stewards were not legally allowed to monopolize the confiscated land, but were entitled to only a share in it. Disputes as to this question constituted the greater part of the complaints brought before the Government for decision regarding manors. It is doubtful whether all the forfeitures that were so frequent were made in consequence of real offences of farmers, and it is most likely that they were made for the most part on the pretext of offences, merely to encroach upon their property. The age constitutes one of the most serious and terrible periods, viewed from the economic interests of farmers.

Distribution of Confiscated Land.—There arose a dispute in 1244 as to complaints against a manor held in Ushihara, Echizen Province, by Daigoji Temple in Yamato. An explanation of its settlement will serve to show the nature of the conflicts then numerous between land-stewards, manor officials, and farmers. One of the points at issue in the dispute was about the power of police, military administration, and legal judgment in the Ushihara manor. Morikage, a manor official representing the interests of the owner of the manor in question, maintained that the owner should be entitled to two-thirds of the power and the land-steward to one-third, while Shin-nen and Shiren, agent and messenger, respectively, of the land-steward, held that the power should be monopolized by the land-steward. The Kamakura Government decided in favour of the land-steward. It may sound strange to speak of dividing the power of the police, the military administration, and legal judgment into three parts, but it was in reality a question of whether the land-steward was allowed to keep as his private property the entire land and other property confiscated from criminal farmers, or whether he should give up a certain part of such forfeits to the manor owner. Another point in the dispute was the distribution of forfeits exacted in a murder case. Taro, originally a farmer of the Minami manor, and later employed, under the name of Juho-Hoshi, as a retainer by Meigo, secretary of the manor, became overbearing and arrogant in his attitude towards his employer and other manor officials. Consequently he was killed by a body of thirteen persons, including the manor officials, farmers, and koshi (the tax collector). The criminals involved in this murder were all prosecuted, and Shin-nen, agent of the land-steward, availed himself of this opportunity to seize more than twenty tracts of land under the control of these criminals, and crops from more than 100 cho of fields. The manor officials were opposed to this measure, holding that the land-steward should be displaced by another land-steward to assume the control of the manor; and that if the land was to be confiscated at all, it should be divided into three parts, two-thirds being allotted to the owner of the manor, and one-third to the land-steward. The Kamakura Government decided that confiscation should not be made, and that a new land-steward be installed to come under the authority of the manor owner and the high constable.

The third point at issue was the demand of the manor officials for the removal of Shin-nen, agent of the land-steward, because of his tyrannical behaviour which had driven not a few farmers from the manor, and the Kamakura Government ordered the land-steward to dismiss his agent in compliance with the demand.

It was not a general, but rather an exceptional, measure that forfeiture to a land-steward of land held by criminals was refused, which may be proved by the fact that by the period of the Ashikaga regime, which followed the Kamukura period, all classes of manor officials, including kobun, tsuihoshi, gesu, azuke-tokoro, and others, had disappeared, while land-stewards were still holding their positions in the manors. They had entirely absorbed the interests of manor officials, and thus also the rights of the manor officials to a share in the income of the manors in remuneration for their miscellaneous services. Although the absorption of the power of manor officials was an improvement, reducing useless machinery and thereby facilitating administration, from the political point of view, yet it was a most severe economical spoliation viewed from individual interests.

THE SECURING OF POWER BY LAND-STEWARDS FROM MANOR OWNERS.—Owners of manors, from the Royal Family to Court nobles and temples' authorities, all resided in the district which had Kyoto or Nara at its centre, and their manors were not controlled directly by them, but indirectly through manor officials installed in their respective estates. These manor officials, however, were thus absorbed or driven out by the land-stewards, and gradually passed out of existence. The only way left for the owners of manors to maintain any control was by their reliance upon land-stewards who had usurped their possessions. As time went on the power of land-stewards over manor owners increased, and about 1361 there were some land-stewards holding manors jointly with the owners.

CONTRACT SYSTEM OF LAND-STEWARDS.—Land-stewards had, in the 14th century, reached the highest point of power, but at the same time there were not a few manors which were controlled by contract. For instance, an agent contracted for the management of the Nishiwake manor in Sanuki Province at an annual salary of 100 kammon, with a surety attached to the contract. The agent was not in reality a Government official, but something like a trustee in civil law. Another record shows that the Masada manor was controlled by an agent on contract at 30,000 hiki yearly, and it was stipulated that the remuneration should be payable at Kyoto, so that it could not be reduced in sum *en route*.

Post of Land-Steward put up for Sale or made a Gift.—The expansion of the power of land-stewards and the corresponding decline of manor owners affected not a little the situation of the former. They had to exert themselves strenuously as a politico-economical factor to cope with their rival manor owners, as long as the latter were in power. However, when manor owners declined in power, the post of land-steward came to be regarded as a means of livelihood for warriors of the Kamakura party, and it was often made a gift of or put up for sale as a lucrative sinecure. Manors were given to temples as a means of income during the monarchical administration period, and the post of land-stewards was now turned from a position charged with the transaction of local administrative affairs into a means of livelihood and looked upon as property.

Female Land-Stewards.—According to a certain record in the province of Tajima, a daughter of Kamada Shinzaemon-no-jo was the land-steward of the manor of Chokodo in Asakigun, the owners of which was Rokujo Chusho, and 76 cho 7 tan 60 bu of the estate of Ami in the same county was controlled by the wife of Nakakado Shiro. The Daido manor was managed also by the wife of Sado Nyudo Zenkai. In 1229 there was a female land-steward, Izu-no-tsubone by name, in the Takakawa manor owned by the Mishima Shrine of Izu Province. Since the post of land-steward was not a question of administrative affairs, but of taxes and other incomings, it was naturally regarded as a sinecure and made a present of to the relatives of those already in office. There were not a few land-stewards who went so far as to surrender their posts to creditors in payment of their debts.

Confusion of the Land System dispelled by the War of Onin. As the post of the land-steward was thus made a gift of or put up for sale in payment of debts, the system underwent a radical change. After the war of the South and North Dynasties, land-stewards and their agents began to seize upon the manors in their charge. When the war of Onin broke out in 1467, the whole country was thrown into disorder and connection was cut between manors and their owners; in fact, manor owners almost completely lost control of their local possessions, and land-stewards, their agents, or high constables occupied the manors and came into complete ownership. The confused system of land control under which an owner residing in Kyoto, his native land-steward and manor officials each had a claim on a single estate, was then eliminated, and finally manors became fiefs.

Manors have generally been called fiefs because land-stewards had their own private estates in the manors in their charge and exercised complete power of taxation, but these were not, properly speaking, fiefs. The situation, however, was far on its way toward the complete formation of fiefs, and it was after the war of Onin that the fiefs system was finally established. The war of Onin, therefore, effected in reality the adjustment of the land system, and the solution of a great problem which had remained unsettled for seven hundred years since the inauguration of the Taiho Institutes.

CHAPTER XV

THE HOJO EPOCH

President of the Military Republic Government.—The Minamoto Government lasted only twenty-nine years, from 1192 (3rd year of Kenkyu), when Minamoto Yoritomo assumed the power of the Shogunate, to 1219, when his son Sanetomo was killed. The Minamoto lasted only three generations, and were then put into the background by the Hojo clan, the head of which became the Regent, and took charge of all the administration, as if he were the Shogun. During this period nobles and princes from Kyoto were nominated Shogun, but the actual administration was in the hands of the Hojo clan. In the period of land economy, when the lords had possessed extensive manors and maintained their families and followers, their economic influence and vast fighting power brought the actual authority of administration into their hands, a clear proof of how strong the power of the soil is. The authority of land-steward, that of high constable, and that of the generalissimo, were not the gift of the sovereign, but were all born from the soil. A federation of all these great and small lords with deep local roots was the Kamakura Government, which might, therefore, be called a military republic, with the head of the Hojo clan elected president by these lords. In so far as the position of the Hojo was only a presidency without the historical power of the Court or the superstitious worship of the people for the Court nobles, they had to rely only on the lords and military classes, and this support was dependent on good administration. Consequently their principle was to be impartial, efficient, and courageous, as well as uncovetous, in their administration, and their government was the most admirable in the history of Japan.

The Disturbance of the Shokyu Era originated with a Dancing Girl.—The nobles in Kyoto, who were thoughtless and avaricious as well as loose and cunning, did not realize the situation, and believed that even a bad administration could upset a good administration if they made use of the name of the sovereign. They planned to overthrow the Kamakura Government when the Kamakura people were unsettled, after Sanetomo had been murdered and Fujiwara Yoritsune, the young noble, was called from Kyoto to be Shogun. The approval of the ex-Emperor Go-toba to this undertaking was due to the fact that he had given to a dancing girl called Kamegiku the manors of Nagae and Kurahashi in Settsu, but the land-steward of these manors treated her with contumely, and she did not get any share in the taxes from these manors. In great anger the ex-Emperor ordered the Kamakura Government to dismiss the steward from the post. Regent Hojo Yoshitoki conferred with Hojo Tokifusa and others on the matter, and caused Tokifusa to report to the ex-Emperor that the land-steward could not be dismissed. Monarchical government at this time was somewhat similar to that of modern Korea before the annexation. The girl Kamegiku had the *entrée* of the ex-Emperor's Court, and had been given the title of Iga-no-tsubone. She was under the patronage of the Court just like the official singers of the old Korea. To slight this woman was making light of the sovereignty, and if in such an insignificant affair the Imperial wishes could not be complied with, the Kamakura Government could not be allowed to continue its existence. This was probably the line of reasoning. The ex-Emperor Tsuchimikado disagreed, and was against the resort to arms over such a trifle, but the Emperor Juntoku supported Go-toba, and the affair was brought to a head. In 1221 (3rd year of Shokyu) the ex-Emperor Go-toba gathered warriors, on the plea of the archery meeting of the Jonanji Temple, from fourteen provinces of Western Japan, in all, 1700 men, and ordered Fujiwara Hideyasu, Governor of Noto, to attack the Resident-General for Kamakura in Kyoto. The support of various temples in Yamashiro and Yamato was bought with the promise of heavy rewards, and the Court distributed a manifesto among the eastern districts through a carrier named Oshimatsu. Thus the Court was able to gather more than 10,000 soldiers in Kyoto.

Personages of the Government and its Position.—The Kyoto nobles altogether misunderstood the public sentiment towards the Kamakura Government, and the fact that the Shogun did not belong to the Minamoto family had little effect upon the firm union of the Kamakura people. Neither must the immense influence of the lady Masa, widow of Yoritomo, be overlooked, known, as she was, as the female Shogun. Masa married Yoritomo in 1180, and later became notorious for her jealousy and impetuosity. Had she been an ordinary kind of woman she would have been considered a common scold, but she had a masterful spirit, far surpassing that of many men. In this heroic spirit she watched the Hojo with a hawk's eye and forced them to accomplish the work left uncompleted by her husband. When the lady Masa went up to Kyoto, in April 1218, on a visit, the ex-Emperor Go-toba wished her to have an audience with His Majesty in the palace, but she refused such an honour on the ground that she was only an old country woman, and had no claim to be received in audience by the majestic sovereign. In fact, she packed up her luggage and at once left the capital for Kamakura. Such was her dauntless character, and, therefore, she was called the female Shogun by the generals of Kamakura. When the news of the ex-Emperor's expedition reached him, Yoshitoki summoned the leading generals for a conference as to the plan of dispatching troops to Kyoto. The lady Masa attended the conference and addressed those present with burning tears. They were all greatly moved and started on the campaign with valorous intent.

EXILE OF THE EMPEROR AND THE EX-EMPERORS.—The Court had no chance with its undisciplined forces against the brave warriors of Kamakura, but the fighting extended over the provinces of Echigo, Etchu, Omi, and Owari, by no means entirely by the Imperial command. The Court endeavoured to retain authority over manors as long as possible, while Kamakura was eager to encroach upon it. In this conflict of rights and interests, lords of manors who had hitherto owed allegiance to the Court had a common interest with it, and could only follow in its footsteps in the attempt to overturn Kamakura. The Kamakura forces marched on by three routes, crossing the Uji and Seta Rivers, and finally entered the capital. The Imperial generals had already proceeded to the palace to report to the sovereign the defeat of the Imperial armies, but the ex-Emperor Go-toba would not admit them, and closed the gates, at the same time sending an Imperial messenger to Hojo Yasutoki, commander-in-chief of the eastern forces, and explaining that the scheme had not originated in the Imperial wishes, but been entirely due to his villainous retainers. Nevertheless the Hojo exiled the ex-Emperor Go-toba to the island of Oki, and the ex-Emperor Juntoku to the island of Sado, leaving the ex-Emperor Tsuchimikado untouched. Tsuchimikado said that he could not remain in Kyoto when his father and brother were banished to distant islands, and the Hojo tried in vain to dissuade him. He went to the province of Tosa, and later was transferred to the province of Awa, being treated much better than the other two. The three sovereigns died in their places of exile. This conflict was called the Shokyu Struggle.

SO-TSUIHOSHI, SHUGO, AND JITO.—When Yoritomo annihilated the Taira clan, more than thirty provinces in the possession of the Taira clan fell into the hands of the Kamakura Government as the spoils of victory. Then Shugo and Jito, high constables and land-stewards, respectively, were appointed from among those powerful families who had been faithful to the Kamakura cause, and they were stationed in different provinces and districts. The Kamakura Government ordered that 5 sho of rice per tan should be paid to the land-steward from all the lands, official or private. Yoritomo had intended to place the sixty-six provinces of the whole country under the jurisdiction of the high constables and the land-stewards, but the Court would never sanction this system. At this juncture the partisans of the Taira still remained in various districts, even after the downfall of the clan, and it was, therefore, considered rather dangerous to court the exasperation of the Emperor and nobles. Yoritomo accordingly refrained from appointing land-stewards to the thirty-seven provinces in Western Japan which had been placed under the administration of the Imperial Court. It was decided to wait till the time was ripe, but the opportunity had not arrived before the Minamoto reign came to an end. Now that the opponents of Kamakura were entirely defeated in the Shokyu Struggle, all the land belonging to the nobles who had participated in the conspiracy were confiscated, with the exception of manors in possession of the Court, shrines, and temples, and the land-stewards of the Kamakura party were appointed in all the thirty-seven provinces. Now for the first time was realized the scheme of Yoritomo, that land-stewards should be stationed in all provinces of the country, and thus the whole land should be under the administration of Kamakura.

WHY THE HOJO DETHRONED THE SOVEREIGN.—There had been not a few instances of conflicts between the sovereign and the subjects, but it was an extraordinary event for the Hojo to banish three ex-Emperors, and their action has caused much discussion. It should be noted that Hojo Yasutoki, who was the leading figure in this event, was the most unselfish member of the Hojo family; and when the lands of the nobles were confiscated, and rewards were given in recognition of meritorious service in the struggle, he acquired for himself not a single inch of land in addition to his former domains. He was also most intelligent and well versed in all affairs of state. If, therefore, a man of this kind dared to take such grave steps, we must not look for any selfish reason. When a certain saintly priest, Myoe of Toganoo, near Kyoto, reproached Yasutoki with suppressing the Imperial Court by means of military power, he opened his heart to the saint as follows:—

> The Court's administration had degenerated. The loyal and the faithful were not recognized, and often the innocent were subject to punishment. All the provinces were in disorder, and the people suffered a great deal. A family against whom no grave misconduct could be alleged was deprived of its hereditary manor; the reward given in the morning was taken back in the same evening, and the land bestowed yesterday was subject to change to-day. To many a county or a manor there were three or four claimants, and fighting never ceased. There were ronin everywhere, and robbery and piracy were rife. Therefore, the people could enjoy no peace of mind, and the highways

were almost deserted by travellers. Moreover, there were many who suffered from hunger and cold, and numberless people were victims of evil diseases. This lamentable state of affairs had lasted three years, and the Kamakura Government has been profoundly grieved by this deplorable condition. There was no general peace, and all the people, high and low, were in great misery, while the districts under the control of Kamakura were prosperous, without feeling any of the uneasiness due to the Imperial administration. If the Court had all the country under its control, unhappiness would become universal, and the whole nation would be cast into turmoil and protest against the misrule. He, Yasutoki, did not obey the mandate for selfish purposes, but would insist upon it in the cause of the public. For the sake of the people he would never hesitate to sacrifice his life.

Thus it will be seen that the conditions of the time were so much confused owing to the misrule of the Imperial Court that it was urgently necessary to sweep away all the evils by means of the military administration.

The Hojo Clan eagerly set up its Institutions.—As the land-steward system was put in force all over the country for the first time during Yasutoki's regency, so it was in his time that the legislation of the Kamakura Government was completed on a fine scale. Of the institutions set up at this time, there was a code called the Joei Shikimoku, promulgated in 1232 (1st year of Joei era), which was for long the model of legislation for the military Governments in later periods. The monarchical Government established the Statute of Taiho during the Taiho era, to which some addition was made in the Konin era, with a further supplement in the Enki era. Monarchical legislation had been based on the Statute of Taiho, and the code had been the model of the national legislation during five hundred years, from 801 to the Kamakura period. But during this period there had been great changes, both political and social, and it was quite clear that the old system could not meet the requirements of the new times. However, peace had not long been enjoyed, and there had been few statesmen who had a truly patriotic spirit. During Yasutoki's administration peace reigned throughout the country, and Yasutoki compiled the Joei Code. The code was originally established for the purpose of controlling the Kamakura military men, but, later, it was applied to the general public, and orders were issued to provincial governors, high constables, and land-stewards all over the country to produce the list of lands under their jurisdiction, and those lists were recorded in one registry-book, named the Nippon-koku Taiden-bun, or the Land Record of the Japanese Empire. Since the distributions of kubunden, or allotted land, according to the Statute of Taiho, manors had sprung up in all districts, and no land registry had been kept in the Court for more than four hundred years. Now again it was compiled. The thoroughness of the administration of the time will be seen by the fact that in Yasutoki's regency was promulgated a maritime law which contained a regulation as to the principle of general average in the modern sense of the term, and this law existed for a long period, from the Hojo epoch, through the Ashikaga age, and then up to the end of the Tokugawa Dynasty, all the ship-owners, shippers, and sailors being placed in a self-governing administration.

Above all, the people of Kamakura in the Hojo epoch were frugal and moderate as well as valiant and rustic, and consequently there was no such ostentation and splendour of life as in the monarchical period; but the era had a certain civilization of its own, as may be noted from the single instance in that paper currency was in circulation during this period.

THE CULTURE OF THE HOJO CLAN.—Yasutoki was succeeded by Tsunetoki, and the latter by Tokiyori. Each of them was a great figure of his own time, and there had been no precedents to the Hojo reign, in which peace was maintained over a hundred years and full protection given to life and property. One of the reasons of success may be that the Chinese literature, taught by the priests of the five great temples at Kamakura, was widely propagated among the military men of Kamakura. After the death of Yoritomo, the widow Masa was often obliged to take charge of the administration. She asked Sugawa Tamenaga, a noble in Kyoto, to make a Japanese translation of the *Jokanseiyo*, a compilation of records and anecdotes of famous Chinese statesmen, as she wished to follow the good administration of the Jokan period. The Hojo family became modest and steady, while the military men all submitted joyfully to their administration, and the whole country was peaceful and prosperous. If there were any disturbances during the epoch, they were only the reckless movements frequently made by the priests of Nara for the purpose of expanding their manor interests.

REMOVAL OF THE SHOGUN BY TOKIYORI.—In 1243 (1st year of Kangen) Regent Tsunetoki decided, in conference with his brother Tokiyori, to depose Yoritsune, asking him to retire from the Shogunate in favour of his son Yoshitsugu. Eighteen years had passed since Yoritsune came to Kamakura, and his personal influence had increased yearly, some generals of Kamakura being ready to offer him their services. Before the deposition, Kujo Michiie, of the Fujiwara family in Kyoto, and grandfather of Yoritsune, was on the most intimate terms with Kamakura, and thus the Kujo family enjoyed the greatest influence, and was most prosperous for a time. But after Yoritsune was deposed and sent back to Kyoto, Michiie felt slighted, and planned to sever the relation between Kyoto and Kamakura. Thereupon Tokiyori took steps to keep up his friendly connection with the Court through the Saionji family, who, in their turn, became the most influential figures in the Court, and were greatly envied by the Kujo and others who once had risen to power because of their intimacy with the Hojo. This gave rise to conflicts among the Court nobles, as a result of which the following classification was made. The five families of Kujo, Nijo, Ichijo, Takatsukasa, and Konoe were called the Gosekke, or the five regent families, as they would hereditarily hold the post of the regent to the sovereign. The families of Saionji, Sanjo, Tokudaiji, and others were all granted family positions in accordance with their respective hereditary official posts.

DISTURBANCE AT KAMAKURA.—The Emperor Shijo, a boy of twelve years, fell downstairs while playing with some lady attendants and was killed. After his demise, the Court nobles attempted to set on the throne the son of the ex-Emperor Juntoku, exiled to the island of Sado. On receiving this news Yasutoki sent Yoshikage to Kyoto in order to participate in the choice of the new sovereign, the Regent's intention being to set up Prince Kunihito, son of the ex-Emperor Tsuchimikado. He told Yoshikage that if the son of Juntoku had already become the Emperor, he should dethrone him and set up Prince Kunihito. When Yoshikage reached the capital the matter was fortunately not yet decided, so he enthroned Prince Kunihito, who was called the Emperor Gosaga. After a reign of four years, Gosaga gave up the throne to his second son, Hisahito, who became the Emperor Gofukafusa. His real favourite, however, was his third son, Tsunehito (later Emperor Kameyama), and he decided that the throne should be succeeded to by the descendants of Prince Tsunehito, while the family of Gofukafusa should be given the one hundred and eighty manors held by the Court. This caused a struggle in the Imperial Family, followed by conflicts among the Court nobles, and a dark cloud began to overshadow the country. At this juncture Shogun Yoritsugu was deposed and the post was given to Prince Munetaka, a son of the ex-Emperor Gosaga.

THE ITINERANT TOUR OF TOKIYORI.—Tokiyori succeeded to the post of Regent in 1246, and abdicated in 1256. During the eleven years of his regency the whole country was in good order, with the exception of a small rebellion in Kamakura and a conflict in the suburbs of Kyoto between the two temples of the Kofukuji and the Enryakuji. Tokiyori studied the political history of China under the instruction of the priests of the five great temples, and firmly believed that the prime necessities of administration were the virtues of unselfishness and frugality on the part of the Regent. He lived up to his belief and showed so good an example to his family that no one could find fault with him in this respect. But it is considered that his methods of administration were carried rather to extreme lengths in some cases. In September, 4th year of Kencho, he issued an order prohibiting the sale of wine in the provinces under the direct administration of Kamakura, and by his order the 37,274 bottles of wine kept in stock in the wine-shops in and out of the town of Kamakura were broken, with an allowance of one bottle to be retained in each shop. As there had been a great number of Chinese vessels calling at the ports of the south-western provinces, he ordered that not more than five ships should be allowed to enter per year, and those outnumbering the limit should be liable to destruction. Too many is as bad as too little may be a sound rule, but yet his methods were somewhat drastic. After he took the tonsure and entrusted the office of Regent to Nagatoki, he disguised himself as an itinerant priest and travelled throughout the provinces, observing the state of the local administration as well as the change of customs and manners of the people, and reported the real conditions to the Regent of Kamakura. In consequence, all the high constables and land-stewards were very cautious as to what they did, and there were many instances of secret complaints made public and remedied. It could not be expected that a single man's researches could put everything right and cast light on all the dark places, but the knowledge that a quiet, impartial man, with great power, was secretly travelling from one place to another as invisible as the wind, and observing everything with a hawk's eye, was a great relief to the people at large.

Tokimune also deposed the Shogun.—In June 1266 Hojo Noritoki, Priest Ryoki, and others, who were on intimate terms with the Shogun Munetaka, secretly planned to raise troops and to overthrow Tokimune, the Regent, but the latter discovered the scheme and sent Munetaka back to Kyoto, depriving him of the Shogunate. Then he chose Prince Koreyasu, son of Munetaka, for the post.

The Emperor of the Yuan Dynasty wanted to have Japan under his Suzerainty.—About this time, in the continent beyond the Japan Sea, the Mongols invaded the middle kingdom and overthrew the Sung Dynasty. They established the Yuan Dynasty with their capital in Peking, and swept away even the barbarians in the south-western provinces. Korea also fell under their sway. The Mongol Emperor wished to include Japan among his tributary countries and sent a message to Japan asking for envoys to be dispatched to his Court. This took place in the year after Tokimune deposed Prince Munetaka.

There was a certain Gyofun in Korea who had been a priest at one time, but returned to secular life, left his own country, and entered

Mongolia. He was a clever linguist and had a thorough knowledge of Japan, and making frequent visits on the Yuan Emperor Kublai Khan he gained his full confidence. He suggested the idea of the conquest of Japan, and the Yuan Emperor began to want to include Japan among his tributary states. In November 1266 he sent Kokuteki and Inkoku to Korea, and ordered the Korean King to dispatch a Korean suite to accompany the two envoys to Japan. The Korean King knew the attempt would fail, but was forced to carry out his orders, and in January 1267 he dispatched his vassals Sokunhi and Kinsan to lead Kokuteki and his party to Japan. The party was met with a tempest at Kyosai Island, and they returned on the plea of a rough sea. The Yuan Emperor suspected that the Korean messengers were purposely avoiding the trip to Japan, and reproaching them for the non-accomplishment of their duty, and against all advice, ordered the Korean King to arrange the transport to Japan. Consequently the latter dispatched his vassal Shinfu, and the party finally reached the Governor-General of Kyushu.

TOKIMUNE MADE NO REPLY TO THE YUAN EMPEROR.—The Korean King's letter of introduction ran as follows :—

> The Yuan Emperor in requiring intercourse with your country has not been actuated by any purpose of obtaining profit by your tributes, but his sole object is to enlarge his vanity. Such being the case, he will treat you with much courtesy if you will accept the invitation.

At this time Hojo Tokimune, seventeen years old, was Regent, and he first of all showed the Mongol message to the Court. The Court nobles held a conference and made Suga Naganari compose a reply, which they ordered Tokimune to deliver, but Tokimune refused, saying that the Mongol letter lacked courtesy, and it was no use to make a response to such a letter. He summoned the Korean messenger, Shinfu, and told him that as the Mongol letter was not composed in a ceremonious way, he would give no answer to it. Thus the envoys were sent back without any letters. The province of Sanuki had then naval forces, and the Regent at once ordered the vassals in Sanuki Island to make preparations against the Mongol invasion.

THE FIRST MONGOL INVASION.—The Yuan Emperor was stubborn in his wish for Japan to give in. In 1268 he again forced the Korean King to dispatch another embassy, guiding the Emperor's envoys, Kokuteki and Inko. They came to the island of Tsushima, but as the islanders refused them entrance, they took away two Japanese named Tojiro and Yajiro. The Yuan Emperor gave an audience to the two and treated them kindly, but by this time he had come to a decision to subdue Japan by force, and he ordered the Korean King to make war-like preparations. He also sent out General

Dattaru, and several other warriors, who travelled about on the sea between Japan and Korea with the special mission of studying strategy and forming a plan. On the other hand, he ordered the King of Korea to escort the Mongol envoy, Choryohitsu, and his party of 100 men to Japan. These men stayed over one year in Kyushu, but were obliged to return without any answer. During this time their generals frequently traversed the channel between Japan and Korea, and with the knowledge of geography thus obtained, they made the island of Terra their headquarters. When Choryuhitsu returned home and intimated that Japan would not make any response to the message of the Yuan Emperor, he saw that there was no other way but a demonstration of force. In October 1274 he dispatched a flotilla of 900 vessels with 115,000 troops, Mongols and Koreans, and they began to attack Tsushima Island. The Governor of Tsushima, So Sukekuni, and the Japanese general resisted them with their few troops, but the whole army was totally overwhelmed, and the two generals fell in the battle. The Mongols landed on the island and plundered the whole place. Then they conquered the island of Iki, murdering men and capturing women, after which they proceeded on to the province of Chikuzen. They invaded Hakata, Hakozaki, Imatsu, and plundered the country, killing men and capturing women as in Iki. Suketsune, his son Tsunesuke, his brother Sukemori, and other chieftains offered a defence with about 5,000 soldiers gathered from various points in Kyushu, but were completely outnumbered by an enemy who fought on a system against which individual bravery was useless. A battle-field was regarded by Japanese as an arena for the display of individual prowess, but when a Japanese proceeded, calling out his name, to defy one of the enemy to a single combat, he would be surrounded by 1,000 soldiers, and had no chance to display his personal valour. In addition, the firearms used by the Mongols had never been seen by Japanese soldiers, who supposed the firing to be something like thunder. In spite, therefore, of the bravery of our men, they sustained a severe defeat and were obliged to retreat. They were, however, fortunate to escape from a graver peril, as Kagesuke shot Ryofukutei with an arrow, and the Mongol army became short of ammunition and withdrew to the coast. At night a fierce gale arose and many vessels of the enemy were dashed against the rocks and destroyed.

TOKIMUNE INTENDED TO INVADE CHINA.—Though the battles of Chikuzen, Tsushima, and Iki ended in Japanese failure, yet they left on the Mongol army a profound impression of the bravery of the Japanese soldiers, and they awoke from their dream that the news of the advance of the great Mongol and Korean army would drive every enemy to surrender just as the wind causes the grass to bow before it. The Mongol Emperor now considered it no easy work to conquer Japan, and in 1275 he sent another embassy, consisting of Toseichu (Mongol), Kabuncho (Han), and Santorotei (Tartar and Mohammedan), who brought his state message to Japan. They landed at Moronotsu in Nagato Province, and went thence to Hakata. Shoni Sukemori sent them under guard to Kamakura. Tokimune held that the Yuan Emperor had already adopted a hostile attitude, and therefore his messengers were nothing but spies. In September they were all beheaded at Kamakura. Orders were then issued throughout the country that the people should retrench on all useless expenditure, and full military preparations should be made against the coming Mongol invasion. The three armies of Aki, Suo, and Bingo Provinces were brought together for the defence of Nagato Province, and as Tokimune learned that the fame of the Shoni family was not so great as to command the many powerful families in Kyushu, Tokimune appointed Hojo Sanemasa, ex-Governor of Kazusa, to the post of the Governor-General of Kyushu, and dispatched him thither to take command of the defensive armies. Further, he planned to invade China and intended to gather sailors at the port of Hakata from the coasts of the south-western districts. The Japanese nation of that time probably regarded the new and victorious Yuan Dynasty as immensely powerful, and feared it much more than the Japanese of the early Meiji era did the Ching Dynasty; but, nevertheless, Tokimune planned to attack them, not being content with mere defensive steps. Naturally, all the Japanese people have lauded his dauntless courage.

THE SECOND MONGOL INVASION.—However, the idea was never realized after all, perhaps because the preparation for it was by no means an easy undertaking, and many years had been spent fruitlessly when Japan was faced with the second Mongol invasion. In June 1279 the Mongol generals Kaki, Hambunko, etc., were making all the preparations necessary to invade Japan, and first dispatched to Japan two envoys of Shufuku and Ranchu, accompanied by Priests Hongyo and Horeika, as well as an interpreter, Chinko, and others. The embassy came to the Governor-General of Kyushu, demanding the subjugation of Japan, and the Mongol armies were ready to advance on hearing the result of the mission. Shoni Sukenori killed the Chinese envoys of Shufuku and Ranchu at Hakata, without waiting for the order from Kamakura. The captains of commercial ships, returning from Korea and China, had reported the coming invasion of the great Mongol armies, and therefore all the preparations for the defensive measures were being made on the Japanese coasts.

Troops from the north-east were stationed at Tsuruga, the armies from the middle districts guarded Kyoto, and all the soldiers of Kyushu and Shikoku were gathered at Hakata, while stone walls, 25 feet high, were built along the coast of Hakata and Hakozaki, expanding over 70 miles and reinforced by earthen banks. The warriors of Kyushu and Shikoku had the wrongs sustained in the Mongol and Korean invasion in 1274 to avenge, so that there were many who individually took the offensive without waiting for the enemy to attack. In 1278 a Japanese army attacked Gappo of Korea, and in May 1280 they advanced to Hojo and Shippo, so that the whole coast of Southern Korea was harassed. This year the Yuan Emperor finally resolved to conquer Japan by force and ordered his expedition to start. Hambunko advanced from the south, leading the Tartar armies of 100,000 soldiers, while the two other generals of Kinto and Kochakyu marched on from the north with 40,000 men, composed of Mongols, Koreans, and Hans. The northern and southern expeditions were transported by 2,500 ships, and the King of Korea was, at the demand of the Yuan Emperor, obliged to reinforce the Mongol expedition with 10,000 soldiers, 15,000 sailors, and 100,000 koku of rice. The northern flotilla of Kinto and Kochakyu first captured Hirato Island, and then at once pressed on to Hakata, while the Korean army occupied Munakata. The Japanese army had been defeated by the Mongols in the Bun-ei War, and was much surprised at their systematic strategy and astounding valour, so that they were fully convinced that failure awaited them, but in spite of this they fought bravely, at the sacrifice of their lives, hoping for a chance victory. The Chinese ships, too, were larger than the Japanese, armed with more powerful cross-bows, and, in addition, they possessed small guns. Thus outmatched in equipment, the larger part of the defending forces was entirely defeated and scattered, and one army of the enemy finally succeeded in landing and marched on to the Dazai-fu. Though the Japanese were not equal to the Mongols at sea for the reasons above stated, yet they fought desperately on land, and the Kochakyu men met with several defeats. In addition, disease attacked the Mongol camps, the victims numbering as many as 3,000, and the enemy had only brought provisions for three months, two of which had already passed in fighting. Their stock of provisions getting low, and their soldiers suffering from epidemic diseases, the Mongols held a conference, and were on the point of retreat when they were jointed by a reinforcement of over 100,000 men led by Hambunko, and the whole army recovered its spirits. When the Mongols were about to overwhelm the Japanese a great tempest rose and hampered them. This opportune tempest was accompanied with hailstones of enormous size ; the sea became very rough, and the mountainous waves almost swallowed up the ships off the coast. The Mongols attempted to flee, but without success, and their ships were all tossed about at the mercy of the high waves. Hambunko, who was commander-in-chief, barely escaped by availing himself of a superior ship, but the remnant gathered on the island of Hirato. They chose a general, Chohyakuho by name, as their commander, and planned to escape in new ships built from trees cut on the island, but the Japanese attacked them, killed many, and made captives of the rest. Among the captives the men of Sung, who had been conquered by the Mongols and forced to join the expedition, were called Tojin by the Japanese and were not executed, but only enslaved. It is said that these slaves numbered more than 20,000. The result of the invasion may be summed up as follows : Out of the great force of 150,000 men, only a few escaped, including the commander-in-chief, Hambunko, and some of the soldiers, while 7,000 out of 10,000 Koreans were killed.

While the Fate of the Country trembled in the Balance, the Imperial Family were Quarrelling.—The cloistered Emperor Gosaga had passed away in 1273, when the Yuan Emperor had resolved to invade Japan, and this country was busily engaged in preparing her defence. During two hundred years or more, Japan had had the cloistered Emperor and the ex-Emperor, besides the reigning Emperor. The Emperor was in reality something like the Crown Prince, and the cloistered Emperor or the ex-Emperor had his own Court and assumed the administration under the camera Government. This was the custom, and accordingly the people all expected that at the demise of the ex-Emperor Gosaga, the ex-Emperor Gofukufusa would take up the administration according to this camera system. But the Emperor Kameyama was very astute and courageous, and he at once took upon himself all the administrative affairs, disregarding the presence of the ex-Emperor. Thereupon the ex-Emperor became indignant, and his courtiers, losing their chances of promotion, resented the despotism of the courtiers of the reigning Emperor. The palace was divided into two parties, and the conflict became more and more bitter. The ex-Emperor frequently sent Regent Tokimune autograph letters in the hope that his candidate, Prince Akihito, would be raised to the throne. Contrary to his expectation, Kameyama abdicated the Imperial throne in favour of his own second son, Prince Okibito, in 1275, the new Emperor being called Gouda. After this event the partisans of Gofukakusa became more and more discontented. Hojo Tokimune was much grieved at the state of things, and wanted to effect a reconciliation between the two ex-Emperors. Both parties were eager to gain the favour of Kamakura, and each spied upon the actions of the other.

Conflict between Two Lines of the Emperors.—Three years after the Mongolian invasion, Hojo Tokimune fell sick and died at the age of thirty-three years. His popularity may be gauged by the fact that sixteen of his lords shaved their heads and took Buddhist names. Sadatoki, son of Tokimune, succeeded to the regency in his thirteenth year, backed by Hojo Naritoki, and in 1287, wishing to placate the ex-Emperor Gofukakusa, he made the reigning Emperor abdicate in favour of Akihito, Prince Imperial, who was named the Emperor Fushimi. Gofukakusa was much delighted at this, but the other ex-Emperor, Kameyama, was equally discontented. In 1289 (2nd year of Seio) some generals of Kamakura caused an unreasonable disturbance, whereupon Sadatoki deposed the Shogun, Koreyasu, and sent him back to Kyoto trussed upside-down in a bamboo palanquin. Then Gofukakusa was asked for Prince Hisaakira, his second son, who was appointed Shogun and married to Prince Koreyasu's daughter.

In 1290 a great sensation was caused by the following event. A robber made his way during the night into the palace, with the object of attacking the Emperor, who fortunately escaped with his attendants. The guards rushed in from outside, and the culprit, seeing his escape cut off, committed suicide on the bed of the sovereign. On examination, the bandit proved to be Asawara Tameyori of the Minamoto family, leagued with his eldest son, Taro, and his second son, Hachiro, and the sword worn by Tameyori was found to be a precious heirloom of Sanjo Sanemori, the former councillor of state. Sanemori was a vassal in attendance to the ex-Emperor, Kameyama, and, therefore, the public considered that Kameyama was mixed up in the affair.

The Kamakura Government was weakened owing to the War with the Foreign Country.—Sadatoki had to face the most difficult period during the Hojo regency. From the time when the Mongols sent here their first embassy, in 1266, down to the final war, fifteen years elapsed, during which lengthy period painstaking defensive measures had to be taken by the high constables, land-stewards, governors, etc., over the whole country, except in several provinces of the north-eastern district, and their finances became gradually exhausted owing to the expenses of travel, the collection of military supplies, and the manufacture of arms. The public at the time relied greatly on the assistance of Heaven against the foreign invasion, and the Shinto and Buddhist priests were all reciting prayers for victory, at the request of the Court and Kamakura, in 1268, when the

Mongol message came. Following the example of the Court, the shrines and temples, large and small, were all busily engaged in offering prayers and chanting liturgies. When the crisis was over, the priests, Shinto and Buddist, of course, asserted that the victory was due to supernatural aid, and they set to work again, this time in thanksgiving festivals. The threat of foreign invasion did not end in 1281, as, though the Mongols had been once defeated, they planned to renew the attacks for several years in succession, and accordingly the prayer ceremonies were carried on for ten years or more. Let no one think the priests worked for nothing; on the contrary, they required vast quantities of rice and money. Such being the case, the temples and shrines were enriched by the national crisis, while the Court and the Kamakura Government were placed in pecuniary difficulties. The Kamakura Government was specially embarrassed in its finances.

Though high constables and land-stewards were tired of running about on service, their duties were not so onerous as those of the direct vassals of the Kamakura Government, because the men of Kyushu and Shikoku were simply ordered to gather at Hakata, those of Hokuroku and Tosan at Tsuruga, and those of San-in and Sanyo at Kyoto; while the direct vassals of Kamakura had to go from the eastern provinces far down to Kyushu in order to supervise the armies. And even after the war the office of the Resident-General had still to be retained in order to govern the whole island of Kyushu, and that of commander, chosen from among the branch families of the Hojo. All this entailed great expenditure on the Kamakura Government. With the national strength of the time, Japan had to face two wars in a short space of time, and extraordinary armaments had to be maintained for more than twenty years. The strain on the national resources was destined to have graver effects than those experienced by the Japanese after the wars with China and Russia, from the 27th year to the 38th year of Meiji. As a natural result, high constables and land-stewards began to impose heavy taxes, and officials of Kamakura became grasping.

SADATOKI'S INSTRUCTIONS TO GREEDY OFFICIALS.—Sadatoki much admired the principles of his grandfather Tokiyori, and devoted himself to the care of the people, dispatching inspectors to the provinces for the survey of the local administration and intending to give relief to the people from their wrongs. However, these inspectors proved to be untrustworthy, as their reports and judgments depended often on the size of the bribe they received. During the Einin era Sadatoki executed three inspectors, exiled nine members of the councillors' office, and dismissed 130 high constables and land-stewards for their illegal actions, 500 officials being punished in connection with the above, so eager was he to enforce and reform the official discipline. Nikaido Dosen, member of the councillors' office, advised him that so many samurais had never been punished ever since the first establishment of the Kamakura Government, and in view of the public disgrace, it would be better if only serious offences were punished, the minor crimes being passed over. But Sadatoki would not listen, and replied: "If I do not punish them for fear of disgrace, illegal actions will become rampant." The accused, however, were mostly from the great families on whose influence the Kamakura Government stood, and the outcome of Sadatoki's stern integrity was to weaken the Kamakura Government.

THE EMPEROR GODAIGO SUCCEEDED TO THE THRONE.—After the Emperor Fushimi assumed the Imperial throne, came the incident of Asawara Tameyori, related above, and he redoubled his precautions towards the Kameyama partisans. At the time of electing the Prince Imperial, he sent several messages to Sadatoki, and reported that the ex-Emperor Kameyama had long been indignant at his dethronement in the Shokyu era and would surely conspire against Kamakura in the future, and, therefore, it would be against the interests of Kamakura to set up a Crown Prince of the Kameyama line. Sadatoki chose Tanehito, son of the Emperor, as Prince Imperial, and set him on the throne as the Emperor Gofushimi. The ex-Emperor Fushimi took up the administration according to the camera system. This stirred up the ex-Emperor Gouda to send an autograph letter to Sadatoki, complaining of his partiality for the Gofukakusa line in the succession to the throne and appealing for more favourable treatment. Sadatoki became weary of the conflict between the two lines, and in 1301 persuaded the Emperor to abdicate the throne in favour of the second son of the ex-Emperor Gouda, Prince Kuniharu, who became the Emperor Gonijo. Then Sadatoki decided that thenceforth the succession to the throne should alternate between the families descended from Gofukakusa and Kameyama, the length of reign being limited to ten years. The descendants of Gofukakusa were called the Jimyo-in family, and the descendants of Gouda received the name of the Daigaku-ji family. The two lines vied with each other, and Gonijo of the Daigaku-ji family was succeeded by Hanazono of the Jimyo-in family. Upon the repeated request of the ex-Emperor Gouda, Kamakura enthroned Prince Takaharu of the Daigaku-ji line, who took the name of Godaigo. This was in 1318, and the last Emperor was twenty-one years of age, while the new Emperor Godaigo was in his thirteenth year.

THE DECLINE OF THE HOJO INFLUENCE.—Previous to this, Hojo

Sadatoki had retired from the regency, but he was consulted now and then on political affairs, and he used voluntarily to undertake state matters of a grave nature. When he finally died at the age of thirty-nine years in 1311, his son Takatoki was only a boy of eight years, and, therefore, the office of Regent was entrusted to Hojo Nobutoki and Hojo Akitoki, with the assistance of Adachi Yokiaki and Nagasaki Enki. No grave maladministration occurred in its first stage; but when Enki retired on account of age and his son Takasuke took his place, the people began to resent the regency, as Takasuke was greedy and took many bribes. At this juncture a question concerning the right of a land-steward to a certain estate was brought to Kamakura by a powerful family of Mutsu, Ando Goro, and his branch, Matsutaro. The two litigants, in ignorance of one another's action, sent bribes to Takasuke, whose decision was an ambiguous one to which neither party would submit. Takasuke tried to settle the matter by a Shogun's message, but they were still not obedient, and in great indignation he dispatched a troop to force them to submission, but with no success. For the first time in the one hundred and thirteen years since Yoritomo, there appeared one who set at naught an order of the Kamakura Government.

The Emperor Godaigo was of the Daigaku-ji family, and had for long been indignant as to the Shokyu dethronement. Now that instances of the maladministration of the Kamakura Government appeared one after another, and there sprang up some people who would not obey Kamakura, he considered that the time was ripe to start a movement, and made Hino Sukemoto and Fujiwara Toshimoto gather warriors for an expedition for the subjugation of Kamakura. But this scheme was discovered, the army was suppressed, and the Court nobles were exiled to distant places. Regent Takatoki passed over the conduct of the Emperor, as the latter assured him by an autograph letter that he had had no share in the evil attempt. In 1326 the Kamakura Government proclaimed Prince Kazuhito, son of Gofushimi, as Prince Imperial in accordance with the rule of the alternate succession of the two families. Godaigo grew more and more discontented, and in 1330 planned for the second time to attack Kamakura. The partisans of the Jimyo-in family longed for the early abdication of the Emperor Godaigo to make room for the Prince Imperial, who was of their line, and secretly worked in favour of Kamakura, reporting the whole conspiracy of the Imperial Court to the Hojo. Their report stated that the son of Godaigo, Oto-no-Miya, was in Mount Hiei as the abbot of the Tendai sect, but was paying small attention to the Buddhist bible and always studying military arts, and a great disturbance would ensue unless speedy steps were taken.

As for the Emperor Godaigo, he sent out in July 1331 a secret mandate throughout the provinces near Kyoto, commanding that the loyal army should be prepared, as he intended to overthrow the Hojo in the month of August. Thereupon, the Kamakura Government finally decided to resort to arms, and sent down a large army. As the Hojo tried to capture the Emperor and to banish him to some distant district, His Majesty escaped to Mount Kasagi in Yamato Province. It is a well-known incident in history how, after this time, Godaigo came to rely upon Kusunoki Masashige, then gained the obedience of Ashikaga Takauji and Nitta Yoshisada, and finally overthrew the Hojo clan.

THE SUCCESS OF GODAIGO AND THE DEFEAT OF TAKATOKI.—History has told us that Hojo Takatoki was given to drinking, while the Emperor Godaigo was noted for his intelligence, and their gain and loss of political authority was due to their characters. This is an opinion after the event, and is not altogether true. It is said that Takatoki was fond of dog fights, always drinking, saw a dance of goblins in his room; but he was only eight when his father, Sadatoki, died and twenty-one when the Emperor Godaigo raised a loyal army for the first time. At this period the actual authority was held by Nagasaki Takasuke and Adachi Tokiaki. In fact, the fall of the Hojo family was due to their misrule causing discontentment to the nation at large.

CHAPTER XVI

OUTLINE OF THE ASHIKAGA EPOCH

Movements of Takauji.—The Ashikaga family, the remote descendants of Minamoto Yoshiiye, had resided many generations at Ashikaga in Shimotsuke Province, and held important posts in the Kamakura Government. The clan was a large and powerful one of many families with numerous followers, and their holdings of land were immense, particularly of manors in the province of Mikawa.

In 1331 the Emperor Godaigo escaped from Kyoto and found an asylum at Kasagi, when Kusunoki Masashige raised troops for the cause of the sovereign. The Hojo of Kamakura sent a large expedition; and though all their men were not in a fighting mood, and therefore the campaign was a long one, Masashige was finally overwhelmed, and after Godaigo was exiled to the island of Oki, the Hojo elected the Emperor Kooen. Takauji was a commander in the Hojo army. Some time after, Godaigo escaped from Oki and landed at Izumo, where he raised loyal troops with the help of Nawa Nagatoshi, a powerful grandee of Hoki Province, and then proceeded to Tamba Province, joined on the way by Akamatsu Morimura of Harima Province, Kojima Takanori of Bizen Province, etc. Many provincial families rose in response to the call of the sovereign and raised troops in different districts. Faced with this situation, the Hojo needed a general of both high reputation and great ability to lead their main forces against Godaigo. Nagoshi Takaiye, representing a family of the Hojo clan, was made the commander-in-chief of the expedition, and Ashikaga Takauji was chosen as the lieutenant-commander. Takatoki, the chief of the Hojo at the time, paid Takauji a great compliment by personally offering him the white flag in the hereditary possession of the Minamoto family, as well as a set of gilded swords. In this expedition Takauji was accompanied by thirty-two families of his clan as well as his chief retainers, Ko Moronao and his brother and others, and headed a contingent composed of 3,000 soldiers. It may well be imagined how great his clan was at the time. Takauji already entertained the ambition to become independent of the Hojo and had secretly sent an emissary to the Emperor. Declaring that he would conquer the Imperialists on the Tamba highway, he marched down from Kyoto, but at the Katsura River he halted, and, joining hands with Akamatsu Morimura, returned to Kyoto and attacked the headquarters of the Hojo, finally overthrowing the Hojo army.

YOSHISADA RUINS THE HOJO CLAN.—At this time Nitta Yoshisada was in the besieging army, surrounding the Chihaya Castle of Kusunoki Masashige. Yoshisada represented a family of the Minamoto blood, and his hereditary estate was the district of Nitta in the province of Kotsuke. His blood-kin spread over the provinces of Kotsuke and Echigo, forming a great clan, but his family reputation was not equal to that of Takauji, and he had never been raised to an important post by the Hojo. Now that the public was weary of the Hojo and yearning for a change, he conspired to become independent, and returned to Nitta on the plea of illness. There he gathered his family group and held a conference to raise troops to attack the Hojo, who were in complete ignorance of his schemes. When the news of Takauji's move reached Kamakura, the Government wanted to send westward an army of 100,000 men, but had no money. At a conference which followed, Shiota Dojo proposed that all the high officials of Kamakura should hand over the valuables that they had hoarded on the ground that if Kamakura fell there would be no further use for them. As for himself, he offered 700 ryo of gold coin, 2,000 ryo of silver coin, and 2,000 koku of rice. Isei, brother of Takatoki, stated that a great expediture would be required for dispatching his army of 30,000 men, but he would bear personally all the expenses, and he, like Shiota, would, moreover, be willing to offer his gold and silver coin as well as rice for the public service. But he requested that all the Government stores should first be opened and the stored valuables and provisions should be given to officials and soldiers in order to encourage them. On hearing this proposal, Nagasaki Enki told them with a serious face that all store-houses were empty, owing to the great extravagance of Takatoki, at which news all those present were so astonished that they did not know what to do. Enki at once levied a temporary duty on the neighbouring provinces, and a special duty of 60,000 kwan of copper money was charged upon the Nitta and Serata manors, for the reason that the districts were inhabited by rich people. A term of five days was given, and officials were sent there to urge hasty payment. Yoshisada was very angry at this order, and cutting off the heads of the officials, exposed them in the manor of Serata. He then raised troops and marched on to Kamakura. This happened the day after the forces of Takauji overthrew the Hojo army in Kyoto. Several days after the Hojo in Kamakura were defeated by Yoshisada, and Takatoki and others fell in battle. Thus the Hojo clan came to an end.

THE RESTORATION OF THE KEMMU ERA AND THE EMPEROR'S

Personal Rule.—Takauji then took Kyoto, and Yoshisada occupied Kamakura, and then Godaigo again assumed the sovereignty. The conditions now resulting are spoken of as the Restoration of the Kemmu Era, but the period did not last long, and after a short space of three years gave place to the administrative reign of the Ashikaga clan. The Emperor Godaigo and his Court nobles were all under the mistaken impression that the provincial families had raised troops and overthrown the Hojo and their partisans out of respect to the Imperial Court and in obedience to the Imperial command, and they decided that the time had arrived to again enlarge the authority of the sovereign as well as of the Court nobles, and restore the former monarchical rule. First of all the former manorial lands of Hojo and their retainers were assigned to the Emperor. Then domains were given to priests of the Imperial blood and the nobles, as well as the temples and the shrines that had sided with the Emperor Godaigo. The construction of the Imperial Palace was next decided upon, and the taxes from the two provinces of Aki and Suo were allotted for this expenditure. Besides, it was arranged to collect for the Court expenditure 5 per cent. of the taxes that should be gathered by land-stewards from all the manorial lands of the whole country. In spite of the fact that the financial condition of the Court was not sound, engineering works were early started, and it was necessary to issue paper currency in order to meet the financial deficit. But it seems that this operation was not actually carried out owing to the lack of the credit on the part of the Imperial Government. To reward the meritorious deeds of military men, a registry office was established under the presidency of Fujiwara Saneyo, who, however, took bribes right and left, and carried on the business with great inefficiency. Thus the bestowal of rewards was very slow in coming, to the great grievance and indignation of the military men, and Saneyo was replaced by Fujiwara Fujifusa.

Lavish Rewards given by the Emperor Godaigo.—The Emperor's favourite lady, Renko, had now become the Imperial Consort, and he was quite infatuated with her, falling more and more under her influence. Consequently, those who wanted lands bribed the lady, who interfered at will with the decisions of the registry office, which were in many cases notoriously unfair. On the other hand, taxes levied generally from all parts of the country, and also the manors of the Hojo, were appropriated for the use of the Imperial Court, Prince Morinaga, and the Imperial Consort, Renko. In recognizing the services of the military men, Takauji was given the greatest honour, receiving the provinces of Musashi, Hitachi, and Shimosa. The province of Totomi was given to his brother Tadayoshi; the two provinces of Hotsuke and Harima to Nitta Yoshisada, the province of Echigo to his son Akiyoshi, the province of Suruga to Yoshisuke, the provinces of Settsu and Kawachi to Kusunoki Masashige, and Inaba and Hoki to Nawa Nagatoshi. As for Akamatsu Enshin, he was only given the manor of Sayo in Harima, being deprived of the post of Harima high constable. The provinces of Bizen, Suo, and Owari were allotted to Minamoto Tadaoki, and the manor of Nitta in Bizen to Kojima Takanori. Wakasa and Mimasaka were bestowed upon the Priest Toshitada, Hyuga on the Priest Shunga, Echizen on the Priest Chuen, Nagato on the Priest Enkan, Izumo on the Priest Bunkan, and profuse rewards were offered to Chikyo, Kyoen, and many other priests. Chuen and Enkan alone declined the offer on the ground that a priest should not possess land, but all the other priests accepted the offer of domains. In addition to the above, nobles, Court ladies, priests, and lady attendants, high and low, obtained broad acres of land; and how great the feminine influence was at the time may be judged by the following example. A dancing girl named Kisai petitioned the Emperor and acquired the half of the manors in the possession of Akabashi Moritoki, head of a renowned family of Hojo, the half amounting to one hundred and thirty-four manors, and the income to 47,000 kwan of copper coin. The senseless profusion of the Imperial Court was boundless.

Fujiwara Fujifusa very much feared a strong reaction and addressed a solemn warning to the Emperor several times. But the Emperor, intoxicated with pride and joy, had his own way in all matters, entirely ignoring the admonition of Fujifusa. This statesman, fully aware that a great disturbance would occur at no distant date, resigned his post, and concealed himself in a secret place.

THE ADMIRATION OF THE MILITARY MEN CENTRES UPON TAKAUJI. Fujifusa was a high dignitary who had undergone all the hardships together with the Emperor, and his faithful warning should not have been set at naught by the Emperor, who was, however, very much on the high horse at the time, believing that all his subjects would be ever faithful to him in whatever way they might be treated, as slaves or otherwise. It is said that he even believed that an Imperial order could turn stone into gold; and even after Fujifusa had left the Court, he remained obstinate. Fujiwara Mitsutsune was appointed in place of Fujifusa, and the Emperor himself took charge of all administrative matters. Taking their cue from the Emperor, nobles, Court ladies, and priests became arrogant and began to despise the military class.

Akamatsu Enshin had raised his loyal army at a promise from Prince Morinaga that he would be given the two provinces of Harima and Bizen in case of success. Kusunoki was given an Imperial promise that he would be allotted the four provinces of Settsu, Kawachi, Izumi, and Kii, and at the same time be ranked as Shogun or commander. These promises and others were never realized; while, on the other hand, nobles, Court ladies, and priests revelled in abundant rewards, and consequently there was a great grievance among military men in general. Those who were truly loyal, like Masashige, begged nobles of sense to make the Emperor Godaigo retire in favour of the Crown Prince, but those who were daring, like Akamatsu Enshin, clamoured for the restoration of the military regime; and these military malcontents were fortunate to find a great leader in Takauji, who rebelled against the Emperor Godaigo and set up the Northern Dynasty. For this reason infamous names have been showered upon him in history, but he was well qualified to fill a high position, for he was not only a great soldier on the battle-field, but also a good politician. He was well versed in military strategy as well as in civil administration, and, moreover, he had all the qualifications to become a great leader. He was never discouraged under any hardship, and had the far-sightedness to see that great success would be won by one who would avail himself of the influence of the discontented military men rather than taking advantage of the Imperial history and the renowned name of Minamoto. So broad-minded was he that he could make himself loved by all he met, and could drink down both froth and dregs from the cup of human life. He might even be called the Cæsar of Japan. The fact that he was of the Minamoto blood had an important bearing upon his fame, and the military people in local districts came to look upon him as if he were already generalissimo.

Prince Morinaga and others suspected Takauji of conspiring to become another Yoritomo, and planned to overthrow him by any means. The secret manifestos they distributed among the military class in the country regarding the matter were reported by Omori Hikoshichi of Iyo Province to Takauji, who felt he was living on a volcano.

Previous to this, Nitta Yoshisada had not been on friendly terms with Takauji, for Nitta thought that his services in overthrowing the Kamakura Government had been insufficiently recognized in comparison with the honours bestowed on Takauji. On the other hand, Takauji was indignant that Yoshisada would not submit to him with his followers. Naturally the two were great rivals of each other, and with the close relation that came about between Prince Morinaga and Yoshisada, fate seemed against Takauji.

At the time of the Hojo downfall, Tokiyuki, son of Hojo Takatoki, escaped to Shinano Province, where he was joined by many of his family vassals, and raised an insurrection for the purpose of recovering Kamakura. Prince Narinaga was then the head of the Kamakura Government, and Takauji's brother Tadayoshi was guarding the whole district, taking upon himself all the actual powers of the administration. The army of Tokiyuki was strongly reinforced en route with discontented soldiers, and is said to have numbered 50,000 men. Anyway, Tadayoshi was defeated. The Imperial Court was greatly surprised at this evil news and ordered Takauji to conquer the rebels, which he did very easily, and the eastern provinces were restored to peace and order.

But immediately after his victorious campaign, Takauji boldly threw off his mask and drove all the partisans of Yoshisada out of the eight Kwanto provinces, distributing the domains of the Nitta family among his followers. He himself assumed the title of great generalissimo, and established the Kamakura Bakufu—that is to say, camp government—all governmental affairs being conducted after the way of Yoritomo.

EMPIRE IS DIVIDED INTO SOUTH AND NORTH.—In this situation the Court turned to Nitta Yoshisada and ordered him to conquer Takauji. But Yoshisada was not equal to Takauji in popularity, smaller in personality, and inferior in tactics. The only thing in which he excelled Takauji was in bravery on the battle-field, but this qualification alone was not sufficient to decide the issue of the general situation. The influence of the Nitta family fell into gradual decay, and year by year the Court lost its power too. In 1336, when Takauji elected the Emperor Komyo of the Northern Dynasty, causing the division of the Imperial Court into the Northern Dynasty and the Southern Dynasty, he made Kyoto Komyo's capital, while the Southern Court confined itself to the mountains of Yoshino for a period of fifty-six years. In 1392 a reconciliation was arrived at between the two Courts, and the Imperial Family returned to one Court. The Ashikaga rule lasted two hundred and thirty-eight years, that is, from the time when Takauji proclaimed himself generalissimo in 1335 down to 1573, when Ashikaga Yoshiaki was deprived of the post of the Shogun by Oda Nobunaga. During this period there were frequent disturbances, and peace reigned for a comparatively short time. In the period of twenty-three years, from the time Takauji first started his dynasty in 1336, he fought with Yoshisada, and next with his own brother Tadayoshi; then he was attacked by his vassals, Moronao and his brother, and finally his son Tadafuyu rebelled against him. He had, in fact, hardly a single year of peace. In the course Takauji came in contact with his son Yoshiakira, who became the second Shogun, but rebels constantly sprang up among his old vassals, and his reign of ten years was occupied with wars in constant succession. Peace began to be enjoyed all over the country at the time of Yoshimitsu, son of Yoshiaki, but in distant districts of the country there were still conflicts between the partisans of the Northern and Southern Courts. This was so usual that the name of the Southern Court was made use of in the conflicts among the Ashikaga retainers themselves.

FROM THE MUROMACHI PERIOD TO THE HIGASHIYAMA PERIOD. The influence of the Ashikaga family was at its zenith in the time of Yoshimitsu, when all the Court nobles became his retainers, and he inaugurated various institutions, constructed grand mansions, and led a most glorious life. In 1394 Yoshimitsu retired from the post of the Shogun in favour of his son Yoshimochi, and took the title of Prime Minister. Ouchi Yoshihiro of Suo raised troops at Sakai, near Osaka, but this rebellion was soon suppressed by the army commanded by Yoshimitsu himself. But for this disturbance peace would have been enjoyed during almost the entire reign of twenty-seven years by Yoshimochi had not the Ashikaga branch at Kamakura formed a conspiracy against Kyoto towards the end of his reign, when peace was again threatened. The raids of the Japanese corsairs on the coasts of Korea and China had been started in the time of Yoshiaki, but the menace became more serious at this time.

In 1423 (30th year of Oei) Yoshimochi retired from the Shogunate and was succeeded by Yoshikazu, though all important decisions were still made by the former. After two years Yoshikazu died, and Gien, who was brother of Yoshimochi and abbot of the Shoren-in Temple, returned to secular life under the new name of Yoshinori, and was made Shogun in 1428, when Yoshimochi breathed his last. As Yoshinori, who was thirty-four when he became Shogun, had spent a long life in the priesthood, he had a profound knowledge of literature. He must not be classed as a mere noble, for he was a man of ability, who did his best to bring about peace. There were, however, a great many soldiers with grievances who raised insurrections at different places on the plea of reinstating the Southern Court. The Buddhist priests of Mount Hiei also threatened Kyoto, and Ashikaga Mochiuji of Kamakura became independent. Thus Yoshinori could not, as it were, have even a single day at ease during his reign of thirteen years. In 1441 Akamatsu, lord of the three provinces of Harima, Bizen, and Mimasaka, who had a deadly hatred of Yoshinori, invited him to his mansion in Kyoto and there treacherously killed him while all the gates were shut. He then set fire to his own mansion and rode off from the capital in broad daylight, with seven hundred men of his family and followers in regular ranks.

At a conference of Hosokawa, Hatakeyama and other great retainers, Yoshikatsu, the eight-year-old son of Yoshinori, was elected, and thereafter the Shogun's orders were not given due respect and attention. In 1440, for instance, an envoy from Korea came to the capital and his party was accommodated at the Keiun-an, located close to the Sorinji Temple at Higashiyama. A special tax was levied upon all the generals in order to cover the necessary expenses, but the condition of the time was so deplorable that most of them declined to pay. In 1444 the chief generals held a conference and nominated, as Shogun, Yoshimasa, who was Yoshikatsu's brother by the same mother. The new Shogun was only seven years of age, and naturally the administration fell into the hands of the powerful families. It may be truly said that Yoshimasa's reign of twenty-nine years was one long struggle for the control of the administration among the Hatakeyama, the Yamana, and the Hosokawa families, side by side with the movement of the lower-class people for the enactment of the Tokusei, or benevolent administration, in accordance with the ordinance of which all debts and pecuniary obligations should be wiped out. To the disorder all over the country, Yoshimasa remained indifferent, and built a grand villa at Higashiyama, where he gave himself to the gratification of his luxurious tastes, and his time was therefore called the Higashiyama period. After this extravagant Shogun, Yoshihisa, Yoshitane, Yoshizumi, and Yoshiharu assumed the post successively, but not one had any important influence upon the declining administration. Robbery became rampant in all districts, and powerful families raised their heads everywhere; while the chief vassals of the Ashikaga resorted to all kinds of means to satiate their private greed once they were in power. In fact, the Shogun just passed from one place to another, and found it impossible to remain long in one place. Finally, the Ashikaga Dynasty came to an end in 1565, when Yoshiaki, brother of Shogun Yoshiteru, was deposed from the Shogunate by Oda Nobunaga.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE ASHIKAGA PERIOD.—As above-mentioned, the Ashikaga Dynasty lasted for two hundred and forty-three years, but the truly peaceful reign covered the short space of thirty years only, that is, half of Yoshimitsu's time and the first half of Yoshimochi's. When Takauji took up the administration of the whole country, he availed himself of the craving for land entertained by many lords, and bestowed upon them great rewards and much honour in order to placate them. Thereupon all the lords began to pay allegiance to the Ashikaga, just as water flows towards the lower level, and he could easily accomplish the task of bringing all the countries under his sway; but at the same time in his policy was the germ of the decline of his house, or, to put it vulgarly: "The tail, if too big, wags the dog."

It was for this reason that the Ashikaga Dynasty was easily set up, but was never without disturbances. The characteristic features of this period may be said to have been first that the Shoguns encroached almost entirely on the sovereignty. Before the Ashikaga epoch the Minamoto and the Hojo established their headquarters at Kamakura and administered the entire country, assuming all the actual civil and military powers of importance at Kamakura ; but nevertheless the Court was allowed to enjoy the superficial right and glory, and possessed many manors even though its influence was rather feeble, the relations between Kyoto and Kamakura being based on a tacit agreement that the two parties concerned should not interfere with each other. But the Ashikaga clan established the Government in Kyoto and controlled all the Court administration, and the manors of the Court were reduced to barely one-tenth of their former holdings. At the same time the Government was responsible for the Court expenditure. The Shogun usually became the Prime Minister, the Minister of the Left, or the Minister of the Right, and all the other Court officials were made subject to the Shogun. The usurpation of the sovereignty was somewhat similar to that of the Fujiwara family. Towards the end of the Ashikaga Dynasty, the Imperial family, together with the poverty-stricken nobles, were placed in such a deplorable condition that they could hardly obtained the daily necessaries.

The second noteworthy feature was that even during these disordered times of warring tumults and violated allegiances there were those who laid importance on learning, and at the same time industry was fostered, which was the predominant cause of the Renaissance in the Tensho and latter eras. Thirdly, the Ashikaga opened foreign intercourse with Korea and China, and strove to introduce coins of silver and gold to be in keeping with the period of currency economy started in the Kamakura period. Wako, or Japanese piracy, was practised partly in order to obtain gold and silver coins. The fourth feature was the growth of the za system. Though the Government had no fixed policy in commerce, the common sense of the people at the time was exercised in forming guilds in all branches of commerce, called the za. The Government made it a source for certain revenues, while the people could avoid competition in each branch of commerce. Lastly, Portuguese and Spaniards visited the coast of South-West Japan and began to modernize this country. The period could not boast of its own civilization, but it surely laid the foundation for the future civilization, just as the Middle Age of Europe had no speciality of its own, but was an instrument for bringing in the modern civilization.

CHAPTER XVII

FOREIGN TRADE IN THE ASHIKAGA EPOCH CARRIED OUT BY THE CO-OPERATION OF THE SHOGUN, TEMPLES, GREAT LORDS, AND MERCHANTS

Buddhist Priests and Foreign Trade.—Students of history will find that in the 15th and 16th centuries, when Spain and Portugal made their great extension of influence, the Church at the same time started a vast movement, sometimes as a pioneer of foreign trade and sometimes as its backer. Sometimes priests were given assistance by commercial houses, and sometimes the opposite was the case. There were even cases in which some church acquired the monopoly rights of foreign trade and invested the vast profits thereby obtained in the expansion of foreign commerce. Opinions may differ as to the right and wrongs of such priestly activities, but the existence of close relations between the priests and churches and the foreign trade of Portugal and Spain must be recognized, and one cannot separate one from the other.

The Japanese foreign trade with China in the Ashikaga epoch was carried out in the same way, our priests and temples being the chief factors of the business ; no history of our intercourse with China would be complete if its connection with the temples and priests were ignored. It is highly interesting to note that the same phenomenon of history is found in both the West and East, with merely a difference in time, the Roman Catholic churches mingling in the trade movements in the 15th century, while Japanese temples commenced the participation early in the 14th century. Our account of the Ashikaga epoch has hitherto been restricted to the state disturbances, as well as the increase of fighting men holding their own on all sides, and no attention has been paid to the foreign trade of the period. In foreign intercourse the question of the wako, or Japanese pirates, has been touched upon, and it may seem that the country had no foreign trade, but the truth is that the Shogun, great lords, and commercial people formed a combined flotilla under the managership of the temples and priests, and our foreign trade with China continued over two hundred years in the Ashikaga epoch and onward.

The Mongol Sovereign gained Access to Japan.—In the year of 1281 the Mongol King of China sent over 200,000 men to

Japan to subdue the country, but the expedition ended in complete failure. The Mongol sovereign, however, lost no time in taking fresh measures for a renewed attack on Japan. Troops were recruited and ships built, and the expense naturally fell upon the inhabitants of the southern provinces which were situated nearest to Japan. But these people had had a bitter experience in the first expedition, and were much displeased at this new order. Many turned robbers, and banditry became rife in all quarters. The vassals of the Mongol Court tendered frequent memorials to their Emperor, begging him to abandon the scheme of invasion, and he was, in 1266, obliged to issue an Imperial edict countermanding the expedition to Japan on account of the exhaustion of the national resources.

In 1291 the Mongol Emperor accepted the memorial of Jochi, abbot of Fudazenji Temple, near Shanghai, and sent him with Okunji to Japan to bring about friendly relations between the two countries, but they totally failed. In the year of 1299 the Mongol ruler forced Priest Nei-issan, together with Shiun, to cross to Japan with a message, in another attempt to enter into friendly relations with Japan, but again his emissaries could not bring back any reply. The Mongol Emperor had sent priests as their emissaries because they believed that the Japanese paid much reverence towards Buddhist priests, but Hojo Sadatoki, the then Regent, considered Nei-issan a Mongol spy and banished him to Izu. Thirty years after this, however, when Ashikaga Takauji took the place of the Hojo clan and set up a Military Government in Kyoto in 1338, holding the whole country under his sway, Japan came voluntarily to commence trade with China.

The Origin of the Tenryuji Ship.—As above mentioned, Priest Nei-issan was first put down as a Mongol spy by the Hojo and exiled to the province of Izu, but it was later discovered that he was a leading figure in Chinese religious circles and held in great reverence. Sadatoki, therefore, made him the abbot of the Kyofukuji Temple, and then promoted him to be the abbot of the Engaku and the Jochi Temples. At this time there was a priest named Soseki who had been the abbot of temples in Kai, Nara, and Kyoto. In Kamakura he met Nei-issan, learned much from the Chinese priest, and later became a leading churchman in this country. This Soseki persuaded Takauji that it would be a proper step to establish a Buddhist temple in memory of the Emperor Godaigo, who died in the temporary palace at Yoshino, and to pray for the happiness of the dead in order to pacify the mind of the nation. In his opinion the grounds of the ruined Kameyama Palace, which had been the villa of the two ex-Emperors, Saga and Kameyama, and had a close association with the Emperor Godaigo, was the best place to rear the temple. Takauji was pleased with the suggestion, and granted the priest 36 cho 9 se of land in the old estate of the Kameyama Palace. He personally took charge of the transportation of stone to be used in the construction, and rendered much assistance in the work. The temple building was completed in three years and named the Tenryuji. The Tenryuji was then made the temple where prayers should be offered for the spirits of the Ashikaga ancestors, and was generously supported by each succeeding Shogun of the line, finally coming into possession of an estate of 10,000 kwan. But in those disturbed times it was almost impossible to maintain such a great cathedral solely with the contributions of the Ashikaga family. Thereupon the Abbot Soseki devised a plan that a ship should be sent to China for foreign trade, and the profits thus gained should be applied towards the expenses of the temple construction. This request was also granted by Takauji, and thereafter the Tenryuji sent out its merchantmen to China every year, and the expense of the construction was met with the revenues from the foreign trade. In the year 1346, seven years from the start, the work of the main temple, together with the seven buildings of the annex, was completed. Thus it may be said that the purpose of Nei-issan's visit was finally attained inasmuch as the founder of the foreign intercourse, Priest Soseki, was one of his disciples and fulfilled his master's mission. There is no record as to the number of boats put in use by the Tenryuji, but we find in a communication sent by Soseki to the Isahiki family that a priest of the Tenryuji, Shihon by name, was given a ship, and therefore it may be supposed that several merchantmen were placed in the service of the Chinese trade. This was the origin of a kind of ship named the Tenryuji ships found among the merchantmen licensed to carry on foreign trade later in the Toyotomi epoch. It seems that when the Tenryuji Temple dispatched their merchantmen to China they called themselves an embassy representing the Japanese Court. After the Ming Dynasty succeeded to the Yuan Dynasty in China, the Japanese emissary, Priest Sorai, came to Peking in 1371, when the Ming Court, it is said, ordered the Governor of Fukkien Province to exempt the boat and its merchandise from all taxation in order to placate the distant people.

It is recorded also that the Japanese minister sent Priest Senkeibun to the Ming Court and offered a present of horses and many other curious articles in 1374, but the offer was rejected on the ground that the envoy had no official letter. It is clear, then, that many priests went to China quite frequently.

Buddhist Priests as Commercial Agents.—The Tenryuji thus succeeded in the construction of its enormous building with the profits of foreign trade, the idea of which originated in the brain of

Priest Soseki, the founder of the temple. As temples were the centres of learning, the Tenryuji naturally came to assume the authority of the supervision of foreign trade, as well as the composition and translation of the diplomatic dispatches. During many centuries the people had suffered under anarchical conditions, and the Court nobles who had been esteemed for their learning and knowledge had declined in influence and were scattered here and there in search of the means to live. On the other hand, the Buddhist priests suffered nothing, even during these disturbances, and always received the reverence of, and contributions from, the centre of the administration; and the clergy really had comparatively better knowledge as to the foreign civilization, owing to their intercourse with the Yuan and Ming Dynasties. As all the lords of the time were ignorant and unlettered, they usually took with them on their campaigns several priests, who were called Jinso, or camp priests, and were entrusted with the composition of manifestos, the correspondence, the negotiations of peace, and so on. In like manner the Ashikaga Shogunate made the priests of the Tenryuji their advisers for the foreign intercourse with China, Korea, etc., and employed them as the composers and translators of the state documents. After that period the Buddhist priests began to be mixed up in diplomacy. In the year 1367, one year before Ashikaga Yoshimitsu succeeded to the Shogunate, Korea sent two emissaries to Japan, regarding the suppression of the Japanese pirates who ravaged her coasts. The two envoys arrived at Hyogo on the 14th of February, and their credentials stated: "Many pirates came out from your country and attacked the port of Gappo. They would burn the official buildings and disturb the farmers, sometimes murdering many people. Therefore communication by sea has been stopped for years, and the people along the coast have not been able to enjoy tranquillity." The Ashikaga Government ordered its high officials to receive the Korean envoys at the Tenryuji, and entertained them with the dancing of Court musicians.

Ashikaga Yoshimitsu received a Title from China.—In the year 1368 (1st year of Ian, Northern Dynasty) Taiso, the founder of the Ming Dynasty, overthrew the Yuan Dynasty and then, intending to enter into friendly intercourse with Japan, dispatched three embassies. But at this time Prince Takanaga of the Southern Dynasty was supreme all over Southern Japan, and did not obey the orders of the Ashikaga. The Ming embassies arrived at Hakata in Kyushu, but could not reach Kyoto, whereupon they sent a messenger to Kyoto and informed the Shogunate Government of their circumstances. They managed to get to Kyoto in 1372 (5th year of Oan), where they stayed at the Tenryuji Temple. The question of opening friendly intercourse with China became a serious matter for the Shogun, and was left undecided over thirty years. However, in 1401 (8th year of Oei) a certain Koetomi, a rich merchant of Kyushu, came back from China and explained to Yoshimitsu the advisability of friendly intercourse between Japan and Ming, and Yoshimitsu dispatched an embassy to the Ming Court. Priest So was made the chief envoy, and Koetomi was appointed the assistant envoy. They presented to the Ming Court the following articles: 1,000 ryo of gold, 10 horses, 1,000 leaves of silver, 100 fans, 3 gold-foil folding-screens, 1 suit of armour, 10 lances, 1 sword, 1 ink stone, and 1 ink-stone box.

YOSHIMITSU'S MOTIVE IN RECEIVING THE MING TITLE.—As the Ming Emperor was of a mind to have the whole world under his sway, he took advantage of this opportunity, hailing Yoshimitsu as the King of Japan, and furnishing him with his own calendars, expressing the power of a Ruler, treating Japan as a country tributary to his Empire. Yoshimitsu's acceptance has been much criticized from this time to the present day. Some say he was ignorant by nature, and not understanding the national constitution received a title from a foreign country, thus staining the national prestige that had been upheld at the high cost of blood by Tokimune. Others hold that however ignorant Yoshimitsu might be, he ought to have known that Japan had been an independent country from time immemorial, and therefore his kotowing to Ming was simply because of the profits to be reaped by trade with them. The third opinion is that the generals of his time were all unlettered and could not understand the Chinese language. The correspondence was all entrusted to Buddhist priests, who held China in much respect and considered the Ming Court as the source of philosophic and literary learning. For that reason they stooped to compose such a humiliating document; while the generals accepted it solely because they were unable to understand it. The Ming Emperor's message given to Yoshimitsu in 1406 stated:—

> My envoy who has recently returned from your country told me that you had once dreamt of my ancestor. I consider that the holy spirit of my ancestor in heaven is always watching in all directions, his eyes reaching even to the remotest corner, and as your mind has always been full of reverence towards him even in sleep, your sense was able to see him in your dream.

That Yoshimitsu saw King Taiso of the Ming in a dream is, of course, absurd, and it can only have been a story made up by their envoys, or by Japanese priests, in order to please the Ming Court. In the intercourse between the two countries there must have been many such deceptions played on either side. It is not clearly known who composed the above message, but perhaps it was Priest Keikenchu, secretary of the Tenryuji Temple. Keikenchu had had long intercourse with Ming and was versed even in her dialects, for which reason he held his important post in the Tenryuji Temple, and he was naturally an ardent admirer of the Ming civilization.

Among the twenty dynasties of China, the Ming was one of the foremost in her brilliant civilization, having splendid costumes, refined literature, elegant music, and grand buildings, as well as admirable institutions. The Ming Court was very skilful in diplomacy, and expanded its authority with great dignity of tone. Therefore, it is only natural for Japanese Buddhist priests who had returned from such a glorious country to feel great reverence for Ming when they saw the small houses and simple life, as well as the far inferior civilization, in Japan. Only a very exceptional man can rise superior to such mundane matters. In this time, too, when little profit was gained from internal commerce, adventurous people in Kyushu were eager to carry on trade with China. To do so profitably the Ming Court had to be kept in a good temper; and all those interested in the foreign country were unanimous in making Yoshimitsu bow before the Ming Emperor. A great hero only could have set it aside dauntlessly, while Yoshimitsu was only a mere noble, and discernment, or extraordinary greatness, could not be expected from him. Thus he was willing to become the subject of Ming and to receive the Ming title.

Yoshimitsu wore a Chinese Costume and rode in a Chinese Palanquin.—There are at present in existence about fifteen letters that Yoshimitsu sent to the Ming ruler for maintaining friendly intercourse, but none of them contain even a single word as to the trade, and there is, therefore, no proof that he surrendered himself for the purpose of gaining trade profits. In 1403 the Ming ruler sent Yoshimitsu a present of 1,000 ryo of silver, 15,000 kwan of copper coin, 10 hiki of brocade, 50 hiki of hemp cloth, 28 hiki of blue cloth, 3,000 hiki of woollen cloth, etc. Such gifts were sent to Yoshimitsu more than once, and therefore he might be led astray by the supply of copper coins and the trade profits. At a maple-viewing party at the Jozaiko Palace in 1407 he wore the Ming costume sent by the Ming ruler, and was in high spirits, riding in a Ming palanquin carried by some Ming people. Judging from his attitude, it might not be the case that he was simply induced by gold and silver, but truly did admire the civilization and influence of the Ming Empire.

Yoshimochi broke off Relations with China.—The priest-scholars of the Tenryuji Temple were not at all the slaves of the Ming Court. It seems that there was much criticism among them of the attitude of Yoshimitsu when he received the Ming title, but as he was very extravagant and fond of ostentation a large revenue was badly needed, so he was unable to act otherwise. But when Yoshimochi succeeded to the Shogunate, those who had differed from Yoshimitsu at once availed themselves of this chance, and, moreover, scholars were of opinion that the self-respect of the nation was endangered. For these reasons the new Shogun determined to break off relations with the Ming ruler. The following message of Yoshimochi, sent to the Ming Emperor, will explain his resolution :—

> Though the embassy of the great Ming Emperor has now arrived here and spoken of the advisability of the intercourse between the two countries, yet there is something seriously wrong in the matter. Ever since the time of the foundation of our country, all matters have received the sanction of our gods, and we had to refrain from doing anything, no matter how insignificant, that is not allowed by our gods. Some years ago the last Shogun was led astray by his attendant vassals, and, without any inquiry regarding the words of a certain Koetomi, opened intercourse with a foreign country. Since then there has been no amity between the gods and the people, all matters have been in disorder, and our last Shogun finally succumbed to death. After his demise, we made written oath before the gods to stop the foreign intercourse, for it is far from our wish to disobey the orders of all the gods. An embassy has now arrived, as my last message has, I presume, not yet been received by the Court. They reproached us with our pirates' ravages of their coastwise districts, but it has nothing to do with us. If I order them to cease, it may be thought I let it go on with my own knowledge. No ruler has ever encouraged his subjects to commit misdemeanours. However, there may have been some outlaws and exiles that have concealed themselves in the distant islets and occasionally gone abroad to harry the coastwise people. Therefore I shall give due orders to the officials along our coasts. The Secretary must give the embassy a full explanation.
>
> *July 20th, 26th year of Oei.*

That the Shogun did not send this message direct to the Ming ruler, but communicated it to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, was because he would not communicate with the Ming ruler, having already broken off relations with him. The Ming Emperor had bestowed on Yoshimitsu the name of the " King of Japan," and at the latter's death he dispatched a Court official in order to worship the dead and bestow upon him the posthumous title of Chinese prince. He, moreover, ordered the heir apparent to refrain from bitterness as far as possible, bow his head before the vicissitudes of fortune, and mourn with proper decency to gain popularity with the nation. The Ming ruler clearly expected the new Shogun would also be an obedient subject, and had no idea that he would break off relations with the Ming Empire. In his attempt to put relations on the old footing, he resorted to all sorts of means, promising and threatening, but Yoshimochi proved obstinate, and so political relations were broken off between the two countries of Japan and Ming.

Yoshinori resumed the Intercourse with China.—Nevertheless, Japanese reverence for the Chinese civilization, and the profit to be made there, in course of time again brought about political relations between the two countries. In 1432, in the Shogunate of Ashikaga Yoshinori, Priest Doen was sent to China as envoy, and presented a message to the Ming Court, thus resuming the intercourse between the two countries. The Ming did not miss this chance, and at once gave the Japanese envoy his response; and he bestowed high rank on Doen, and bade the priest become the abbot of the Tenryuji Temple when he returned home. The Tenryuji was a Japanese temple where prayers were offered for the ancestors of the Ashikaga. It seems an extraordinarily high-handed measure for the Ming ruler in Peking to issue an order appointing Doen abbot of a temple in Japan, but there is no cause for surprise when we consider that Ming felt itself the home empire and Japan a tributary country. In fact, Doen was much pleased at the appointment, and the Tenryuji considered it a supreme honour to be placed under the direct control of the Ming ruler, and no one made any complaint. The Japanese view-point in the relations of the two countries at this period was not so much veneration of the Ming Court as it was an eye to the profits gained in the trade, and for that reason the Shogun dispatched frequent trade ships under the name of the tributary ship.

The Privilege of the Tenryuji Ship was transferred to the Merchants of Sakai.—The special privilege of dispatching trade ships could not long remain a monopoly of the Tenryuji, and some part of it was finally transferred to the Tofukuji Temple. Since the time of Yoshimitsu, it had been arranged that the Ming Court should issue a kangoin, or certificate, to Japanese tributary ships in order to make distinction between the tributary and pirates' ships, and no ships could be treated as the official trade ships without one of these certificates, which were entrusted to the Ouchi family, who were in the control of the Shimonoseki sea route. During the Meio era the Ouchi family prepared in Kyoto a shipment of merchandise for Ming, and one of their retainers named Sugi Kageya was to provide a boat. He ordered a merchant at Sakai to dispatch a merchantman, furnishing him with the two certificates. This man sold the certificates to the abbot of Tofukuji for 300 kwan, and the abbot dispatched a boat as the merchantman of the Tofukuji Temple. After this incident the Tenryuji could no longer monopolize the privilege of dispatching merchantmen to China.

Flotilla of Merchantmen called the Tributary Ships.—The tributary ships of the time were, in a word, a joint flotilla of the Shogun, great lords and merchants, and put into the service of the official foreign trade under the name of tribute paying. There were six or seven ships in addition to those which carried tributary envoys, mostly chartered at regular rates. The charterage for a return voyage was 300 kwan-mon for a boat of 1,800 to 2,000 koku, with an additional charge of 300 kwan-mon for the construction cost. The ships were classified by number, No. 1, No. 2, etc., and some were sent by lords, some by the Tenryuji, some by the Sokokuji, some by the Ise Shrine, while one was occasionally dispatched by the Imperial Court. For instance, there was a ship called the Dairi-sen, or the Court ship, among the ships sent out during the 8th year of Meio. It had been chartered by the Kanroji family, who obtained the privilege for the Imperial Court. However, the Court had no means of collecting merchandise like the temples or lords, and therefore entrusted the work to a merchant at Sakai, who constructed a boat and prepared a cargo. On Kanroji's return he paid to the Court their original 4,000 kwan-mon, together with a profit of another 4,000 kwan-mon. In other words, the merchant at Sakai bought the privilege of dispatching a merchantman. The tributary ships in the year of 1454 were as follows, according to the order of dispatch :—

1. Tenryuji ship.
2. Horakusha ship of Ise.
3. Tenryuji ship.
4. Governor-General of Kyushu ship.
5. Lord Shimazu ship of Satsuma.
6. Otomo ship of Bungo.
7. Lord Ouchi ship of Suo.
8. Tonomine Temple ship of Yamato.
9. Tenryuji ship.
10. Horakusha ship of Ise.

The System of the Tributary Ship.—When the Tenryuji ship, among the above tributary ships, returned home, the Shogunate Government sent a customs appraiser to the boat to make a valuation of the cargo on the ship, and 10 per cent. of this was due to the house of Shogun Yoshimasa. Besides the envoy and party, merchants and priests, as passengers, usually paid 20 kwan per person, and the freight rate was 12 kwan per 1 da (package). One who had 10 da of freight with him was carried free, and also allowed to take an attendant with him, and a man with 20 da could take two attendants. Many of the passengers were priests of Buddhist temples, or agents of great feudal lords, or priests of Shinto shrines, and some of them great merchants ; for the Buddhist priests of those times were not contented with the expansion of their influence by their religious precepts and services, but were so bold and ambitious that they would invest their gold and silver in the trade and brave stormy seas to go over to a foreign country. The participation of Buddhist priests in foreign trade commenced in the first half of the 14th century in the Ashikaga epoch, that is, nearly a century before the Spanish and Portuguese

Christian priests acted as pioneers in their foreign trade. Therefore it will be seen that the Japanese temples' contribution to the national economy was in the early stage, and their services were of an important nature.

COMMODITIES CARRIED TO CHINA.—As for the commodities sent to the Ming Empire they varied every year. According to the diary of the Dajo-in Temple, the record on December 27, 1453, shows that the tributary ships dispatched in the same year were ten boats, and the commodities as follows :—

Regular tribute : 397,500 kin of sulphur (23,000 kin offered by the Emperor of Japan) ; 154,500 kin of copper ; 106,000 kin of dye ; 9,500 swords, inclusive of the regular tribute of 417 long swords ; 1,250 fans ; 51 lances ; 630 picture scrolls, large and small.

Boat.	*Kin of Sulphur.*	*Kin of Iron.*
No. 1	43,800	34,200
No. 2	70,700	4,200
No. 3	27,000	14,400
No. 4	34,400	21,200
No. 6	90,200	15,400
No. 7	53,200	18,400
No. 8	44,200	32,000
No. 9	23,100	—
No. 10	11,000	10,003

The tributary commodities of the other years were mostly somewhat similar to the above categories. Those among tributary articles, for which the payment was made by the Ming Court as merchandise, were called the supplementary articles, most of which were weapons, specially swords. In the year 1483, 67,000 swords were sent, and the payment of the Ming Court was 3,000 mon of coppers apiece ; while 7,000 swords were sent in the year of 1495, and the cost of one sword was estimated at 1,800 mon.

THE SHOGUN'S PROFITS IN THE TRIBUTARY SHIP.—The above were all the commodities carried by the tributary ship, but the Shogun's own share was rather small, seemingly about 10 per cent. of the whole amount. According to the *Jushi Numinki* of 1418 the whole amount of tribute and merchandise sent by the Shogun was as follows :—

EXPENSES OF VARIOUS GOODS FOR MING.

Chief Envoy, Tenyo Seikei (priest).
Purser of Boat No. 1, Shohon (priest).

1 Armour, with light-blue threads.
100 Swords, with scabbards of large black pattern ; value, 150 kan.
100 Halberds, black lacquered hold with picture in cinnabar ; value, 170 kwan-mon.
3 Folding-screens, with scene of four seasons ; value, 150 kwan-mon.

2 Dragon swords, scabbards of clouded aventurine ground of silver gilt, purple strings, in cinnabar-coloured box; value, 53 kwan-mon.
1 Writing-box, aventurine ground, with a pattern of the moon on water, silver water-holder, a paper piercer, and a knife with black grip, having a pattern of sea-waves; value, 24 kwan 450 mon.
1 Fan box, painted black, with a gold lacquered dragon; 100 fans with carved ribs; value, 23 kwan 850 mon.
1 Letter-box, cinnabar-lacquered, with a golden crest of a dragon, 5 sheets of fukusa paper, used as a book-cover; value, 8 kwan 380 mon.
1 Banner; value, 1 kwan 600 mon, inclusive of the painting fee for the crest of a kiri leaf.
2 Curtains; value, 9 kwan-mon.
20 Agates, large and small.
10,000 kin sulphur ores. In the time of the last Shogunate, Kuntoji of the Shotei-in Temple was sent to the Shimazu family to collect the ores.
20 Horses. The contribution was made same as above.
The total value of the above, 1,694 kwan 980 mon.

KINDS OF MERCHANDISE IN THE LAST SHOGUN'S TIMES.

850 Swords; value, 850 kwan-mon.
2,200 Fans; value, 400 kwan-mon.
100 Wine-holder carriers; value, 110 kwan-mon.
100 ryo Beaten-out gold, taken from the Shogun's store; value, 300 kwan-mon.
2,000 kin Sohoboku (rare wood), taken from the Shogun's store; value, 200 kwan-mon.
— Shakudo, an alloy of copper and gold. } These were returned by the Ming
— Lazar stone, etc. } Court as unnecessary articles.

TRIBUTARY ARTICLES.—Boxes for merchandise, five quarter-saved boards, koku boards, and nails; value, 57 kwan 300 mon, inclusive of wages for carpenters and sawyers, cost of wrapping paper, straw-mats, ropes, iron, glass, sickles, and other sundry expenses.

The total value of the above, 2,152 kwan 280 mon.

THE LIST OF THE TRIBUTARY ARTICLES.—The following are the tributary articles from the Shogun to Chinese Court. A letter-box, made by Priest Tankei, with writing by Shuzan; 1 suit of armour; 2 dragon swords; 1 set of ink-stones; 100 swords; 100 halberds with cinnabar grips; 100 lances with cinnabar grips; 100 fans with carved ribs in five boxes in relief lacquer; 10,000 kin of sulphur; 10 horses; 3 folding-screens; 20 gates, twelve kinds in all.

All these articles were presented by the Shogun, and the merchandise he could sell and gain profit upon was as follows:—

THE TRADE ARTICLES OF THE SHOGUN.

Three hundred fans of 300 mon each; 80 fans of 200 mon each; 180 ink-stones of Sekioji; 500 swords; 40 lances; 25 da copper, 305 momme gold; 30,000 kin sulphur.

The Chinese Ruler's return Presents for the Shogun's Tributes.—According to the above record, it seems that the Shogun's tributary articles were many, while his trade articles were comparatively few, and the balance would be on the wrong side. However, the Ming Court used to return some regular presents in response to these tributary articles, and a set-off was made against the Shogun's loss. For instance, the Ming ruler sent the following articles in return for the Shogun's tribute in 1468 :—

To the Shogun.

200 ryo of silver ; 4 hiki of narrow textile dyed in indigo and with patterns of flowers in four seasons ; 1 hiki of a blue textile with a pattern of slender flowers ; 20 hiki of hemp textile threads ; 20 hiki of thin woven cloth ; 20 hiki of sha or silk gauze ; 20 hiki of coloured silk textile.

To the Wife of the Shogun.

100 ryo of silver ; 2 hiki of narrow textile with flower pattern ; 1 hiki of a red textile with a pattern of slender flowers ; 1 hiki of a textile dyed in indigo and with patterns of flowers in four seasons ; 10 hiki of hemp textile threads ; 8 hiki of thin woven cloth ; 8 hiki of sha or silk gauze ; 1 hiki of green textile with the intertexture of flowers and clouds ; 2 hiki of white silk ; 10 hiki of coloured silk.

Profits of the Trade Ship.—It seems that a considerable profit was made by these ships, and the business attracted public attention at the time. When in 1509 the trade ship sent two years before returned home, the lady attendants of the Shogunate Palace went down to Hyogo from Kyoto to inspect it, riding for fifty miles in thirty-six palanquins. It may probably be the case that the people welcomed these ships as they would welcome a returned hero.

Ships and their Crews in the Ashikaga Epoch.—The following are the names and sizes of the ships put in service of the tributary ships about 1470 :—

Location of Owner.	*Name of Ship.*	*Size.*
Hoji of Buzen ..	*Izumi Maru* ..	2,500 koku
Hoji of Buzen ..	*Tara Maru* ..	1,800 ,,
Hoji of Buzen ..	*Miya Maru* ..	1,200 ,,
Ushimado of Bizen ..	*Tawara Maru* ..	1,000 ,,
Kamata of Bizen ..	*Ebitsu Maru* ..	(?)
Tomita of Suo ..	*Yamashi Maru* ..	1,000 ,,
Kaminoseki of Suo ..	*Yakushi Maru* ..	500 ,,
Motomizo of Suo ..	*Kumano Maru* ..	600 ,,
Agei of Suo ..	*Miya Maru* ..	700 ,,
Onomichi of Bingo ..	*Kokushin Maru* ..	800 ,,
Onomichi of Bingo ..	*Sumiyoshi Maru* ..	700 ,,
Tomo of Bingo ..	*Miya Maru* ..	1,000 ,,
Tashima of Bingo ..	*Miya Maru* ..	700 ,,
In-no-shima of Bingo ..	*Kumano Maru* ..	600 ,,

Of the above ships, the *Izumi Maru* and the *Miya Maru* were too large to be manipulated according to the art of navigation as then known, and they were finally withdrawn from the tributary service. When the *Tara Maru* was in service as a tributary ship, she carried the following on one of her trips :—

Officials.

Chief envoy and party	11	Interpreters and servants	5
Agents for temples	24	Clerks	3
Agents for Lords	14	Sailors	52
		Actors	4
Owners of merchandise	18	Purser	1
Chief mariners	3	Horse-breeder	1
Ship Clerk	1		
Ordinary passengers	35	Horses	4

Salaries and Profits of the Sailors.—These sailors and passengers were, in all, 171 souls, and the ship carried for them 216 koku 1 sho of rice, as well as 3 koku of dried rice and 14 koku 4 to of horse forage. These provisions were meant to cover 129 days—that is, from January to May. Besides the above, half a bottle of saké, or wine, was allotted per person per day ; 4 ryo of oil, 4 ryo of salt, 4 ryo of soy, 1 ryo of tea, 10 candles, 8 ryo of fish meat, 1 ryo of vinegar, and 10 bundles of charcoal per person during the voyage, and 900 kin of fuel per person per month. When the boat was ready to sail with all these provisions, the sailors, etc., were given the following outfit allowance for a return voyage :—

	Kwan-mon.
The chief envoy	50
Two business managers	30
Chief mariner	50
Chief sailor	30
Interpreters (each)	20
Inspectors (each)	20
Other sailors	10

The chief envoy was appointed from among the priests of the first standing at the time, and it may seem that his salary of 50 kwan-mon per return voyage was too small, but he used to take with him some special merchants, who would look after his ventures, and accordingly he could make a good profit. In the year of 1464 Seikei was the chief envoy, and Shohon was made the vice-envoy of the embassy sent to the Ming Empire, and it is clear that Shohon was given the ownership of the Oi and Itoizo villages, which were the domains of the temple he belonged to, in recognition of his services to China. We may assume, then, that the envoys were granted some domains in addition to the allowance of 50 kwan-mon. In time, too, some officials appeared who would practise jobbery, resorting to various methods other than the regular trade.

THE EXPENDITURE OF A RETURN VOYAGE.—The amount of expenditure required for the voyage of this ship will be seen by the following record, in 1465, of the *Tara Maru*, with a tonnage of 1,800 koku :—

PREPARATION FOR THE TRIBUTARY SHIP.

360 kwan-mon.	250 koku of rice (7 to per kwan-mon); those provisions are to support the envoy and party and passengers, 100 in all, for twelve months ; 4 go of hulled rice is allotted for one person per day.
256 kwan-mon.	170 koku of rice (7 to per kwan-mon) for the crew of fifty sailors for twelve months ; 1-sho per head per day. (It seems that sailors took unhulled rice as it was not called hulled rice.)
5 kwan-mon.	3 koku 5 to of rice, for two horses for the period of six months ; 1 sho of rice gruel per head per day.
7 kwan-mon.	5 koku of rice for making sun-dried rice during the voyage.
30 kwan-mon.	Soya beans, etc., with pails and fuel.
8 kwan-mon.	Salt and so forth.
10 kwan-mon.	Beans for two horses for six months, at 6 sho per day.
5 kwan-mon.	Oil for the regular light for the stable.
5 kwan-mon.	Candles.
2 kwan-mon.	20 kin of tea.
10 kwan-mon.	Saké (a Japanese wine) for sailors during the voyage.
2 kwan-mon.	The expense for a special festival celebrated at the first sight of the Chinese land.
20 kwan-mon.	Expenses of festivals for twelve months, such as the five annual feasts and the celebration of the first day of every month, etc.
5 kwan-mon.	Charcoal for boiling tea water.
15 kwan-mon.	Fuel for various uses.
10 kwan-mon.	Rice cake and saké for sailors on New Year's Day.
2 kwan-mon.	The red beans used in the five annual feasts.
3 kwan-mon.	Fee of prayer.
10 kwan-mon.	Expenses for special festivals of the Kushida, the Hakozaki, and the Sumiyoshi Shrines, as well as for the offering of a sword and a sacred dance to each of the shrines of Akamagasaki, Hachiman, Moji, Hayato, Shiga, Kushida, Hakozaki, Sumiyoshi, Hirato, Shichiro, and Empress Jingo
30 kwan-mon.	Wages of chief mariners.
460 kwan-mon.	Wages of forty-seven sailors, including two servants ; 5 kwan-mon per head.
100 kwan-mon.	Straw ropes, iron anchors, rush-mats for covering boats, sails, arrowroot powder, hemp ropes, pails, tubs, ropes, ropes of wisteria vine, etc.
300 kwan-mon.	Charterage ; this is not required when the ship is newly built.
300 kwan-mon.	Cost of the shipbuilding.
10 kwan-mon.	Repairs of water tanks and wages for carrying up water to the ship.
100 kwan-mon—	Miscellaneous, held by the purser of the boat.

Total, 2,065 kwan-mon.

THE CONTRACT MONEY OF A TRADE SHIP.—At first the dispatchers of tributary and trade ships themselves took up all the business and preparations of the ships and trade goods, but in time merchants were generally entrusted by contract with the business other than the tributary and trade articles. The contract included the charterage, the cost of provisions, and other expenses, as well as the present of thanks for the Kango certificate, or trade permit, granted by the Ming Court. The contract money of a ship was, as a rule, from 3,000-4,000 kwan-mon. These contractors were mostly the merchants at Sakai, but after the Ouchi family declined, the business was taken over by the merchants at Hakata. The contract system seems to have been inaugurated in 1467.

DIARIES AND RECORDS OF THE VOYAGE AT THESE TIMES.—In the year 1451, that is, at the time of Ashikaga Yoshimasa, the Buddhist Priest Inho was sent to Ming as the tributary envoy. According to his diary, Japanese from the tributary or trade ships stayed in the hotels that were arranged for by the Ming officials. His records of August 1st and 3rd show that the Ming people treated Japanese travellers as subjects of a tributary country, and wanted to train them in the proper ceremonies to attend the birthday celebration of the Ming Emperor; while the Japanese thought of nothing but trade, and cared no jot for these ceremonious formalities. In consequence, the two parties became indignant, the one with the other. The diary of the 25th of August contains a paragraph that the village head-man of Shohaku ran away, and provided no lodging accommodation for the Japanese. At this time the ferocious deeds of the Japanese pirates were well known in all the districts of China, and the tributary party also resorted to violent means sometimes. The head-man had bolted at the news that Japanese were approaching his village in a party of three hundred people or more. The Chinese annals describe as follows :—

> The Japanese King sent us his tributary envoys. But after Japan obtained our trade permits, many trade ships came over to this country with full cargoes, and when we lacked means of defence the mariners entered the towns, where they murdered and plundered, and returned home laden with booty.

It will be seen that the Japanese tributary embassy was of a dangerous nature. The record on the 9th of October says that seeing Inho, a Japanese, composing poems, the Chinese officials said that there were about five hundred countries which paid tributes to the Ming Court, but only the Japanese were able to read. It will be seen that the Ming people of the time looked down upon Japan as being of the same standing as Siam and Annam. Again, the record from, February 1st to 7th says that Japanese envoys objected, and claimed that the valuation of their trade articles was too low. On April 26th of the following year the Ming Court handed over 30,000,000 mon of the new copper coin, and another 30,000,000 mon on the 17th of May, as the cost of Japanese articles. It appears, then, that the total value of the trade articles of Japan was mutually agreed to be 60,000,000 mon, but as 30,000,000 mon of the above total was said to be the payment for the trade articles supplied several years before, the value for this year would be 30,000,000 mon. The profit was more than 1,100 per cent. In addition, 30,000 kin of sulphur, 1,250 kin of copper, and dye were returned, as the prices were too high. There is no record as to the disposition of these rejected goods, but it is supposed that they were privately sold at Nanking, Ningpo, or thereabouts. In that case the rate of profit must have been much greater. Just about this time the Ming Court called the attention of Japan to the fact that her trade articles were too many, and the tributary sulphur should be thereafter limited to not more than 30,000 kin; while the staff of the embassy should be composed of those who were sincere and straightforward, with a thorough knowledge in all branches, and also with good manners. This would seem to show that Inho and his party disputed too much as to the trade profits, and were disliked by the Ming Court.

THE DECREASE IN THE TRADE PROFIT GAVE RISE TO CONFLICTS. Such an absurd proportion of trade profits as 30,000,000 mon to 2,000,000 could not last long, and though a sword sent by the Shogun was estimated at 1,000 hiki (or 10 kwan-mon), it was in time reduced to 500 hiki, then coming down as low as 2 kwan 500 mon, and eventually to 300–500 mon. The swords sent out in the early stage were of good quality in all respects—in blade, scabbard, and decoration—while in the later periods the swords were of careless manufacture. It is certain, too, that the increase in quantity was another cause for the low price. Moreover, the goods bought by Japanese in Peking and Nanking were gradually raised in price, and this brought about a decrease in the profit of the trade between Japan and Ming. The embassies from Japan often disputed with the Ming Court in order to increase the valuation of trade articles, one of the best examples of which was in the time when Keigo was sent by the Shogun Ashikaga Yoshitane. The embassy consisted of Keigo (chief envoy), Kokyo (vice-envoy), Koeitsu (manager), and Sato (clerk), with an interpreter. The members of the party were more than one hundred, which the Ming Government considered was likely to lead to much dispute, and besides, they feared the expense of putting up such a large number. They therefore broke the old custom and allowed only fifty people of the party to proceed to the capital. The party at once dispatched to the Ming authorities a memorial of protest, and when the valuation of Japan's trade goods was low beyond expectation, Keigo and others presented to the Court a petition, in which we find the following :—

> Keigo and others are, of course, of a small country, but we fear our national law, which is strict and its punishments severe. If we return home without carrying out the business at the former rates, we shall surely be sentenced to death. We wish and pray for your merciful consideration. Please give life to such an aged man as Keigo, be compassionate to us all, and give us better rates.

This piteous memorial of Keigo was composed because the valuation of swords was lower than in the previous year ; while the Ming Court would not accept 980 swords of the tribute presented by Keigo and others, which meant that they could not get hold of silver coin. The tributary sulphur, too, was not accepted on the ground that it was too much. The Ming Court was not to be moved to let more than fifty people proceed to the capital, and wished to value a sword at 300 mon, according to the record of the Koki 8th and 9th years. Keigo claimed 1,800 mon for each one in accordance with the transaction of the Kojo 8th year, and he had much dispute with the Ming Court, threatening that Japan would stop the tribute if his request was rejected. For all his efforts, the Ming officials would not give way, and thereupon he went so far as to say, " Who will be responsible if the piracy becomes rampant when Japan has once stopped the tribute ? " Indeed, he practically threatened to instigate the Japanese piracy if he was not given the tributary profits. Keigo was then eighty-two, yet he was of a bold and high spirit. In this manner, then, the trade between Japan and Ming was carried on in the name of a tribute down to 1547, that is, the end of the Ashikaga epoch. Yoshiteru was then Shogun, and Japan was faced with internal troubles ; and disturbances occurred in Kyoto one after the other, necessitating the Shogun's frequent escape to the neighbouring provinces. On the high seas the Japanese piracy with which Keigo had once threatened the Ming Court was rampant, giving the Ming Court immense trouble to put up a defence against its outrages. Finally, Ming prohibited the intercourse with Japan, and thus the tribute and trade with China came to an end in the time of Shogun Yoshiteru.

THE ACCOUNT-KEEPING IN COPPER COIN WAS REPLACED BY THAT IN SILVER COIN.—Upon the survey of the trade between Japan and Ming, with which this chapter has been concerned, we find that the expenses of the tributary ship were all calculated in eiraku-sen (copper) up to the Shogunate of Ashikaga Yoshizumi, in the decade of 1490, and the standard of the currency must have been copper coin. But, according to the account-books of a trade ship in 1547, we find that the various items of payment were all recorded in the silver standard, as given below, the interval being only fifty-five years :—

THE ACCOUNT-BOOK IN SILVER IN THE CHINA SEA.

November, 26th year of Kasei.

Date.	*Item.*	*Quantity of Silver.*
June 21st	Shuko Kunyu loaned to Seiko and delivered through his messenger, Yashitsu	100 momme
,, 20th	No. 1 at Jokai, cost of rice and salt ..	96 momme 7 bu 5 rin
,, 20th	On board ship, cost of fuel	10 momme
,, ?	Paid by Yosaburo, cost of dried vegetables	13 momme
,, 26th	On board the ship, paid again for saké and a pot	5 momme 4 bu 3 rin
,, 26th	Paid to interpreter Go for incense-stick	3 momme 7 bu
,, 26th	Cost of a sickle and white cotton ..	5 bu
,, 26th	Cost of two sickles paid by Kumachi	8 bu
August	Cost of two sickles and diagonal cloth paid by the above man	1 momme 4 bu
,, 8th	Given to the chief of sailors as the expense to hold a party in acknowledgment of the sailors' services ..	5 momme
,, 8th	Cost of saké drunk by clerks	1 momme
,, 8th	On board the ship, cost of saké and 3 pots	5 momme 1 bu
,, 8th	Paid to Okura	8 bu

Total, 409 momme 7 bu 2 rin 8 mo.

Though Kyoto and its vicinity were scenes of successive disturbances during one hundred and thirty years, the various silver mines, such as Iwami possessed by the Ouchi family, Ikuno belonging to the Yamana family, Tada in Settsu, etc., produced a large supply of silver ; while the plundering of the Japanese pirates and the tributary profits made for the expansion of livelihood in Japan even during the time of disturbances, and thus Japan at last arrived at the time for a silver standard. The last period of the Ashikaga epoch is said to be the Dark Age in Japanese history ; but even in such a period the country had frequent foreign intercourse, maintained by the trade ships under the joint co-operation of the official and merchant, while the copper standard gave way to the silver standard inside the country. As the corn grows under the deep snow, so the birth of our civilization seems to have been nurtured during these internal disturbances. We can never say that the birth of New Japan in the periods of Oda and Toyotomi, after the downfall of the Ashikaga family, was a mere chance.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE INTERNAL HANSEATIC LEAGUE IN THE ASHIKAGA EPOCH

THE COMMERCIAL SYSTEM OF THE ASHIKAGA EPOCH.—As already explained, Ashikaga Takauji founded his dynasty by satisfying the craving of successful warriors to own land, but he went too far, and in time the tail began to wag the dog. The period of two hundred years or more was mostly disturbed, and there was very little peace. Naturally, the economic system of the epoch was entirely out of order, and there is nothing noteworthy to record. The people of the time, however, managed to keep their independence amidst the tumults of the disorderly administration, planning various means for maintenance of their life and property. In order to get freedom for their commerce, they gradually established a commercial system among themselves, which forms the best memorial of the courage and ability of our people in the Middle Ages. The essence of the commercial institutions in the Ashikaga epoch lies in the za under which merchants were granted charters for some line of commerce, and no other merchants other than the recipients of the charter were allowed to follow this line. In time the union of these za become vastly influential.

THE ZA SYSTEM ALREADY EXISTED IN THE HOJO EPOCH.—This system, however, was no innovation of the Ashikaga epoch, but had already been started in the Hojo period. The good administration and peaceful reign of the Hojo brought about a rapid advance of prosperity in Kamakura, and merchant houses sprang up in all part of the city.

So much so that, in December 1251, Regent Hojo Tokiyori, fearing that this condition would corrupt the discipline of his warriors, established two quarters—one the commercial quarter, and the other the residential quarter for military men. With the commercial quarter thus fixed, the merchants residing within its limits were alone engaged in commerce with liberty of access to the markets, and at the same time liable to some fixed tax or some other duties, the payment and discharge of which were instrumental in solidifying their special privileges. The merchant, or a group of merchants, acquiring these priveleges was called the za, and the present street of Zaimoku-za in Kamakura is a reminiscence of the place where lived the merchants having special rights in the timber trade. The Ashikaga epoch was, in some sense, merely the extension of the Hojo epoch, and naturally the Ashikaga institution was modelled after the commercial system of Kamakura.

During these many hundred years the market system had been subject to various reforms in accordance with the increase of the population and the changing times, but the monopoly system had been consistently maintained, and the definite system of za crystallized in the Ashikaga epoch.

According to the old record there were seven za in Kyoto during the Ashikaga epoch, dealing with all branches of commerce. These za were that of silk, charcoal, rice, joinery work in Hinoki wood, fuel, fish, salt, horses. These conducted one kind of business in a certain quarter, monopolizing the sale of those articles.

The seven za referred to were found not only in the city of Kyoto, but other cities had eight or nine za, according to their circumstances, conducting commerce on the monopoly basis.

The Trade with China.—In 1388 Shogun Ashikaga Yoshimitsu sent a message to the Ming Court desiring to open trade with China.

The Ming ruler named Yoshimitsu the King of Japan, and Yoshimitsu called himself the subject of the Ming ruler. Intercourse between Japan and China had been carried on ever since, even during the raids of the Japanese pirates on the Chinese coasts. In 1483 Shogun Yoshimasa sent a message to the Ming ruler, Kenso, assuming himself to be the subject of the latter, and forwarding presents of 4 horses, 2 swords in gilded scabbards, 10,000 kin of sulphur, 20 pieces of agate (large and small), 3 folding-screens of gold paper, 100 swords in black lacquered scabbards, 100 lances, 100 painted fans. In return, the Shogun asked for 100,000 kwan-mon of copper, alleging that his copper currency was entirely exhausted owing to the successive internal disturbances. The Ming ruler took the opinion of his Department of Foreign Affairs and decided to give Yoshimasa 50,000 kwan-mon of copper, which was taken back by his envoy, Myomo.

The time of Yoshimasa was called the Higashiyama period, when life was very luxurious, and if he asked the Ming Court for 100,000 kwan-mon of copper coin, as possibly sufficient to cover the national expenditure, it will indicate a very infantile development of our people's economy.

However, it is more likely that the sum was the expenses of the Shogun and his Government and has no bearing on the national economy, because the condition of the country was as hereafter described. In the 15th century the Shogunate lost its political power and various lords kept a guard on their own boundaries, paying no taxes towards the Central Government.

Barriers were erected almost everywhere, and taxes levied upon travellers, while robbers and highwaymen were rampant everywhere, rendering travel quite unsafe. Such being the case, Kyoto was no more the centre of Japan, but only one locality among many.

After the great disturbance of the Onin era in 1467 the Shogunate levied a house-tax upon the citizens of Kyoto and collected the land-tax from the people of the surrounding provinces. With these funds was started the construction of the Tsuchimikado Palace, which took from the month of April to the 7th of December, and necessitated the expenditure of 11,000 kwan-mon. Therefore, the sum of 100,000 kwan-mon that Yoshimasa asked for was to cover the expenditure on his ten palaces only and cannot be considered a large sum. It was simply enough to cover the outlays of the Shogunate Government. As for the general people, they were confined within the boundaries of different lords and hampered in every way, but they gradually made progress, and their economic system attained some advancement.

The Relation between the Za and the Market.—As above explained, the monopoly system of commerce, such as by za and other methods, was a characteristic feature of the economic system at these times. Then, how had these za attained their advance? It goes without saying that the market was the principle place of business. In every village or port it was a custom for merchants to transact their business standing on the road, and this was called the tachi-ba, or standing market. In time these salesmen began to have shops in the market, where they used to sit waiting for customers and conduct their business under cover. The goods were laid out in the shop for the inspection of the buyers, and, therefore, it was called the misē, or, literally, to show; and as the articles were displayed on shelves, we get the term of tana, or shelf or shelves. The post village had been intended simply to facilitate traffic and nothing else, but in time the standard of living advanced and people could no longer supply themselves with all they required, and a regular place where the products of other districts could be obtained became necessary. It took on the nature of a market and dealt with consumers.

Iwatsuki in Musashi Province was a town where the ancestor of the old family of Kuroemon had established a market with a licence from Hojo Ujifusa, and it had been very prosperous ever since. In 1590, when Hideyoshi overwhelmed Odawara, the castle here was also destroyed and the inhabitants dispersed in all directions. But, when Iyeyasu took hold of Kwanto Province, the place was bestowed on Koriki Kiyonaga, who, in accordance with the order of Iyeyasu, granted exemption from the land-tax to the inhabitants of Iwatsuki town and invited people from different places. Thus the prosperity of the town grew up again, and the lord issued the following law in order to protect the market :—

1. It shall be strictly prohibited that any merchandise from down town shall be displayed in the market of the upper town or any people and horses from other districts shall stay in the market.
2. It shall be fixed that dry goods shall be sold in front of Matsuto.
3. All the transactions shall be carried out in the same manner as heretofore.

The above regulations shall strictly be in force within the town limits by the directions of Somachi, and any offences shall be reported to the deputy official.

DIRECTORS OF THE IWATSUKI MARKET.

November 1st, 6th year of Keicho.

From this notice it may be seen that the authorities made a distinction between the two markets of upper town and down town, and protected the market of the upper town, giving it a special privilege. Besides the above, the market of Tatebayashi in Kotsuke was started in the 16th century ; the market of Numata in the same province in 1558 ; the market of Kiryu in the same province in 1591 ; and that of Shimonita in the same province in 1573 ; while the markets of Annaka and Shibukawa were established in the same epoch.

MERCHANTS OF ZA IN THE MARKET.—These markets generally had the system of za, and in the goods handled by the merchants belonging to these za no merchants from other localities were allowed to do business. The merchants belonging to the za were called the za-shu, that is to say, member of za ; and men not belonging to the za could only transact a very limited business, for they could only deal in articles not handled by the za-shu. Buchel says : " As for the trade in the market, artisans possessed the absolute right of the monopolization in their respective lines, and the products of other localities were allowed to enter the market only in the case when there were no persons making such articles in the market." The same absolute monopolization was in the hands of our za-shu. The statement of Buchel referred to the right of artisans only, but the fact that exclusive rights were recognized both in the west and the east is like the obverse and reverse of a seal.

THE ORIGIN OF THE ZA.—There have been various opinions as to the period when the system of za was inaugurated, but it is of chronological and not historical interest. Therefore, it will be sufficient to mention here that the za system was in force at this period, and the merchants in a place handling a certain article formed a league receiving licence from local authority, such as the lord of a manor or a temple or a shrine; and the object of the za was to gain protection for their business on payment of some tax to the authorities. It may be considered that the za in the previous epoch of the Hojo had an official nature, and the traders who received the name of za, with the grant of special privileges, may be compared with the many merchants in the early period of Meiji who worked under Government permission. The reason for its official nature was not only because of its monopoly business, but also due to the fact that the system possessed the right to issue orders as well as to levy taxes.

THE ORIGIN OF THE ZA WAS CONNECTED WITH RELIGION.—The monopoly of commerce called the za in Japan is the same as the guild in Europe.

The guild had the nature of a religious service at first, but in time it began to assume the nature of business and politics, and after the 12th century it became a purely economic system. In Japan the origin of the za seems also to have relation with the shrines. The following two records will indicate that the origin of the za was a sort of religious service, and that our za and the European guild had a common nature in their origin.

No. 1. The inhabitants of Oyamazaki, domain of the Hachiman Shrine, have reported that though instruction was duly given them last year as to the egoma (gingelly), produced from the province of Harima, this order has not been observed at all; that Sakon Jiro, Sakon Saburo, and others have detailed the egoma bought in various places and have not delivered them in the interest of the farmer in the district of Nakatsugawa. This is most outrageous and not in accord with reason at all. The detained merchandise shall be returned to the buyers, and the farmers shall be arrested in a few days. No tardy action shall be allowed, but a prompt execution shall be required. (Enshin Signature.)

January 30*th.*

TO THE HONOURABLE AKAMATSU.

No. 2. The manufacture of saké-leaven was the monopoly of the western section of Kyoto, and its inhabitants have paid the various tributes in return for the profit from the above business. But it has lately happened that some people have left the za, moved to other districts, and engaged in this business. Such an action should be considered as an infringement of a monopoly, and is really very selfish. It is entirely against justice, and the authorities have had a report that managers of the same manufacturers and others were punished in the era of Teiji. Such being the case, those who have left the za and moved to other localities shall at once return to their original places and offer services for the sake of the shrine.

Those who dare not return to their proper place and stay in Kyoto will bring disgrace on the shrine. Therefore, I give the above instruction to the shrine officials by order of the god.

(Signed) SAEMON-NO-SUKE.

September 16*th*, 1*st year of Kakei.*

TO IWAMI-HOIN, Director of the Onomiya Shrine.

Of the above documents, No. 1 was issued by Akamatsu Enshin, who was one of the most influential generals in Ashikaga Shogunate. In compliance with the request made by the people of the Oyamazaki Shrine, Akamatsu Enshin issued this order to protect the monopoly right in egoma over the whole district of Harima Province, his domain, in the interest of the Oyamazaki Shrine. Though the documents contained no word of monopoly, it is quite clear, as the shrine repeatedly claimed the monopoly in egoma oil after that. The monopoly was nothing but the za in those times. Under the plea of offering services to the shrine the Oyamazaki people seemed to have obtained the monopoly right, called the za, of egoma oil. The second document was issued during the time of Yoshimitsu, in 1400. The people of the Onomiya Shrine had acquired the right of the za in the saké-leaven business in Western Kyoto to enable them to serve the shrine with the profit thus obtained. When some of the people began to move to other districts, and set themselves up in this line of business, it was considered nothing less than larceny. Therefore, it was ordered that such people should at once return to their native district, and the order was issued by Shiba Yoshimasa, Governor. This document shows that the za was originated to do service to the shrine, and that the right of the za was established in one locality called Western Kyoto, business not to be carried on elsewhere. It is clear, also, that there was a close relation between the self-governing body and the za. As a monopoly now rests upon the sanction of the law, so in the former times it could only be established by the authority of some lord; but in remote ages the influence of the god was considered far superior to that of any lord, and the safest way to acquire the right was to connect it with the service of a god. It is not unnatural, then, that our za had its origin in the service to a god.

THE RIGHT OF THE ZA AND THE FREE PASSAGE OF MERCHANDISE. As above explained, the people of the Hachiman Shrine at Oyama had the monopoly right of the egoma-oil business in the name of the god's service, but they were not content with the monopoly in Kyoto and its neighbourhood only and wanted to extend their right to free passage of their merchandise through different barriers. In these days there were barriers in all provinces and counties where a transit-tax was levied, just like the likin-tax in present-day China. Free passage through the barriers meant the passing of the egoma dealt in by the Yamazaki people free from taxes at the barriers. The following letter was written in the time of Shogun Yoshimasa in 1456. It shows that the people of Yamazaki town considered unlawful the action of the deputy official who kept back the egoma when they transported it to Naniura in Harima county, and that they wanted to have the business transacted by those who were obedient to their orders, stopping the business of the independent merchants at the port. It is clear, moreover, that the right of za was not restricted to their own district, but its power extended to the places where transactions were made, as the following documents prove :—

> The holy people of Oyamazaki beg to state that it was unreasonable for Sakayoshi, the deputy official, unlawfully to interrupt the passage of the horses which carry the egoma oil. We are under orders to keep the shrine light ever burning, and are authorized to collect egoma oil for this purpose. The said rights have been recognized for long time ; there should be no obstacle to the free passage of horses carrying egoma.
>
> In addition, we beg to say that as regards the trade in egoma oil at the port of Noba, the business shall be forbidden to any other merchants than those authorized by the holy people.
>
> (Signed) HIDEMASA. MITSUKIYO. YASUIE.
>
> *September* 16*th*.
>
> TO THE OFFICIAL IN SERVICE OF GENERAL AFFAIRS,
> THE YAMAZAKI SHRINE.

The holy people of Yamazaki had great interests along the Yodo River, and asked for free passage on the same river in 1478.

> The holy people of the Hachiman Shrine at Oyamazaki take the liberty to say that, as regards the transportation of egoma and other articles, there should be no interruption for them at any barriers. We are, however, informed that some mistreatment has occurred at the Kawakami Sekisho for the barrier at the upper course. This is, as you must be aware, contrary to law. Therefore, you shall at once resume the former precedents, and see that our boats shall pass freely and without any hindrance at your barrier.
>
> (Signed) HIDEMOTO. MOTOTSURA.
>
> *December* 14*th*.
>
> TO THE OFFICIALS AT THE KAWAKINI BARRIER.

THE ZA OF OIL AND LEAVES.—This monopoly system of za in general was, however, disrupted when Nobunaga destroyed the power of Ashikaga and became Shogun himself, but he did not want to throw the shrine people on the enemy's side, so he made Hideyoshi grant the za of egoma, as well as that of leaven, to the Yamazaki people. The following is the monopoly granted by Hideyoshi :—

THE REGULATION AS TO YAMAZAKI.

1. The za of the oil shall be maintained as heretofore, and no other people than those residing at this place shall be allowed to transact this line of business.
2. The farms and fields bought shall be handled in accordance with the former rules, and no illegitimate transaction shall be allowed.
3. No change shall be made as to the za of leaven, and it shall be maintained according to the former rules.

4. No unreasonable pressing shall be made as to the loan affairs of the guild. The above shall strictly be followed.

July 21st. (Signed) CHIKUZEN-NO-KAMI

THE PROTECTION OF THE ZA.—According to the above documents it will be seen that our za originated in religious service, like the guild. In later periods, when temples, lords, and Court officials assumed power in place of the shrine authorities, merchants began to establish their za under their protection, and then the za system became a purely economic institution. What sort of protection, then, was given to the za by these men of power? The protection was, first of all, to recognize the monopoly of a certain line for a za in a certain district, prevent the competition of other merchants not belonging to this za, and then to fix its relations with other za. Once a guild was born its record was inscribed, and when it paid a tax to its lord a contract would be made with the authority. The combination of this record and this tax made out a strong right, and no man, however powerful, was able to interfere with it. The petition made by Obata and five others in or about 1529 explains how the za had its own old practices, which not even the orders of the Court and temples could break. But as economic life advanced it frequently happened that the za and its people could not meet all the public demand for goods, and finally it was necessary to recognize the existence of merchants outside the za. Thus the new za came into existence, and the old za was named the za proper, while the new za was called the junior za. The people belonging to the proper za had shops where they sold their merchandise, while those of the junior za were the travelling merchants; but as time went on the latter began to encroach on the rights of the former, and sold their goods inside a building, each having his own shop, whereupon the za proper appealed to the lord, who prohibited, under fine, all trade other than that transacted by the za proper.

THE DUTY OF THE ZA TOWARDS THE LORD.—As above explained, the foundation of the za was due partly to its record and partly to the tax paid, and therefore, in order to receive the protection of the lords, payment of taxes by the za proper was obligatory. In some cases when the business was allowed to people other than those belonging to the za, it was customary for them to levy taxes from those people.

LAWSUITS REGARDING THE RIGHTS OF THE ZA.—When life became more complicated there arose various conflicts among the za people. In the domain of the Kofukuji Temple at Nara there was, on the 19th of October, 1518, a lawsuit between the nuno-za and the komono-za as to the right to sell cotton cloth. Each of the two parties claimed the right. According to the claim of the nuno-za people, cotton cloth belonged to the category of clothing in general and was the same as nuno, and, therefore, the right of sale belonged to the nuno-za, while the komono-za claimed that it should be their monopoly, as cotton cloth was one of the lines imported from China, and dealing in imported articles in general was the right of the komono-za. When the lord of the domain adjudged that cotton cloths would be the merchandise of the komono-za, in view of their historical right, the nuno-za dared to set this decision at naught, and the people, moreover, began to sell silk cotton. There was a great disturbance, and, finally, people of all za were summoned to the Kofukuji Temple in order to decide the matter before Buddha. The nature of the za at these times may also be seen by a lawsuit, regarding the special privilege for the sale of some merchandise, between Heizaburo of Asai county, Omi Province, and Hirakata-za in the same county, between whom competition was very keen in spite of Heizaburo's privileges. The plea of the Hirakata-za was that it had been conducting that business with proper record and had enjoyed Imperial patronage, and therefore it should have a special right, not belonging to ordinary merchants. In the councillors' office Suwo Shinano-no-kami, the head, and other officials held a conference, soliciting testimony from many witnesses living in the district. According to their testimony, the history of Heizaburo's business was found earlier than the Hirakata-za, and for this reason the decision went against the za.

THE SPECIAL RIGHT OF THE ZA AS TO THE BUSINESS.—As above explained, the monopoly right of the za at these times was based on the historical origin and tax-paying, and it was maintained hereditarily, but its transactions were under a strict rule.

We find the following regulation as to the hereditary possession of the right of the za issued in the year of 1493 :—

> The za of saké (wine) shall be conducted by the authorized person, and no sons of his shall be allowed to brew saké while their parent is manufacturing. After the death of the parent, the right shall be given to one person, either to the son or daughter, or even an adopted son. You shall understand that the matter has been decided as above upon general consultation.
>
> *August 7th, 2nd year of Meio.* (Signed) SAMBO.
>
> TO FUKUSHIMA.

In view of the above it will be seen that though the right of a za was maintained hereditarily, there were severe restrictions and strong protection of the business, so much so that a son could not carry on the business separately during his parent's management. It will also be seen that some payment was necessary for entering the za, as per the following document :—

We beg to certify that a right in the hemp-za has been given to Ishi Kosaburo on receipt of 15 kwan-mon. The introducer is Yokaichi Saemontaro.

In witness whereof we set our seals hereto.

THE HEMP ZA. (Seals.)

February 7th, 6th year of Daiei.

TO ISHI KOSABURO.

THE PRESENCE OF BARRIERS WAS A HINDRANCE TO TRADE.—As has been described above, the za was the special privilege indispensable for business conducted within a building, and when doing business in other districts it was also essential for traders to belong to a za there. The state control was loose at the last phase of Ashikaga, no safety was assured in travelling. Powerful local families established barriers almost everywhere and collected taxes from all travellers, obstructing commerce a great deal. In order to do business, breaking through these barriers, either the military power of the Central Government had to be relied on or the travellers had to pay enormous bribes to get free passage. One of these two means had to be adopted.

The Central Government existed in name only and had no influence in local districts; while the payment of heavy bribes could only be afforded by a few traders. Here the system of the za became highly necessary, and the traders passed newly established barriers at the cost of wine, and soon paid for out of funds collected from the whole za. The establishment of private barriers was an innovation of the last periods of the Hojo Dynasty, but it became absurd towards the end of the Ashikaga epoch. In the diary of the Daijoin Temple at Nara on July 26, 1479, it is recorded that when two messengers were sent with two packages of water-pots to the Jizein Temple at Akechi, Mino Province, they had to pass through twenty-eight barriers, and pay 1 kwan 496 mon as customs duty. The names of the barriers and the amount of duties are as follows:—

	Mon.
Uchibashi	10
The Hoshoji Dairikaku	50
Kaguraoka	60
Yamanaka	100
Seven barriers at Sakamoto	140
Takesa	20
Three barriers at Edabayashi	100
Shikukuin-kanhei	100
Aoki	100
Onoseki	32
Samegai	10
Adusa	32
Toriimae	32

	Mon
Nagatomachi	32
Nagaso	50
Kawaraguchi	50
Three barriers at Kashiwabara	40
Takejurabe	50

Total, 1 kwan 496 mon.

In addition to the above duties, the following expense was required for coolies at different places for the transportation of the water-pots :—

	Mon.
From Kyoto to Sakamoto	180
Charge by boat	32
To Takesa	200
From Takesa to Edabayashi	100
From Edabayashi to Shikukuin	35
From Shijukuin to Ono	80
From Ono to Bamba	70
From Bamba to Kashiwabara	100
From Kashiwabara to Tarui	100
From Tarui to Kagashima	200
From Kagashima to Nagabayashi	100
From Nagabayashi to Okechi	260

Total, 1 kwan 466 mon.

Besides the above-mentioned expenses, the sum of 1 kwan-mon was required for the provisions of the messenger, Ishizaemon, on his return journey, and therefore the sum of 3 kwan 962 mon was the total expenses for the transportation of two packages of water-pots from Nara to Okechi in Mino Province. Half of the money went in the duties at various barriers, showing what an absurd pitch the system had reached.

The Power of the Za Merchants destroyed Barriers.—Faced with these conditions, the za merchants in Kyoto and neighbourhood resorted to all means in order to break barriers. The first step was to offer gold and silver or other supplementary gifts to the lord of the district where barriers were located, and to get the management of barriers into the hands of the guild the merchants belonged to. If this did not avail, they resorted to military force and destroyed the barriers. For instance, in 1512 Kamisaka Soemon established a private barrier at Oiwake on the road from Takashima County, Omi Province, to Tsuruga of Echizen, but the za merchants set fire to the barriers and burned down the building. In case a local grandee set up a private barrier, he had, of course, an adequate force, and yet the za people dared to resort to violent means and with impunity, from which we may assume that the za had a considerable force at its command. In most cases, however, matters were settled peaceably, that is, with the present of money as an allowance for entertainment. But if they had been contented with the acquirement of a free passage, in return for a money payment, they might have been faced with future duties at other obstacles, and for fear of this the za people assumed the control of the barrier when it was abolished by its possessor, and thus controlled the right of passage on roads in some localities. The merchants belonging to its za would enjoy free passage, but merchants of other za were subject to heavy taxes, or entirely forbidden to pass the barrier.

THE ZA BEGAN TO USURP THE PUBLIC HIGHWAYS.—In 1556 a lawsuit occurred between Edamura and Honai, which had the monopoly of the Mino paper trade. It will show how far the za merchants usurped the public highways and acquired a power almost identical with that of the lords of provinces. The business fields of Honai which was made wholesale had of old been Aichigawa, Edamura, Kutsukake, Yokoseki, Higashikawa, Hinomaki, Tanakai, Shinigara, Moriyama, Takashima, Sakamoto, Kaga, and Ise, and accordingly the Ise highways were really included in its sphere of influence. Some years before, the merchants of Edamura were opposed by people of Honai for the loan of the Ise highway for twenty days, which shows that the Edamura people acknowledged the fact that the Ise highway was the monopoly of Honai. For all that, Edamura merchants had passed the Ise highway, encroaching on the right of the Honai, and Honai people had seized their goods. That was the Honai za claim, while the Edamura pleaded as follows: There had been merchants dealing in Mino paper at Kuwana in Ise Province, and the Edamura za people used to buy paper from these three shops, but when their stock was not sufficient, they used to buy a sufficient quantity from other traders at Kuwana. Such being the case, the Edamura had the right of passage on the Ise highway. The lawsuit took three years to decide, and the claim of Edamura za was adjudged not to be in accord with the old custom. Judgment was given in favour of Honai merchants, allowing them to have the exclusive use of the Ise highway and giving them the said highway. Since the Onin disturbance the country had been thrown into confusion and people other than the military men had been thought entirely insignificant. Therefore, no one would suppose that the merchants at these times restrained the military men with their financial power, gained by their diligence, as well as with their tactics, and that they applied their financial power to gain political rights, and finally usurped the public highways. This was carried into practice mostly in the Kinai Province and their surrounding districts.

THE LEAGUE OF THE ZA IN THE ASHIKAGA EPOCH WAS THE SAME as the Hanseatic League.—From what has been said, it will be seen that the za in this country was something like the guilds of merchants in Europe. As explained in the first part of the chapter, the historical survey of the guild will prove that it originated in religious service and then became industrial, and finally, after the 12th century, purely economical. The bond of a society in remote ages was blood, but as the time went on, the people of the same race did not always live in the same place nor were engaged in the same business. The people in the same business and in the same interest had naturally to make a union for a common cause. The one devised was the system of the guild. In the Middle Ages, when the feudal system was not completed and there were no firm civic institutions, there was no other means but this system to supplement these defects. In the 12th century were found the industrial guilds in Magdeburg and other cities in Germany, while such a system was already started in England at the close of the 11th century. The member of the guild had what was called a seat, which could be bought or sold. The word " seat " referred to the seats in the market, and was named the upper or lower seat according to its position in the market. The guild was also called the Hansa. The Hanseatic League that had extended commercial power over the European countries from the 14th to 16th centuries and formed a definite state regardless of the national boundaries, having such an influence as to dispatch its own ministers, was merely an alliance of the guilds in London, Hamburg, Lubeck, Bremen, etc. The league of our za merchants, that gradually gained influence after the middle period of the Ashikaga epoch, and finally occupied the barriers in various districts, having the exclusive use of the highways and monopolizing commercial privileges, was no other than the Hanseatic League inside the state. Strange to say, it was in the 14th and 16th centuries, the period being almost the same as that of the Hanseatic League in Europe. The present prosperity of London owes much to the undertakings of the merchants belonging to the Hanseatic League, and the word "sterling," as applied to the gold pound, is a corruption of "Easterling," or Eastern Hansa merchants, who reformed the coinage. Similarly the gold coins that were issued in Kyoto and Sakai in the Ashikaga period were the undertaking of the league of za merchants.

The Constitution of the Za.—As above mentioned, the league of the za in this country and the Hanseatic League in Europe flourished almost in the same age, and the inner organization of the latter is comparatively well known, while, on the contrary, little is, much to our regret, known as to the system of our za, except for the fact that they consisted of merchants granted the monopoly right of business and were the unit of responsibility for the payment of taxes, etc., to their respective lords or those in power. As for the constitution of a guild of the English merchants in the 13th and 14th centuries, it had a close connection with the city which was the self-governing body in its locality, and the merchants of the guild were in many cases considered simply members of the citizens' autonomy. From these facts it may be presumed that the self-governing body and its administration had complicated relations with the guild, so that the two bodies might be considered almost one and the same thing. No details of our za are known as to this point, but it seems that the za of wine dealers and store-keepers in Kyoto were at the same time the centre of the self-government of the city at the close of the Ashikaga epoch. In the year 1444 and in the reign of the Shogun Ashikaga Yoshikatsu the people in Eastern and Western Kyoto quarrelled with each other, and the riot had to be suppressed by troops dispatched by the Shogun. The cause of the disturbance was due to the fact that although the manufacture of leaven had been the privilege of the people in Western Kyoto, the people of Eastern Kyoto infringed the monopoly.

RELATIONS BETWEEN THE ZA AND THE SELF-GOVERNING BODY.—The system of the za was transformed in the Tokugawa epoch and called the Onaka, which was an organization resembling the European guild much more than the former za. This system of the Onaka was another name of the local self-governing body in some cases. For instance, as will be explained when we deal with the commercial system of Niigata Port, the Elderman of the Onaka was the Elderman of Niigata Port, who was responsible for its local administration. The system of the Onaka in the Tokugawa epoch had its origin in the last period of the Ashikaga epoch, and therefore it may be no hasty conception to hold that a za of the Ashikaga epoch was similar to the guild in Europe, and was another organ of self-government in many cases.

THE MARKET WAS ESTABLISHED AT THE SHIKUBA, OR POST-STATION. We have seen that the za was an important element of the commercial system in the Ashikaga epoch and was the centre of its commerce. However, such a system could not spring up suddenly, and there must have been some circumstances suitable for its birth. In such historical localities as Kyoto, with a history of hundreds of years, the za which sprang up in any district had connection with its post-station. As to the origin of markets in the remote age there are many opinions. According to some it is connected with the utagaki (singing parties), which were held on a large scale in the age between the 5th and 6th centuries. The men and women in a district all gathered on this occasion and sought for husband or wife, as the case might be. When the spring breeze awoke the verdure in the fields, hundreds of both sexes gathered in the village square or upon a hill and expressed their hearts by singing songs, and many happy marriages were made on such occasions.

In the reigns of the Emperors Kenso and Jinken, history tells us that even some members of the Imperial Family sought for their better halves at such gatherings. It is the result of this custom that men and women used to meet one another at the festival of a village in later periods. The utagaki was the place of trade at the same time. When a market is established, there must be groups of people with something to sell as well as those people whose sole object is to buy, and thus an exchange is established.

There are two things to attract people besides buying and selling, the festival of the shrine or the temple and an important thoroughfare of communications. In the latter there will naturally be inns, which will in turn give shelter to travellers, with the result that a post-station (or relay-town) becomes necessary. Of these inns is built up a street, containing within it a group of people other than the farming class.

Many villages formed an economic system with this quarter as its centre, and the post-station and the market had always close relations with each other. In the Ashikaga epoch the post-station was not always the market, but the market was a post-station with no exception; and in case the post-station was a market it was in most cases so situated that on one day a return trip to the place could be made from the neighbouring villages. The present section of Motososha village in the province of Kotsuke is an old post-station, and the economic communications between the present town and its neighbouring villages are always carried out through this station. For instance, when farming people want to sell their fuel and charcoal they open a market at Motososha, where the goods are displayed, while the people of the town come to the place for the goods. On the other hand, when the people of the town want to sell their articles to farmers, the same market is always opened for the sale of the merchandise. This is an example remaining to the present, but the transactions in all provinces were mostly made in like manner up to the end of the Tokugawa epoch. When we find that the post-station for the traffic and the market for transactions were developed parallel with each other, and when we make the comparison between Japan and Europe as to the history of the market development, we feel again that the history of the East and the West is just like putting together the two halves of a seal. Buchel says, in his *Economic History of Europe*: "If we have before us the map of Germany of the old times and mark dots upon the names of about three thousand towns having their own self-government up to the end of the Middle Ages, we shall find that a province will have such dotted towns, each of which is surrounded by towns in all directions, with an average distance that can be traversed in a walk of four or five hours." Such towns were each an economic centre of its locality, though they might differ in importance. In order to illustrate the fact more definitely, you may suppose that the country was divided among her towns, then the towns in Southern Germany each possessed an area of 40 or 50 miles square, those in Central and Northern Germany 60 to 80 miles square, and those in Eastern Germany 100 to 170 miles square. Each town assumed the central position of such a locality; the German farmers in any districts were able to come up to the market of the town in the daytime and return home at night. This shows an exactly similar state of affairs to what we find in Japan, and it will be seen that we find much in common in the histories of the East and the West.

THE MARKET SYSTEM OF THE HOJO EPOCH.—In the days of the Hojo and the Ashikaga a market was mostly set up under the licence of the lord in its district. Kamakura, for instance, was a large city at the time of Yoritomo, being the headquarters of his Government, but it was in the days of the Hojo that the town was allowed to establish the market of Kamakura, where business was transacted. There was no established distinction between the military art and agriculture in those times, and a great land-owner was always a military man. Such great land-owners gathered at Kamakura from time to time, but many of them did not reside in the place permanently. Kamakura deduct the residences of the Government officials and a section of those people who supplied provisions to those residences. To establish a market at Komachiya into a town it had to be done with the permission of the Kamakura Government. In those days business dealings were prohibited in places other than the sanctioned quarters. In like manner, the permission of the lord was necessary to set up a post-station in his jurisdiction, and after its formation the lord protected or interfered for various reasons. In time a market sprang up at the post-station, and in many cases the licence of the za was obtained by those merchants who entered the market. Thus, when a lord built a castle, people gathered round his castle, forming a castle-town; when a temple assumed power, traders sold articles in front of its gate, and a temple-town was formed by those merchants who made a profit by selling commodities to worshippers to the temple.

The castle-town, the temple-town, or the flourishing post-station was the economical centre of its neighbourhood. This was the economic division at the end of the Ashikaga epoch.

CHAPTER XIX

THE ASHIKAGA EPOCH

THE ADVANCE OF LITERATURE IN THE ASHIKAGA EPOCH.—After 1338, when Ashikaga Takauji proclaimed himself Shogun, the country was divided into numerous sections under different powerful men who were constantly and stubbornly at feud with one another, and no single victory or defeat ever settled their conflicts. After one hundred years of this the people got sick of it, and, especially after the great disturbance of the Onin War, a gradual peace began to dawn all over the country and some advance in civilization was made. The powerful stimulus was the rise of the Ming Dynasty on the opposite coast of China. That country had made a remarkable progress in the periods of the Tang and Sung Dynasties, but the northern barbarians invaded the land and subdued it. Such a state of things was, however, against the natural tendency, and accordingly, ninety-eight years later, the Yuan Dynasty set up by these barbarians was overthrown by the Ming. It fell to the Ming Dynasty, then, to bring about the revival of China's civilization, and the period presented the most brilliant of all the twenty-five dynasties in China.

It is only natural that intercourse with such a civilized people should be an immense stimulus to Japanese in all directions, and we find in the time of the Ashikaga, despite the abnormal conditions due to successive internal disturbances and the international trouble springing from the Japanese pirates, that Japanese Buddhist priests went over to China one after another and mastered the actual nature of the civilization, quite unlike the scholars of the Monarchical Age, who had relied upon books chiefly. Now the ears of the priests heard the statements direct from the Chinese scholars, their eyes saw the real state of civilization, and their hands touched the actual things Chinese, and, directed by them, a broad stream of Ming civilization flowed into this country. The five Great Temples in Kyoto were something like a university to propagate Ming civilization. The seventy pupils of the High Priest Musokokushi, such as Mukyoku, Gido, Sun-oku, Zekkai, Tsshu, etc., were highly honoured, like the seventy pupils of Confucius.

When the powerful Uesugi Norizane re-established the Ashikaga school and the Kanazawa library, they were the source of knowledge and culture among the uncivilized eastern provinces, just as Alexandria had shed the light of civilization in barbarous regions. The Ouchi family of Suo Province also highly respected this study, and started educational work upon the basis of knowledge acquired through their own intercourse with the Ming as well as of the civilization obtained from Kyoto, the centre of this country. Educational work was also done in the province of Tosa, where there was a southern school, which was a mixture of Buddhism and Confucianism. In Kyoto was a profound scholar named Sugawara Hidenaga; and in astronomy and mathematics Kamo Arikata was reckoned the first. Ichijo Kaneyoshi was the foremost scholar among the nobility.

In poetry, which was popularized by Sogi and Shohaku, we have Asukai Gasei, who published the *Shin-zoku Kokinshu*. There were some generals of deep learning, like Imagawa Ryoshun. His correspondence with his son Chushu consisted of excellent maxims and invaluable instructions, quite unrivalled at the time, and it was a text-book for the officials and people alike over some three hundred years. In later periods may be counted Ota Mochisuke, of whom is told the pretty anecdote concerning the genesis of the well-known ode, *Yamabuki Flower*, and Naoe Kenzoku of Echigo, who published the commentary on the *Monsen*. They were followed by Shiba Yoshimasa and many others.

METAL EXPERTS AND SWORD FORGERS FLOURISHED IN GREAT NUMBERS.—When learning attained such prosperity, much more striking was the advance of the arts directly connected with warfare. Goto Yujo carved designs by Kano Motonobu, a renowned painter, and left a large body of work, in which the art of relief work was his own device. He died at the age of seventy-seven in the year 1512. Hanrokuro Fusakichi, of the Myochin, was famous for making arms in 1535, and besides, there were many armour experts, such as Fusanori and Fusashige at Kamakura about 1560, Fusaie in Kozuke Province in 1530, and Fusamune at Odawara, Sagami Province, at the same period. The first Kaneie, metal expert, flourished in the 16th century, and Myoju, sword-guard maker, lived at the same time; while in Koshu was Nobuie, who made a famous helmet for Takeda Shingen. In 1490 appeared the saddle-makers of Ise, Sakyonosuke Sadayasu, and Ioka Taro Jiro. The Kaneko family, makers of the Musashi armour, started in the 15th century. The art of forging swords also flourished unprecedentedly during the epoch. Such experts as Toshiro Yoshimitsu, Rai Kuniyuki, etc., had already appeared in Kyoto in the 14th century, but the most renowned was Okazaki Masamune at Kamakura some fifty years later. His ten disciples and others spread in all regions, and his peerless art was propagated almost to every nook and corner of the country.

Progress of Painting and Pottery.—In painting, Sesshu had early attained celebrity, his fame having reached the Ming Court in China. Shubun, Sotan, and Kano Masanobu served Ashikaga Yoshimasa, being granted an estate worth 5,000 kwan; while Igarashi Shinsai and Omi Michinaga were famous for relief lacquer, and Sei Ami and Yasu Ami as lacquer workers. In fact, prominent artists swarmed and adorned the artistic world of the epoch. The art of pottery was also facing a fundamental transformation. In 1223 Kato Shirozaemon Kagamasa, a native of Owari, went over to China, accompanying Priest Dogen of the Eiheiji Temple, Echizen. He remained at Senshu, Fukien Province, for six years, and studied the ceramic art. Returning home with samples of faience, he travelled about the country in search of a clay suitable for the manufacture of pottery. Finally he settled at the village of Seto, and, with the help of the native workers, began to manufacture faience, quite different from the former unglazed pottery, marking a great step in the progress of ceramics in Japan. What we call the work of the first Toshiro of Furuseto were his products at this time.

Kagemasa had not been able to master all the lines of baking on account of the prohibitions issued by the Chinese Emperor, but in 1300 the third Toshiro penetrated all the secrets of manufacture and produced the Kinkasan-yaki. In the province of Bizen appeared such experts as Sohaku, Shimbei, Shogan, and Buemon, who produced what is known as Inbe-yaki. In 1513 Yamada Gorotayu Shonzui visited China with Priest Keigo of the Tofukuji Temple, who was the envoy of Ashikaga Yoshitane, the reigning Shogun of the time. There he mastered the art of porcelain, and on his return he produced the famous pottery known as Shonzui, taken from his name.

The Food of the Nation.—The principal staple food of Japanese has always been rice from ancient times down to this day, but the people of this time still lived on unhulled rice, baked rice, or sun-dried rice, and the use of cleaned rice was limited to a small number of people. It was the custom to take two meals only in a day, breakfast and supper, and this was specially so in the case of the military class. Such labourers as carpenters, roofers, and others doing hard work gradually began to take a midday meal, but, generally speaking, the custom of two meals was practised among the public, a proof that the labour of the time was not so severe as at present.

Such cereals as millet, barley, beans, and buckwheat were already used, but the people did not yet know how to make udon (wheat vermicelli) from the wheat flour, nor sobakiri (buckwheat vermicelli) from the buckwheat flour. When the soldiers went on a picnic in the fields and mountains, they took with them baked rice only. Corn was not imported yet, nor had the potato, peanut, sweet-potato, or water-melon been yet introduced. Soy was discovered at this time, but it was not so refined a one as to-day. Tea was drunk widely, and the tea ceremony was one of the graceful pleasures among the nobility. Sugar was not imported into the country, and to give a sweet taste they used sweet tea leaves, dried persimmons, the juice of persimmons, or glutinous rice jelly. The wine was unrefined saké, and there was no refined saké such as we have now.

Cake was little to be found at the time, and when an Emperor visited Miyoshi Yoshinaga he was entertained with kokushi, inanousu, karahana, hanasemi-choko, nuts, yama-no-imo, fukumenoshi, hinomi, kinton, dried persimmons, and hime-kurumi, and therefore we may suppose that those fruits took the place of cake then. Tobacco had not been introduced yet and the people had no knowledge of cotton cloth. The noble class used silk, while military men and others wore hemp clothes, and in winter clothes were wadded with the catkin of kabayanagi (a kind of willow), just as our clothes are now wadded with cotton. This custom was kept up to the epoch of Hideyoshi.

THE INCOME OF THE MUROMACHI BAKUFU.—The Ashikaga Government established over the people living as described was called the Muromachi Bakufu, because all the mansions of the respective Shoguns were located at the top of Muromachi Street in Kyoto. Though the institutions of the Ashikaga Government were on the whole taken from those of the Kamakura Government first established by Yoritomo, there was an important element of difference. When Yoritomo ruled the country in 1186, he stationed shugo, or high constables, in all provinces, and jito, or land-stewards, under them. In all districts the military tax of 5 sho of rice per tan was levied and was made the income of the land-steward. In the rice-fields of the time, 50 sheaves of rice could be raised per tan of field, and 1 sheaf produced 5 sho of rice; that is to say, 2 per cent. of the production was given to the land-steward. On the other hand, the high constable owned an estate in addition to the province in his charge, and the income of his estate constituted his salary. Later, in the 16th century, when Hojo Tokifusa was in charge at Kamakura, he, for the first time, made a registry of fields. In Yoritomo's time an inspection of fields all over the land had been made, but there was no record-book. Tokifusa's was the first, and after that the system of taxation was gradually perfected.

In the reign of Yoritomo, though the influence of high constables was great, there were still in some provinces governors who owed allegiance to the Monarchical Government in Kyoto; and though land-stewards held a large power, the intendants of manors were respected by the people, while the influence of high constables collided with that of land-stewards. After repeated revolutions, in which the provincial governors and manorial lords were all destroyed, land-stewards were made the subjects of high constables, bringing about a complete change in conditions.

When Takauji conquered the whole land, he carried on everything for a time after the old system of the Kamakura Government, but in reality he abolished the difference between high constable and land-steward, did not appoint provincial governors, and did not recognize manorial lords, but divided the whole land into sections, making each of his meritorious generals the lord of one section. However, the stewards of the former system maintained a well-founded influence in some localities, and in such cases the new lords were given the power of high constable over such land-stewards who governed the sections other than the domains of such lords. In return for fulfilling the duties of this high constable, such new lords were allowed to levy a certain tax of rice from land-steward and local families. Therefore in the Ashikaga epoch a lord was the owner of the province or county given him. Also he was a high constable for land under the control of some powerful family. Thus one man filled two posts, and this was the point where the constitution of the Ashikaga administration was not similar to that of the Hojo.

Taxation was levied upon High Constables.—The constitution being thus changed, the land system and taxation had to be altered also. In the days of the Minamoto and the Hojo a high constable owned his own manorial land hereditarily as the head of a local powerful family, and, besides, was granted the taxes from a certain area of land for his salary as high constable. His authority was, however, limited to overseeing the welfare of the land under his jurisdiction, and the authority of taxing was in the hands of the land-stewards. A land-steward had the power to levy a tax of 5 sho per tan of field, and treat it as his income. The tax of 5 sho was not collected from farmers, but from nobles or Buddhist priests, who claimed the ownership of certain manor or lands and in turn taxed their farmers. During the one hundred and fifty years of the Minamoto and the Hojo epochs, land-stewards usurped the power of all manor-holders, while, in turn, high constables had all land-stewards made their subjects, and therefore it came about that high constables were in possession of most of the wealth towards the end of the Hojo epoch and during the Ashikaga epoch.

Take, for instance, one or two cases of a few important retainers of the Ashikaga family in the Onin era. Kira Yoshisada had a domain in Kira, Saijo, and the surroundings in the province of Mikawa, from which he received an income of 67,706 koku 4 to 5 sho of rice, and, besides, he was paid 8,544 koku 1 to 5 sho of rice, as from the land of 7,054 cho entrusted to his government. Ishibashi Yoshiharu resided at Hinobatake, Tajima Province, and collected 14,268 koku 2·5 to 5 sho from his domain surrounding the town, in addition to his salary as high constable amounting to 1,501 koku 5 to 9 sho, that came from the Sammansho Manor, Wakasa Province (350 cho), the manor of Tottori-no-ho, Inaba Province (450 cho), the Takayanagi-no-ho and Mihara-no-ho, Tajima Province (433 cho).

The revenue allotted to the high constables was collected by the land-steward, who was deputy official of the constable, and was distributed as wages among the minor officials scattered about the various districts. The salary, then, was not much good to the high constable, but he was the lord of the province or the great lord of several provinces, and in time he came to hold the land entrusted to him for administration as his own real fief rather than merely to govern the land as officially ordered.

When the Emperor Godaigo restored the monarchical rights, he at once observed the state of things and made the two provinces of Aki and Suo an Imperial estate, the taxation from which was to cover the Court expenditure. Besides, he levied a tax upon high constables, amounting to 5 per cent. of their revenues, and on farmers a tax amounting to 1 per cent. of their incomes. This system of taxation was a cause of great chagrin and uneasiness to local powerful families, and the fundamental cause that the Emperor Godaigo estranged public opinion was really due to this policy in which he tried to coin his power into gold before his authority was firmly established.

Ashikaga Takauji saw all this very clearly and proclaimed that he would change the Imperial policy, and a tax of 2 per cent. from all high constables would be allotted to meet the expenditure of the Kyoto Government. At the same time he decreed that a tax of 2 per cent. of income should be levied upon all farmers. The provincial lords fell to this bribe, and were much pleased at the small taxation submitted to Takauji.

However, as might be expected, the Ashikaga family soon wanted to use their authority to get them wealth. In 1360, when Yoshiaki was Shogun, Regent Shiba Michitomo, Governor of Owari, ignored the 2 per cent. tax, and going back to the methods of the Emperor Godaigo, 5 per cent. of revenue was charged upon high constables, the tax being named the family-tax; while a tax was collected from the farmers at the rate of 1 per cent. of their revenue. According to this land-tax, 2½ sheaves of rice plants were handed over to the Shogun out of the total 50 sheaves produced per tan of field, while the remaining 47½ sheaves were divided into two equal halves, one to pay the high constable and the other for the farmer. The quantity of rice obtained from the 2½ sheaves of rice plants was 1 to 2·5 sho of rice, according to the official measure of the Choho and Emkyo era. Some exceptions were made for the Great Shrine of Ise, the Kasuga Shrine in Yamato, the Todaiji Temple, the Kofukuji Temple, and the Horyuji Temple.

The lords, exhausted as they were by long-continued war, were much displeased at this heavy duty newly charged upon them. Some refused military service on the plea of illness and some communicated secretly with the partisans of the Southern Dynasty, while some others, in order to meet the payment, levied heavy taxes upon their people, who would finally desert their districts. For instance, Sasaki Doyo, high constable of Settsu, neglected to pay the military tax over two years, whereupon Regent Shiba Michitomo deprived him of his post, and, moreover, confiscated the Tada Manor in Settsu out of his domain, intending to show his influence all over the country. But it was not only Doyo who disliked the increase of the taxation ; all the lords all over the country were up in arms against the high-handed measures taken by Michitomo. Shogun Yoshiaki was finally obliged to dismiss this statesman and appointed Hosokawa Yoriyuki to the Regency, who at once decreased the tax of 5 per cent. to one of 2 per cent.

In the days of the Minamoto and the Hojo the Kamakura Government had not levied any taxes upon high constables and land-stewards, and if there were any, they had been of a temporary nature, but never regular. On the other hand, the Ashikaga ordered high constables to be responsible for the payment of taxes to the Kyoto Government in accordance with certain regular rates. This is another point in which the Ashikaga institutions differed from those of the Minamoto and the Hojo.

The Shogun was the Richest Man in Japan.—What was the revenue of the Ashikaga Shogun at this time ? He had, in the province of Yamato, eight counties, which contained 8,961 cho of fields. The Shogun himself was the manorial owner of these lands, and there was no necessity for him to pay a high constable's salary, so he enjoyed a revenue of 244,025 koku of rice taken out of 480,500 sheaves of rice plants produced from his lands. Besides the above, the Shogun possessed 1,500 cho of fields in the Ashikaga Manor, Shimotsuke Province. Half of 750,000 sheaves of rice plants taken from the above fields was given to the Government at Kamakura, while the remaining half went to the Shogun. There were the Tada Manor in Settsu, the Manda Manor in Kawachi, and the Yamakuni Manor in Tamba, the total area of which was estimated at 5,337 cho, and they gave a turnover of 2,668,500 sheaves, producing 135,425 koku of rice. Half of this was the revenue of the Shogun's Government, and the other half was to cover the salaries of the officials and employees in charge of the miscellaneous business in the manors. All these five sources of income were the Shogun's revenue, which amounted to 309,487 koku of rice, out of which he was responsible for the Imperial Court's expenditure. From the economical point of view, the Shogun was no more than a great land-owner of 300,000 koku, but actually he rose above that position, and could collect a duty of 5 per cent. of their revenue from the lords all over the country.

Domains of the Shogun and Lords.—Then how much could the Ashikaga Shogun collect from all the lords apart from his income as a lord himself? To arrive at this we must know how many lords there were at this time and how much revenue they enjoyed. The Ashikaga epoch was subject to so many vicissitudes—peace and disturbances coming one after another—that there are no details as to the domains of lords at the beginning of the epoch, but when we come to the Onin era we find that there were 122 lords in all, with total domains of 14,400,000 koku of rice according to the present-day measure. But the Shogun could not lay his hands on 5 per cent. of the above total, as the Ashikaga family divided the county into two at the beginning of their dynasty, viz. the western fifty-three provinces placed under the direct control of the Shogun in Kyoto and the eastern fifteen provinces under the jurisdiction of the Regent at Kamakura. Therefore the taxes from the western fifty-three provinces were paid into the Kyoto Government, while those of the eastern fifteen provinces were collected by the Kamakura Regent. This division of the administration resembles somewhat that of the eastern and western Roman Empires, and this system of duplicate government was the cause of disturbances in later years. The total revenue from these two spheres of administration was much smaller than the 8,000,000 koku, which was the revenue of the Tokugawa Shogun in later periods. The incomes of the principal lords subject to the Ashikaga Shogun were also less than those of the lords in the Tokugawa epoch. There were many lords of 1,000,000 koku in the Tokugawa epoch; while in the Ashikaga epoch such a great lord as Hosokawa, who had long been in charge of administrative affairs, received only 281,523 koku from his provinces of Sanuki, Awa, Tamba, and Settsu, with his official salary as the high constable of Shikoku, amounting to 29,634 koku. On the other hand, in the Ashikaga epoch the financial power of the Kamakura Regent was practically equal to that of the Kyoto Shogun, and, besides, there were many lords possessing a much greater domain than the Shogun himself. All this shows why the Ashikaga enjoyed so little peace, but suffered from constant disturbances.

Population and Area of Arable Land in the Ashikaga Epoch. The Tokugawa brought all the country under their sway in the time when the whole nation yearned for peace. It was as easy as following the ebbing tide, and all the lords were eager to obey the orders of the Tokugawa. The case was quite contrary with the Ashikaga. This was the time when all the lords desired the expansion of their influence, and the Ashikaga had to bring about peace against the prevailing tendency of the lords. Accordingly, its system of administration was somewhat similar to that of a federal Government, and the Shogun was no more than the *primus inter pares*. It was naturally no easy work then to effect centralization by suppressing the lords.

It is not certain what was the population in the country ruled by the Ashikaga. The history of Sung (China) contains a statement of Priest Chozen, who went to China for study in 982. According to this statement, there were 372 villages and 414 post-stations in Japan, with 883,329 taxable males, but the total population of the time cannot be traced. According to the *Wameisho*, published by Genjin in about 930, the country had cultivated lands of 862,796 cho or more, and in accordance with the *Shochukoyomi*, by Miyoshi Tameyasu in the 12th century, the area of paddies in the country was estimated at 922,800 cho. In 1553 Ashikaga Yoshiteru ordered Takagi Mitsusuke and Kotsuke Harutoki to examine all the fields in the country, and they reported that the total revenue amounted to 18,638,696 koku of rice. The taxation of those times was Shi-ko Shichi-min, which means that out of the total products of the land the lord took four-tenths and the farmer six-tenths, or Shichi-ko San-min, which means lord seven, farmer three. On the whole, however, the rate of lord four, farmer six, may be the safest figure. Now, at this rate, if the tax revenue was 18,680,000 koku, the total production of rice in the whole country would be 46,700,000 koku. Supposing that 1 sho of rice would meet the daily requirements of an individual person, the population of the whole country to be supported with the above quantity of rice may be estimated at the round figure of 13,000,000 souls. If 1 cho of land would produce 20 koku, the area of the arable lands might be about 2,300,000 cho.

Miscellaneous Taxes of the Ashikaga.—The Ashikaga Government levied an income-tax upon constables of provinces following the legislation of the Emperor Godaigo. Very early, local lords had attained enormous power, surpassing that of the Shogun, and naturally the Shogun's orders were observed nowhere. Robbers became rampant in all districts; none of the roads were safe, and there was no way of sending up the taxes and tributes to the capital. The Shogun's orders were ignored. In 1478 he revised the tax law to levy one-fifth of the total revenue of high constables, temples, and lords, but it could not be enforced by the feeble Government, and was only effective in Kyoto and its neighbouring provinces. The miscellaneous taxes imposed besides the land-tax in the Ashikaga epoch are as follows:—

1. *Munewari-sen.* This seems to have been a temporary tax, which was something like the house-tax of the present day. In 1365 Ashikaga Yoshiaki wanted to reconstruct the Kasuga Shrine at Nara and levied a tax of munewari-sen upon the lords at the rate of 10 mon per house. This order was carried out over the thirty-seven provinces.

2. *Tan-sen.* This was also a temporary tax charged upon the arable lands of the farmers over the whole country. The revenue was to meet the expenditure for the ceremonies of the Shogunate nomination as well as for the construction of shrines. There is a record that the rate of the tax was 30 mon per tan of land.

3. *Wine-Tax.*

4. *Store-Tax.*

These two taxes were of a permanent nature and levied upon the wine dealers and storekeepers in Kyoto and Omi. The store-tax means the tax on the pawnbrokers, and the rate was 10 mon per cent. of the pawning amount. The tax was levied quarterly at first, but the collection became irregular, sometimes being made as often as twelve times a year.

5. *Barrier-Taxes; Port-Tax.* The transit duty through the barrier was called the barrier-tax, while the tax for import and export through the port had been formerly called moku-sen, but it was named the tsuryo, or port-tax, in the end of the Ashikaga Period.

6. *Jishi.* In the Monarchical Age this had been the term applied to the farm-rent for the cultivation of the official lands, but it was now the tax paid by the people living in cities. In this case, however, the tax-payers were those who possessed houses or land, and the tenants of houses were exempt.

7. *Kuchimai.* This was a supplementary tax to be paid in addition by farmers when they paid the tax of rice to their lord. The rate was about 2 per cent. of the original tax and fell to village officials.

8. *Zaryo.* All lines of commerce were carried on as monopolies, called the za, and a permanent or temporary tax was payable for this right.

In the Hojo epoch the land-tax and minor duties were charged upon the people by their respective lords. Besides the land-tax, there were miscellaneous taxes of small amount, called the sea tributes or the mountain tributes, but the rates were so small as to make it unnecessary to take them all, and these were also collected by the local lords—the Central Government getting no share. As for the Central Government, it sometimes charged the military duty or some temporary taxes upon the local lords, but no regular taxes were levied upon them in ordinary times. Contrariwise, the taxes were levied upon local lords in the Ashikaga epoch; and, besides, the Ashikaga Government directly taxed the local people and lords with such taxes as munewari, tansen, and so on. This was because the Ashikaga family was not content to be merely great land-owners, supporting the Central Government with their own income, like the Minamoto and the Hojo, but intended to maintain it with the revenue arising from general taxation over the whole country. It is clear that the time was ripe for the birth of a powerful Central Government in this country, but with the Ashikaga it was merely a pious aspiration and attempt to avail themselves of the tendency. They failed because their tail became too heavy for them. First of all, the tribute of high constables to Kyoto gradually decreased, and then the number of people who paid munewari, tansen, etc., became smaller and smaller. In the 15th century the sphere where these miscellaneous taxes were raised narrowed, and was mainly limited to the five provinces surrounding Kyoto, especially the localities close to the capital. Naturally, therefore, heavy taxes had to be borne by Kyoto and neighbourhood.

Population of Kyoto.—What population Kyoto had at the time it is difficult to say on account of the lack of historical material. According to the *Kaitoshokokuki*, which was issued by a Korean named Shinshikushu at the end of the 15th century, Kyoto had about 206,000 houses, eight counties belonging to the city, and an area of paddies amounting to 11,122 cho. The population for 206,000 houses must have been 1,300,000 souls.

Some Peace in the Country.—After Ashikaga Takauji rose to the Shogunate in 1334, the war with the Southern Dynasty had continued for many years, and distinguished generals had vied with their master, and Takauji died in 1358 full of bitter experience of twenty years' disturbances, outside and inside. His son Yoshiaki became the Shogun after him, and those who had sided with the Southern Dynasty were slowly ruined, while Takauji's generals gradually ate up one another. They were all replaced by new people, who were all disloyal to the Shogun, with the exception of Hosokawa Yoriyuki. The Regent at Kamakura, who established the half-independent Government there, which was liable to vie with the Kyoto Shogun, was fortunately first Mochiuji, and then his son Ujimitsu, who, with the assistance of Uesugi Moriaki, showed a loyal attitude towards the Kyoto Government, so that the two Governments, eastern and western, were in good harmony with each other. When Yoshimitsu, the son of Yoshiaki, assumed the post of the Shogunate, he was only nine years old, and naturally all the administrative affairs were decided by Yoriyuki, who was really a great general, a very rare phenomenon among the unlettered, discredited, and ignorant generals produced in the dark ages of the Ashikaga. Yoriyuki, on the contrary, was endowed with nearly every capacity required by a statesman. He possessed the whole island of Shikoku, and the greatness of his military and financial power was sufficient to establish the leadership in one region, but he had remained a faithful retainer ever since the time of the former Shogun, Yoshiaki. He took charge of the Shogunate administration, restrained the powerful lords, revived discipline, rewarded upright officials, stamped out graft, and encouraged all the virtues, preaching the shame of vileness. He had learned something of the military discipline of the Kamakura epoch and studied the Chinese literature, and, having been the head of a great family ever since the time of his grandfather, he had cultivated the manner of a great chief, whilst really possessing the qualifications of a good retainer. He was indifferent to flattery, and no evil actions could be carried out under his administration. The whole country was now headed for a general peace under Yoriyuki's leadership.

THE LUXURIOUS LIFE OF YOSHIMITSU.—Yoshimitsu, too, was also endowed with some greatness and some clear-sightedness, so that the influence of the Ashikaga was most expanded in his time. In 1388 Yoshimitsu dispatched two generals, Ouchi Yoshihiro and Rokkaku Mitsutaka, as his envoys to the Imperial residence at Yoshino, in order to arrange negotiations for peace between the Southern and Northern Emperors. The Emperor Gokameyama finally agreed to concede the sacred treasures to the Northern Emperor, whereupon the Southern and Northern Courts were united after the reigns of four emperors and the lapse of fifty-seven years, since the Emperor Godaigo moved to the Southern Imperial residence. After he had brought about the unity of the Southern and Northern Courts, and accomplished his desire to place the whole country under one control, Yoshimitsu resigned the Shogunate in favour of his son Yoshimochi, and wanted to become the Dajo-daijin, or Prime Minister. The Court nobles, blind to the change in the times and sticking to precedent, were of opinion that no military men had assumed the post of the Dajo-daijin since the time of Taira-no-Kiyomori, and the Court was just about to decide against the appointment, when Yoshimitsu frightened them into agreeing by threatening to destroy the Court he had himself established, set up one of his own, and appoint one of his retainers Prime Minister. Now Yoshimitsu expanded all the institutions in imitation of the Imperial Court and built a splendid mansion, doing his best to solidify the influence of the Shogunate Government, so that it would be the centre of the political power and the leading light in social glories. When he carried out these reforms he was only thirty years old. All his words were orders and his actions law, and, ostentatious as he was, he was eager to do what neither his father nor grandfather had done and leave rules for posterity. Flatterers surrounded him, and his administration became showy and luxurious. Whenever he proceeded to or retired from the Court, all the hereditary nobles of the Court paid respect to him, kneeling down on the steps, just as they treated the Emperor.

GREAT RETAINERS OF THE ASHIKAGA VIED WITH ONE ANOTHER.—Michitada, son of Nijo Morotsugu, the Regent, received one part of Yoshimitsu's name as a compliment and changed his name to Mitsumoto. By these means he obtained the position of Minister of the Left a few years later. When the Taira vied with the Fujiwara nobles, they outdistanced them to some degree, while the Minamoto kept them at a respectful distance, shutting them up in one part of Kyoto. But the Ashikaga completely trampled upon the hereditary nobles. One year after Yoshimitsu became the Dajo-daijin, he retired from the post and shaved his head, calling himself Dogi, a priest name. He gave Yoshimochi, his son, the mansion at Muromachi, and built a new villa at Kitayama, levying taxes upon the high constables in all provinces. It was really a palatial mansion, gilded all over, and the name of the Golden Pavilion was given to it by the people. Besides, he constructed the Hoshoji Temple, the seven-storied Pagoda of the Shogokuji, and many other buildings. After that, in imitation of him, each Shogun was eager to set up pavilions or temples. The Ashikaga possessed eleven mansions. Though Yoshimitsu resided at the villa at Kitayama, he did not lead a hermit life, but gave various entertainments and dancing performances as well as the tea ceremony. Moreover, he went on picnics from one place to another and seemed to be short of time for his amusements. He was generous, and distributed gold like water. The expenditure for his luxurious life could not be met with the revenue from the single province of Yamashiro, and accordingly the taxation upon local high constables was necessarily very heavy. Neither in the Court or the Bakufu was there ever anyone who led such an ostentatious and luxurious life as Yoshimitsu. But the power of the Ashikaga was consolidated in his time, and therefore all the local generals were obedient to his orders and willing to send tribute. However, this submission could not last for ever, and in no long time the basis of the national welfare began to be threatened.

THE OUCHI FAMILY HELD GROUND AT SAKAI.—Ouchi Yoshihiro, who held the three provinces of Suo, Nagato, and Aki, urged the necessity of the unification of the Southern and Northern Courts. He was too ambitious to remain in his remote part of the country, and scheming to acquire central power, he adopted an arrogant attitude toward the Shogun, and would not send in tribute nor come up to

Kyoto. His plan was to attack Yoshimitsu, with the secret help of Ashikaga Mitsukane, at Kamakura, who realized that Yoshimitsu had lost public favour owing to his luxurious life, and intended to seize the Shogunate for himself. In fact, he called himself the Shogun, abolishing the title of Regent, and his mansion the palace, basing his system upon that of the Kyoto Government. Yoshimitsu remonstrated with him for his disloyal attitude, but Mitsukane was determined to resort to arms. On hearing this news, Ouchi Yoshihiro came forward as his ally. Yoshimitsu sent an envoy to Yoshihiro to demand the payment of tribute, to which Yoshihiro replied that he was prepared for an expedition and had allies, so he would meet the Shogun on the battle-field before long, following his message by transporting his forces to Sakai by the sea route. There he set up high walls and awaited the arrival of the Kyoto armies. This was for the first time that Sakai rose to such importance in history.

THE RISE OF SAKAI.—Since time immemorial our mariners had relied upon the protection of the sea-god of Sumiyoshi, and his shrines were found in many places along the coast. Sakai also enshrined the god of Sumiyoshi, and the town itself was nothing but the extension of the shrine ground. Therefore, the place had belonged to the Tsumori family, hereditary priests of the Sumiyoshi Shrine, but in 1380 it came into the possession of Yamana Ujikiyo, who built a castle there. In the Ashikaga epoch the castle of Sakai fell into the hands of Ouchi Yoshihiro. Yoshihiro was already interested in the wako, or piracy to China, and in foreign trade, and he opened a port at Sakai. From there he maintained friendly intercourse with Korea, China, and South Seas Islands, and the port was frequently visited by merchant ships in its prosperity. Yoshihiro then possessed great wealth due to the foreign intercourse and had numerous forces, with which he threatened Kyoto from Sakai and awaited the rising of his allies. In the end he was surrounded by the great armies of Yoshimitsu and killed. After Yoshihiro's fall, Mitsukane of Kamakura also retreated with his army, and the revolts in various regions were all suppressed.

YOSHIMITSU RECEIVED A MING TITLE.—After the ruin of the Ouchi family, Yoshimitsu consulted a certain Koetomi, a merchant in Kyushu, and wanted to open trade with the Ming Empire and acquire the consequent profits. He dispatched Priest Soa as his envoy to the Ming Court in 1401, accompanied by Koetomi. His message was couched in the humblest terms. In the following year the Ming Emperor, Seiso, dispatched here his letter of response, and appointed Yoshimitsu King of Japan. In the year 1408 he fell sick and died at his mansion at Kitayama in his fiftieth year. There was nothing that he had devised that was not put in force, and there was nothing that he started which was not accomplished. With his grandiose ideals he had raised the power of the Ashikaga to the highest point, but he was like the great stone covering an old tomb, and no sooner was the stone taken away than the evil spirit sprang forth. When Yoshimitsu died and Yoshimochi succeeded, the Emperor bestowed on the deceased the title of ex-Emperor, which would have pleased him enormously, but Yoshimochi, who was versed in the general situation, did not accept this Imperial favour. But when the Ming Sovereign sent here his envoy and bestowed on Yoshimitsu the posthumous title of King Kyoken, Yoshimitsu received this title in favour of his father.

Disturbance arose from the Tokusei, or the Benevolent Administration.—In 1425 Yoshimochi retired from the Shogunate in favour of his son Yoshikazu, but when the latter died two years later, leaving no sons of his own, Yoshimochi again took up the post. Some years after, Yoshimochi fell sick, and the third son of Yoshimitsu, who was at the time the Abbot of the Seirenin Temple, returned to secular life, changing his name to Yoshinori, and was made the Shogun. It was not long, however, before he was killed by Akamatsu, who was the lord of three provinces—Harima, Bizen, and Mimasaka—and his eight-year-old son Yoshikatsu succeeded to the Shogunate. Two years later the new Shogun died after a fall from his horse, and then his brother Yoshimasa became the Shogun. Sixty-seven years had passed from the death of Yoshimitsu to this time, which had been spent in continual pleasure-making and conspiracies. A great change had been made, too, the old power yielding to the rise of a new force in the region of Kwanto, with Kamakura as its centre, while, in the vicinity close by the capital, the Akamatsu family were destroyed on account of the assassination of the Shogun, and their domains given to Yamana Sozen as a reward, thus restoring the Yamana house to power. The retainers of the Akamatsu family fled to Kyushu, where they were secretly protected by Shoni Yoshiyori. Ouchi Mochioki was ordered to conquer the Shoni family and received their domains after he had accomplished it, and thus the Ouchi family rose again to the power they had lost with the fall of Ouchi Yoshihiro. The luxurious extravagance of the Shoguns had become yearly greater ever since the time of Yoshimitsu and Yoshinori, and this manner of conducting the administration gave rise to the frequent practice of what is called Tokusei, or the benevolent administration, and the economic balance was entirely destroyed.

Suspension of Highways in the Time of Yoshimasa.—Ever since the reign of Yoshimitsu, all the Shoguns had led a luxurious life, and the finances of the Government had been entirely disorganized.

In the time of Yoshimasa the Shogunate power became feeble, and lords would not pay tribute to the Shogun. Currency became short and the monetary circulation was very tight; the rate of interest was raised, and all the people suffered from the high cost of living. All the lords privately set up barriers and custom houses at various places and parts, causing great hindrance to communication. There was no uniformity of the administration, and rebels appeared everywhere. Robbers haunted the highways, while pirates made their appearance on the waterways, and accordingly traffic was largely suspended, the capital of Kyoto was cut off from communication in all directions and suffered from lack of supply of goods. In order to free herself from the scourge of Japanese piracy, called wako, Korea wanted to enter into cordial intercourse with the Japanese Government in 1470, but there was no safe way to carry out this attempt. As it happened, a certain Fujiwara Yorinaga sent a messenger named Juran to Korea, whereupon the Korean Government entrusted him with their state message and presents to our Government. He started for Kyoto, leaving Matsuura Island in the month of February, but pirates were rampant on the southern sea and he had to go round to the northern sea, finally arriving in the province of Wakasa in April. From there he communicated with Kyoto, and the Kyoto Government dispatched a troop to guard the envoy from Korea. However, they were much harassed by highwaymen and had sometimes to follow by-paths and sometimes to stay at a place for some days. It took them sixty days to cover the distance from Wakasa to Kyoto. Such was the state of travelling even for official messengers, and it will be easily imagined how much more difficult it was for common travellers.

Shortage of Coins.—The greatest blunder that was made by the Ashikaga Government was that they neglected the coinage. As the principle of the Ashikaga administration was to centralize more systematically than ever before, the matter of coining was naturally of the first importance, but all the officials were blinded by the profits before their eyes and would not entertain any far-reaching policy. They never concerned themselves at all, leaving it to lords and people at various places to take up coining. The merchants of Sakai and Hakata acquired Chinese coins called Eiraku-sen, and these coins were the only currency of the time. Therefore it was natural that the market was always short of money. It may not be the sole fault of the Ashikaga, for as the business of coining had been neglected ever since the close of the Monarchical Age, coining was one art that had been forgotten by the state Government. However, though the Government had neglected the matter, the public demanded coins, and to meet the demand foreign currencies were imported through trade or the plunder of the Japanese pirates. But, finally, all lords began to mint money themselves; for instance, the Ouchi family of Suo and the Yamana of Tajima seem to have produced silver coins. But this coining of silver money was rather imperfect, and there was no uniformity of shape, all the money being used by weight; and though there was no legal price, still it was very convenient in business. As explained in the chapter of the "Foreign Trade of the Ashikaga Epoch," its wide circulation will be seen from the fact that the cargoes of the tributary ships sent to China were estimated by the Eiraku-sen (copper coins) up to the time of Yoshimasa; but in the era of Temmon, or later, all the estimates were made by the standards of the silver coins. No exact record has been found as to the coining of copper coins by lords, and therefore many scholars are of the opinion that no copper money was minted in the Ashikaga epoch, but at least there is no doubt that it was already coined by Takeda, lord of Kai Province, in 1512.

It may be considered that the making of copper coins would not be limited to the Tekada family, but the other lords owning mines in their domains might perhaps have attempted coining. Any other coins must have been of private making among the people, and such were mostly of iron and named the bita-sen. But there were some made of copper, much inferior to the Eiraku-sen in quality, the value being, of course, lower than the Eiraku-sen. Coins of this kind were mostly produced in Kyoto and neighbourhood and therefore also named the coin of Kyoto. As above described, the Government did not take up the work of coining and left all this duty to the private enterprise of the lords and the public, which accounted for their bad quality and small credit in the market. Moreover, as the supply of coins was scanty, the people were much inconvenienced. Towards the end of the Ashikaga the price of rice was as shown below, and 2 koku or more of rice could be bought with 1 kwan-mon or a 1,000 Eiraku-sen.

	Per 1 kwan-mon of Copper.
1454	1 koku 5 to
1459	9 to 5 sho
1461	1 koku
1478	1 koku 7 to
1491	8 to
1493	1 koku 8 to 4 sho
1520	1 koku 2 to
1523	2 koku 7 to
1524	2 koku 1 to 5 sho

FINANCIAL DIFFICULTIES OF THE GOVERNMENT.—As above explained, the currency was very short at the time, and as a natural result interest became very high, the minimum rate being 30 per cent. per year, and sometimes reaching as high as 40 or 50 per cent. Even on Government loans, it was usual to pay interest of 36 per cent. In December 1543 the Government borrowed for its officials of several departments 100 kwan-mon at the rate of 36 per cent. from the merchants of Kyoto and Sakai. The sum of 100 kwan-mon was only sufficient to buy 180–200 koku of rice. So it may easily be imagined what were the financial difficulties of a Government obliged to borrow such a small sum. We find, moreover, that the Government borrowed another 100 kwan-mon at 30 per cent. from two merchants in Sakai on some other day in the same month of the same year. Therefore, it may be supposed that merchants had little confidence in the Shogunate Government at the time and would not loan a sum more than 100 kwan-mon, and so the Government was obliged to borrow money from different sources.

In the same way a dissipated man will usually borrow money from several money-lenders at the same time. The interest of 30 per cent. seemed to be limited to the Shogunate Government, but loans among the people were generally made at 40 or 50 per cent. Finally, the Government came to the decision that the interest was absurd, and tried to lower it by the promulgation of the following order in 1547 :—

> For the last few years the people in Kyoto and its neighbourhood have made constant complaints as to the difficulties of making a livelihood, and accordingly, the following three rules have been made :—
>
> 1. When a loan of rice or money is made, it is considered that the interest of 40 or 50 per cent. is rather too high. Therefore it is fixed that the interest shall be 20 per cent. when security is offered and 30 per cent. otherwise.
>
> 2. In case there is any person who will not make a loan at these low rates, he shall at once be reported to the authorities.
>
> 3. Pedlars in the town and merchants belonging to the za are often seen to sell their merchandise by coercion, taking advantage of their monopoly privilege, and to use abusive language, finally leading to quarrels. Sometimes such cases have been brought to the courts for decision. All merchants shall hereafter transact their business properly and without any offences.
>
> Offenders against the above three rules shall be punished with a fine of kwan-mon, and their business shall be stopped.
>
> (Signed) NARABAYASHI ICHIIMON NAGATAKA.
> WAKIYA SOZAEMON SADACHIKA.
>
> *November 11th, 16th year of Tenmon.*

The above regulations will clearly show the real state of Kyoto at the end of the Ashikaga epoch. The first article fixed that the interest should be 20 per cent. with security and 30 per cent. without security. The second article opened the way for people to make appeals to the Government whenever the loan was not made at low rates. The third article prohibited the pressing of people to purchase, abusing buyers, or quarrels on the part of the merchants, or the za having the monopoly privilege in the city, and taking unfair advantage of it. It will be seen what an arrogant and absurd attitude merchants assumed at the shortage of currency when the country was just on the point of entering the monetary economy age.

THE FALL OF THE OLD POWER.—The financial difficulties were not only limited to the Shogunate Government. The manor of the Reiunji Temple was in the domain of Yamana Mochikiyo, but, as Mochikiyo borrowed money from a rich man with this manor as security, its products did not come to the temple, which put it in great financial difficulty. Mochikiyo was a great personage who owned six counties out of twelve in Omi, with a yearly income of 405,000 koku of rice or more. In addition, he possessed ten counties of Izumo, four counties of Oki, and three counties of Kii. He was one of the most influential lords. When we find that such a powerful lord was so much pressed for money as to borrow on the security of a portion of his domains, we can see that the time was ripe for the downfall of the old power. After all, the country was just going to enter the age of the monetary economy, while there was no powerful Central Government which would take up the coining, and, on the other hand, the lords were absorbed in military affairs, few of them troubling their heads about the financial problem. Such being the case, the whole country was in trouble on account of the shortage of currency, which gave rise to various symptoms. For example, Nobunaga issued an order when he came up to Kyoto in 1568 that all the transactions of a large amount should be settled in gold and silver, and the use of copper coins was strictly prohibited under heavy penalty.

Temples of the time, owing to their poverty, used to sell the privilege of lodging the doja (pilgrims), as shown in the following:—

CERTIFICATE OF THE SALE OF DOJA.

The whole doja in the three countries of the Hosokawa district, those in the two countries of Shikisai and Shiso in Harima Province—the whole doja under the control of Nakasako Fukuichi Dayu and the names of those villages are shown on the appendix.

We hereby declare that the doja in these two provinces have been in our hereditary possession, but we beg to acknowledge that we have upon necessity sold the same at 150 kwan-mon to Odaya Sobei. So far as we have made this contract, we shall not entertain the least objection even in case the Government may issue the law of the Tokusei.

We have made this document as a certificate of the sale in case of the loss of the original contract.

(Signed) NAKASEKO FUKUICHIDAYU (Seal).
SABUROEMON, *Manager*.

The lucky day of February,
12th year of Eisho.

TO ODAYA SOBEI.

FARMERS MADE APPEALS TO THEIR LORDS.—The Shogunate Government were a great deal pressed for money, as mentioned elsewhere, and therefore the land-stewards tried all possible means to collect the taxes in order to supply resources to the Government, but the people, on the other hand, used to neglect the payment of their taxes. Once Miyoshi Chikuzen-no-kami, high constable of Settsu Province, demanded payment at once of taxes in default for many years, but the farming people came up to Kyoto and presented a petition to Narabayashi Nagataka, who was the chief official in charge. According to their statement, the yearly default on the part of farmers was due to the fact that their lords used to order farmers to gather bamboos and timber for the construction of forts at various places, as well as to charge the labour service upon farmers, and therefore their work of agriculture had to be neglected. Such being the case, cultivation was reduced to one-third when compared with that of ten years ago. Besides, enemies often invaded their districts and ravaged their fields. The farmers pleaded that their default was entirely due to these reasons, and if the default was collected by force they would all desert their districts. At these times the word "deserter," or "runaway," was the only effective weapon against the lord available on the part of farmers. Because if the farmers once escaped from their lands, the lands would become valueless. On his part the lord took all possible means to prevent the desertion of farmers, and there was many a lord who issued an order prohibiting his farmers to cultivate lands on other domains.

The following document will show a case in which the farmers living in front of the Seikaji Temple in Musashi Province were forbidden to move to other localities. The fact that temples prohibited their farmers' removal will be sufficient evidence of the true condition of these times :—

. . . and even the people residing in front of the temple are also forbidden to move to other localities. Offenders against these orders shall at once be reported to the authorities and be punished upon due judgment.

(Signed) SUKEMASA, LORD OF MINO.

April 8th, 23rd year of Tenmon.

TO ROKONSAI.

Farmers had no Liberty in Cultivation.—Farmers at these times were forbidden to move at their will, as above mentioned, and, besides, they had as well no liberty to select the lands for cultivation as they wished, as may be seen in the following document :—

> 1. It is prohibited to cultivate even a single inch of lands in other villages, neglecting the lands in this village.
>
> 2. The lands of poor harvest shall be classified into two kinds—one shall be exempted from taxation for five years and the other for seven years. The petition for the above grant shall be made to the Government accompanied by a proper certificate from the deputy official.
>
> 3. This village has been free from the taxation of the high constable from our ancestors' days and it shall remain so in our new generation. We shall ask the Government for the grant of this privilege, and therefore the people shall establish the rakushi (or free market) six times per year, after finding a suitable location for it.
>
> 4. Whenever the farmers of Shirako village are found living in any other localities, the deputy official will always order them to return home in accordance with the national law.
>
> In case there are found any persons who offend against the above orders. the names of those offenders shall be reported to the authorities.
>
> Deputy Official.
>
> *April* 3*rd*, 15*th year of Tensho.*
>
> To Farmers of Shirako Village.

The village of Shirako was in the country of Shinza, Musashi Province, including the present town of Matsuda. The above document regulated that the farmers of this village should not till any part of lands in other villages, and any persons who had moved to other localities should be returned home by the order of the deputy official. The farmers of these times were not bought and sold by the lord, neither were they charged any labour taxes in addition to the land taxation, as the slaves in the remote ages, but they had no liberty of moving and no right of selecting the lands to be tilled. When viewed from these points, they were still unable to shake off the state of serfdom.

People of Kyoto on the Point of Starvation.—The ranks of farming people were much depleted and many of them tried to run away from their home villages, as above mentioned. Thereupon all lords set up barriers in order to examine travellers and put a stop to the desertion of their farming people, at the same time collecting transit duties from travellers through such barriers. In 1479, when a messenger from the Dojoin of the Kofukuji Temple at Nara went to the province of Mino through the provinces of Yamashiro and Omi, he had to pass twenty-eight barriers and pay duties amounting to 1 kwan 496 mon, according to the records of the Dojoin Temple. The worst of all was that there were six barriers in one county. Every local grandee used to charge transit duty, and therefore it will easily be imagined what difficulty there was in travelling.

Now these barriers did not remain as the organs of tax collection, but in time became a means to recruit or plunder the commodities passing through them, and, as the natural result, the traffic of the country was everywhere interfered with. The artisans and merchants in Kyoto got no business, and all of them became short of provisions in a short time. Those who were lucky enough to have some property or treasures kept their families by selling their possessions, while those without any property used to run away from their houses. Thus all the payment of taxes was delayed and all the citizens were on the point of starvation. Even in such a state, if the Government had practised straightforwardness and maintained discipline, the people would have faced such hardship without grumbling. The truth was quite the contrary ; the administration reached the extreme of disorganization, and lawsuits were decided by bribery. No good citizens would stand this state of things.

In April 1444 all wine dealers in Western Kyoto gathered their families and retainers and, setting fire to their houses, raised a rebellion in the compound of the Temmangu Shrine at Kitano. Wine dealers and pawnbrokers at the time maintained a monopoly in their business, and no other people would be allowed to make competition in these lines. This year, however, the Government gave sanction to establish wine shops in Eastern Kyoto and prohibited the wine business in Western Kyoto. There was no historical precedent nor any seeming reason, but it was all a matter of bribes, and wine dealers in western Kyoto rebelled against it. The day was very windy and the fire spread over many miles. The Government dispatched troops and attacked the rebels, many of whom were killed and captured, and finally peace was restored. But an example had been set to the people of violent resistance, and thereafter there were many cases in which groups of the citizens petitioned the Government with violence, and they eagerly wished for the promulgation of the tokusei, so that the difference between the rich and the poor should be abolished and all loans be cancelled at the same time. The Government eventually yielded to the citizens and finally issued the tokusei, with the following reason : " Those who possess a large stock of rice and coins, or take mortgages in order to make profit, would not face starvation even if they were deprived of their property, and the rich are only one or two among one hundred people." Therefore a law must be such that may kill a few but cure many, and, besides, we have precedence for such an edict.

WHAT WAS THE TOKUSEI ?—The tokusei, or a term signifying benevolent administration, has been somewhat different in its nature in different times, but, generally speaking, the law of the tokusei regulated that (1) the debtors of money and rice should be released completely on payment of 10 per cent. of the original debt; (2) those who had pawned their military arms should be given twenty-four months' grace after the expiration of the period. When horses were mortgaged, and if the debtors had to pay the interest, rule No. 1 should be applied, even though there had been a certificate for the bargain. The tokusei ordinance was not enforced in the case of contributions of money and lands towards shrines and temples. When the tokusei edict was issued, bells were first rung, then shell trumpets were blown, and then the promulgation of the tokusei was loudly announced at every corner. Upon the news the citizens in great excitement crowded in front of pawnbrokers' shops to have their pledges returned, and vagabonds used to rush into the pawnbrokers' shops and plunder openly. Thereupon, in an attempt to prevent this, it was regulated in later periods that the pledges should be delivered only in the day-time, and women should be sent to receive them. During the Ashikaga epoch the tokusei was first enacted in 1441, when Ashikaga Yoshinori died. In 1457 the Emperor Shoko died, and the tokusei was for the second time promulgated in the following year. The whole ordinance is as follows :—

THE EDICT OF THE TOKUSEI.

1. A term of twelve months shall be given excluding the month of pawning in case of silk, embroidered clothes, musical instruments, arms, family utensils, and other miscellaneous articles.
2. A term of twenty months shall be given for trays, incense-burners, cups, vases, and metallic articles, and twenty-four months for clothing and the like.
3. A term of seven months shall be given for rice and other crops. The above rules are fixed according to precedent, and the pawners shall send women to the pawnbrokers for the delivery of their articles on payment of 10 per cent. of the debt. If the term exceeds the above periods, the tokusei rules shall not apply. Any offenders against the above shall be punished by the Government.

Loan transactions other than the above-mentioned shall be brought to the court of justice and receive due judgment.

By Order.

After this the tokusei was frequently promulgated, and finally the citizens who had experienced this tokusei began to demand its promulgation by forming riotous mobs, burning, breaking into the pawnbrokers' shops, and openly plundering in the day-time. All such insurrections were called tokusei disturbances, and they became more serious year by year. In later times the rioters were not only townspeople or farmers, but wandering soldiers began to control the mobs, and the ordinary police force could not suppress the disturbances, so that the Shogun was obliged to order generals, such as

Hatakeyama and Kyogoku, to bring military force to bear. In many such cases, however, the soldiers themselves joined the riot and sated their lust for loot.

The Cause of the Tokusei.—The most powerful causes of the tokusei disturbances which occurred since the year 1400 were mainly due to the frequent famines, as a result of insect pests or disease and to the plundering of soldiers suffering from rain and storm. Noteworthy was the riot caused by the famine which lasted from 1477 to 1480. This famine prevailed all over the country, but Kyoto suffered most, surrounded as it was by barriers in all directions, where heavy taxes were charged upon incoming rice. Rice from the country could only be bought in small quantities, and the city of Kyoto presented the most pitiful scenes, people dying of starvation in all quarters of the city. What looked like large stones floating down the River Kamo (in Kyoto) were nothing but the corpses, which damned the flow of water in many places, causing such a stench that no one could approach the banks of the river. As many as 82,000 people died of starvation in Kyoto during the two months of January and February 1480 alone. The Shogun held a mass for the dead on the bridge of Gojo, performing the ceremony in the very early morning, as it was unbearable to hold it when the sun was up on account of the terrible smell of the decayed corpses. This single record will be quite sufficient to depict the disastrous state of the times. What with starvation and unemployment, it was only natural that, however obedient they might be, the citizens became as savage as starving tigers and joined riotous mobs, who plundered the rich and set fire to their houses, to placate their wrath. The city of Kyoto was like hell for a time, and ever after poor people used to raise a riot when they were put to some hardship ; and when a riot broke out in one section it always spread in all directions, and the result was surely the promulgation of the tokusei ordinance. The citizens came to anticipate the issue of the tokusei at a certain period and made all preparations for it, some people making profit out of the law by deceiving travellers from other localities. After this no loans could be made without a clause in the contract that the amount should surely be paid back in full despite the tokusei law.

Tragedies and Comedies due to the Tokusei.—There is an amusing story of an incident that occurred in the Bunmei era, when the law of the tokusei was promulgated. The proprietor of an hotel had anticipated the issue of the tokusei owing to the hard times, and deceived a warrior who happened to patronize his hotel. The landlord, on the plea of great emergency, requested the guest to lend him his swords and travelling wardrobe, and the chivalrous soldier at once complied. A few days later the tokusei ordinance cancelled all loans in order to maintain equality between the rich and the poor, and the public should observe this law; therefore, said the landlord, great as was his gratitude for the warrior's favour, the law was the law, and the property he had borrowed could not be returned. The soldier was greatly perplexed and tried all sorts of arguments and pleas, but the landlord would not listen to him. The warrior kept his temper, and with great cunning he said to the landlord: "It may be in accord with the law that you should not return the things that I lent you, and therefore I will not ask for the return of my swords, and so on. On the other hand, I have borrowed this hotel from you, and, in accordance with the tokusei, it will not be necessary for me to return you the building that has been lent by you. The hotel is evidently my own property, and therefore you shall at once leave this building." So the argument went on, and the matter was finally brought to the courts. The innkeeper was hated by the authorities, and was at last sentenced to be exiled.

THE TOKUSEI GAVE RISE TO GAMBLING.—The misuse of the tokusei led to the lamentable result that the people lost their steadiness of mind; diligence was considered to be foolish, saving useless, and faithful service was despised. Many people lived like waifs and strays, trusting to luck and relying upon the help of others. In consequence gambling became prevalent among warriors, wanderers, and townspeople. Especially was this the case during campaigns. From the general down to the private, all used to join in the gambling, which was heavy, the stakes being as large as 5 or 10 kwan of Eiraku-sen, 5 or 10 ryo of gold, and the rich and the poor changed places within a single night. When money was exhausted, they used to wager arms and harness instead of money. We are told that when the army of Hatakeyama went to the battle-field, some warriors wore helmets without armour, while some had armour without helmets, and there were few warriors under the middle class who were in complete armour. These poor soldiers of low class without armour, however, in their desire to strip the foe of harness, would often perform deeds of great daring. Almost all the military class was deeply in debt, their only property—that is, arms—being always held in the stores of the pawnbrokers, and naturally, when there was a demand for the tokusei, these poverty-stricken warriors used blindly to assent to the short-sighted demands of the poor citizens and forced the issue of the law. Finally, arms and harness were made exceptions in the tokusei rule. Long afterwards, warriors saw how foolish it was to wager their arms, and began to lay as stakes the stores of rich citizens or temples and shrines. They had, of course, no right to these stores, but those who lost would promise to break into the stores on a certain day and to hand over a sufficiency of loot to the winners. Gambling in the camp was carried on without any money, but simply on word of promise, and the loser was to break into a certain store or residence. It was the darkest age in the history of Japan.

THE BENEVOLENT POLICY OF HOJŌ SOUN.—The people of Kyoto suffered a great deal, and finally forced the Government to issue the tokusei, but the people in local districts were not so badly off as those in Kyoto, and they did not resort to violence against their lords like the citizens of Kyoto. Still, the time was rife for all the lords to take into consideration the will of their people in their administration, otherwise their Government could not be well carried on. In the conflicts between the Minamoto and the Taira, events were on a small scale, and a few hundred or a thousand soldiers were sufficient to settle their affairs, but it was not so any longer. Now that the estate of a lord covered several provinces, he kept some hundred thousand soldiers, and naturally great armies were necessary in fighting among the lords. In former times the eastern lords did not concern themselves much about Kyushu, while those in Shikoku had little knowledge of the Tokaido districts, and their conflicts were all of a local nature. Now that the soldiers of Kyushu were sent up to Kyoto and the armies from the San-in fought great campaigns for the extension of their demesnes, and, moreover, larger expenses were necessary to dispatch armies to distant places, they had to pay attention to the sources of taxation. No more could lords treat their people like slaves, but had to give them reasonable treatment and conduct a lenient government. If a lord treated his people badly, they would just desert his estate and swell the resources of neighbouring lords. The lords of the time had no sense of humanity and justice, and never dreamed of the rights of the people, but just as water always seeks the lower ground, so the people drifted towards the districts where they were offered considerate treatment. Necessity knows no master, and so the lords were driven to attach importance to their subjects. The establishment of a powerful domain by Hojo Soun shows clearly the great success of a virtuous policy. When Hojo Soun first visited Nirayama in Izu Province in 1490, he found that the lord of the district, named Ashikaga Chachamaru, had no special qualification except his high blood, no consideration for anyone, and no learning, and that his bad administration had set public opinion against him. He at once overthrew him and seized all his domain. Finding the people in an unsettled state, he issued a law which promised a severe penalty to those who plundered the people of their property. When an epidemic disease spread, he at once made an excursion of inspection through his domain and personally bestowed medicine on those suffering from the disease. On all lines his administration was good, and he decreased the tax by one-fifth, besides abolishing all supplementary taxes other than the regular taxes. Thereupon all the people submitted joyfully to his rule, and a great many farmers moved to his domain from the neighbouring districts. From being a mere wanderer he established a new country, and his success was due to the fact that he won public good will rather than military power. The state of affairs above described was not limited to the section of Izu, but as all the lords in Japan were independent and at feud with their neighbours, they had always to maintain armed forces. This militarism could be maintained by protecting the farmers and inducing the immigration of settlers, thus developing their own districts, and therefore all the lords were very eager to attain a good civil administration, which at this time was greatly subject to the legends of the Monarchical Ages as well as to the political doctrine taught in the Chinese literature propagated by the priests and scholars.

Advantages and Disadvantages of the Monarchical System and the Feudal System.—There is no doubt that the monarchical system with proper centralization of power is the best to form a national constitution. A great sovereign helped by able ministers would see the general trend of the time, have full understanding about the condition of people, and enforce strict discipline among Government officials, while, on the other hand, local governors would also be honest and straightforward, and the result would be the great happiness of the nation and the age of gold for the country. However, sovereigns were not always great and ministers were rather of mediocre ability, and the general trend of the time was not well understood by them, nor had they any great gift of foresight. Local governors were too eager to fill their pockets at the sacrifice of the public interest. During their tenure of three or four years, the governors had no other intention than to pass their time as pleasantly as possible and feather their own nests. The Government was not kept informed of the condition of the people, and no orders of the authorities would be carried out; while many dishonest schemes would be practised, all resulting in the suffering of the subjects. Some local officials might not be corrupt but only incompetent, in which case they used to receive their high salary without doing anything. Such officials would undertake no scheme for the benefit of the people, nor relieve them of their troubles. There would be no draining of land, no suppression of robbery, no ferreting out of evildoers who oppressed the people, but the governors would wait for the time of their change to other provinces after their term of office.

In case local governors were corrupt, their official power would be utilized in the usurpation of private fields as well as public benefits, and their lower officials would vie with one another in order to gain the favour of their higher officials at the sacrifice of the people—finally leading to the total ruin of these unfortunates. Therefore the monarchical system may be a good and even an ideal system, provided that a great sovereign and an able minister control the whole country with overwhelming authority and clear observation from the centre, but if this condition is not provided, the national state will surely fall, and the people will be ruined. The most noteworthy example of this evil was the bad administration in modern Korea before the annexation.

When our monarchical system was first introduced into this country by the Fujiwara family, its intention was really to raise the national standard, and for some time the country was controlled under the proper ministers. Therefore the system was at first good, but when the Court produced no able officials, and there was great estrangement between the upper and lower classes, the system turned out to be the worst possible, and its evil effects were a constant trouble to the people. Towards the end of the Monarchical Age our country was placed in the same condition as modern Korea; local governors were not responsible to any persons, cared for nothing, but always hunted after their own interests. It was a great happiness that the country was not ruined, but saved from this critical state and reconstructed by the feudal system, which was formed by local powerful families who rose in all districts, obeyed no orders from the Central Government, and possessed the lands and people. Great soldiers occupied some provinces, styling themselves their lords, and as the lands they occupied were their own property, they encouraged agriculture, and it was to their interest to stamp out robbery and evil-doers and encourage the increase of population. The income from the lands was their own, and therefore they opened mines as well as new fields, and at the same time they established facilities of communication so as to enable them to profit more from civilization.

There may be some people who would damn the feudal system as militarism, and who would speak ill of its exponents for their enslavement of the people, but the truth is that the safety of life and property was for the first time maintained by this feudal system. In its first stage the protection of the people did not come from the love and mercy of the lords for them, but from their sense that they were like hens which must be fed if we are to get eggs. But in time the relations between the lords and the people became such that the lords really had tender feelings for their people, while the people's attitude to their lords was one of true loyalty. The Shinto doctrine improved upon individual selfishness with the precepts of the ancient sages, while the Buddhist doctrine replaced the love of this world with compensation in the next. Thus the feudal system started by the local grandees setting at naught the sovereignty, brought forth numerous small military states, and the feuds between them produced material power by fostering national resources, leading the advance of agriculture, establishing industry, and encouraging commerce. It was entirely due to this power of feudalism that Japan was not ruined like Korea.

The Temples opposed to the Tokusei Law.—The domination of temples had been limited to those at Hiei and Nara from the Monarchical Age to the epoch of the Taira, but after the middle period of the Ashikaga, the temples and shrines at Kitano, Iwashimizu, and Koya became very influential and intolerant. In 1441, when the Ashikaga enacted the tokusei and published its articles at the Mandokoro office, the priests of these temples and shrines were indignant at the law and set at naught the new orders. The temples and shrines were already great land-owners and kept their own armies. They had bought up vast land in many places with their large resources and enjoyed much revenue from these lands, but if all loans were cancelled according to this law, it would mean a great encroachment upon their right and profit. There was a river barrier at Hyogo, where some duty was levied from the travellers, and the right fell into the hands of a certain temple at Nara. As there was no proper reason for the temple to hold it, the Ashikaga intended to deprive it of this privilege and to abolish the barrier in 1449. At the news the temple authorities, with a large number of followers, planned to force their way into Kyoto, carrying the image of their god, whereupon the Shogun of the time, in great perplexity, complied with most of their requests. First: the barrier of Hyogo should be made the possession of the temple for ever. Second: the temple had confiscated at Nara the tax to be sent to the High Constable of Kawachi, whereupon the High Constable retaliated by holding up the tributes for the temple, but as demanded by the temple, the tributary articles held up by the High Constable should be sent to Nara. Third: the priests also demanded that Iio Yamato Nyudo, the magistrate of the Hachiman Shrine, should be exiled as he had lost the confidence of all the priests. As regards the last demand, the Shogun issued an order merely to confiscate the official post. Thus the Government barely avoided the entrance of the riotous priest into the capital. Such cases were not limited to Nara, but there were plenty elsewhere. In 1444 there was a riot of a few hundred livery stable men at Hiyoshi, Mount

Hiei, under the command of the priests belonging to Nichigon-in Temple, and frequent insurrections were caused for the purpose of making strong protests to the Government. These Buddhist folks demanded not only their reasonable, or what they called reasonable, requests in such a manner, but also they gave sanctuary to criminals, or raised conflicts upon the request of others. Sometimes they went so far as to interfere with the private affairs of farmers in states other than their own, and were very eager to extend their influence. The monks were military men in one sense, and in another acted like the men of chivalry or heads of gamblers in the later periods. If they did not receive proper payment of taxes in their domains, they broke into the houses of the high constables, governors, or land-stewards in charge of these affairs, and blamed them for their non-execution of duty. Never did they fail to take any chance that could be availed of. Even for small matters they used to present to the Shogun or lords petitions asking for the lives of great officials, and though their demands were not complied with to the letter, they were always so far placated that instead of the death penalty the official post would be confiscated. Their movements were most democratic, and the opinion of the abbot was seldom consulted, nor were the riots led by priests of high reputation. If a priest of no fame would propose to raise an *émeute*, all those present at once followed him ; and when a riot was started, it had no regular general or commander. A mere rascal priest would clap on armour over his Buddhist robes, seize a sword in place of his holy rosary, and stand at the head of the rebellious party ; then hundreds of people would gather until a great force was collected. The temple forces were, in fact, groups of common people, and when they started insurrections, backed by their hereditary doctrines, treasures, and a large mob force, it was usual for the Government in possession of the military power to give in. The forces of Nara and Hiei were responsible for the system raised upon the power of the common people, but they had been early a military power and owned enormous areas of lands, while they had made great progress in economy, putting their huge capital to good use and collecting large amounts of taxes. They were, in fact, just in the same positions as great lords.

INSURRECTIONS OF THE BUDDHIST IKKO SECT.—But now the most democratic revolutionary movement occurred in Osaka and Kyoto, expanding to the provinces of Echizen, Etchu, Kaga, Noto, Omi, and finally Mikawa. The temples of Mount Hiei, Nara, and Kyoto were all raised when the Buddhist philosophy was much discussed, and for a period they were in full glory, but before long it proved that their doctrines were too difficult to master, their disciplines of a severe nature, and their theories rather unpracticable. After all, they had the defects of the transition time of Buddhism and simply met the demand of a small number of the noble class who could spare time for study, but the religion failed to give calmness and resignation to the common people.

However, in 1119 the Nembutsu sect was founded. What it taught was very plain and attractive to the popular mind, and the doctrine was rapidly spread all over the country. After this Priest Genku founded a new branch of the Jodo sect, and the Buddhist religion now turned out to be entirely democratic. Especially was the doctrine in veneration throughout the country in the time of Kenju, descendant of Shinran Shonin, who was a pupil of Genku and possessed extraordinary eloquence, always using everyday language in his writings and sermons, so that traders in the town and farmers in the fields might easily understand him. He made a slight change in the doctrine of the founder. The shaving of the head and the use of the black robe were similar to other sects, but he allowed a meat diet, and his monks were free to have wives.

He was at feud with the monks of the Mount Hiei Temple, who swept down on the Honganji at Otani, Kyoto, and though his followers defended the temple bravely, he was entirely defeated and compelled to flee to Otsu in Omi, then to Echizen, where he propagated his religion for five years. Then he proceeded to Kaga and preached the new doctrine of the Ikko sect. The two provinces of Echizen and Kaga were within the sphere of Senshuji Temple in Takata, which followed the original creed of the founder, Shinran, and the monks in the two provinces had no liking for the Abbot Kenju. There were many disputes, each party refuting the other, and they finally resorted to violence. The High Constable Togashi Masachika believed in the creed of the Takata and hated the Ikko sect. When the dispute was brought before him for judgment, he decided against the Ikko, whereupon the Ikko monks became indignant and, forming a great force, drove out Masachika and took the province of Kaga for themselves, turning out all the Takata monks and seizing all their estates. They then invaded Etchu and Noto, and seized the provinces of Omi, Settsu, and Kawachi, They finally erected their temples at Yamashina near Kyoto.

THE REASON WHY COMMON PEOPLE SIDED WITH THE IKKO RIOTERS. Local people joined in these religious battles chiefly on account of their belief that any opponents to their own sect were enemies of Buddha, but there was a further reason. If they had a military man as their steward, they might be treated harshly, but if they had an Ikko priest for their lord, they would be left much more to themselves, and so they naturally preferred one. In the time of Abbot Kokyo, his steward, Shimotsuma Yorihide, styled Kokyo the Emperor and assigned for himself the post of the Shogun, wanting to assume military power over the whole country. He entered Kaga and confided his idea to the monks and followers gathered from the province, but when the majority went against him, in great anger he called them the enemies of religion, as they would not obey the order of the Lord Abbot, and set fire to the temples and returned to Kyóto.

The Ikko monks caused many more disturbances in later years; their revolt extended to the province of Mikawa, and even endangered Tokugawa Iyeyasu. In another instance they built a castle in Osaka and fought with Nobunaga for many years. They had connections with other lords, and adopted the policy of friendship with distant states and hostility with neighbours. When they entrenched themselves in Osaka in 1576, they allied themselves with the pirates of Iyo and Aki, such as Kodama Tayu, Awaya Tayu, and Hyobu. Their men of war, numbering over 700, forced their way through to the Ishiyama Castle at Osaka, in spite of the defensive measures of Nobunaga's army commanded by his brave general, Sakuma Nobumori, and the pirates returned, crowned with victory, after transporting soldiers and provisions into the castle. All this indicates the uprising of new elements.

Extravagance of Higashiyama.—All clear-sighted generals noted and endeavoured to encourage the immigration of farming people to their estates, while Shogun Yoshimasa stuck to his pleasures at his villa of the Silver Pavilion at Higashiyama. He whiled away his time in the tea ceremony, listening to incense, or enjoying himself with curios and paintings. So accustomed was Yoshimasa to luxury that he subordinated everything to it. As for local lords, they assumed an arrogant attitude and observed no central orders, therefore heavy taxes were levied only upon the people in Kyoto and its neighbouring districts, who suffered from successive large imposts. Yoshimasa's extravagance may be estimated by the following.

When he built the mansion of Takakura, the cost of the screens in one room was estimated at 20,000 mon, the value of 200 koku of rice or more at that time. When he found that the heavy taxation did not suffice, he sent his envoy to the Ming Court to beg for 100,000 kwan-mon of Eiraku coin. Many designs he carried out without any consideration for the burdens on the lords, and all the expenses were charged upon them as temporary taxes. As time went by, the lords in the distant districts became powerful and refused to pay, but those who were ambitious to obtain power in the Shogunate Government had to pay all the taxes, and they were reduced to as impecunious a condition as the Shogun.

The Causes of the Onin War.—Yoshimasa was not a villain, but when he was pressed for money he resorted to worse devices than even the worst kings. With all his ambition, of which he had not a little, the life he led from one banquet to another turned him into a good-for-nothing noble; while he was leading this exotic life the times turned and went against him. When he was nineteen he married Tomihime, daughter of Uramatsu Shigemasa, who was given the posthumous position of Privy Minister. Her character was not so beautiful as her face, and she built up a large fortune when the Shogunate Government was pressed for money by lending money to various lords at high rates of interest and investing in the warehouse business. If she had been contented with this we might have simply sympathized with Yoshimasa for his ill fortune, but she finally became arrogant and interfered in politics. After the marriage with Tokihime, Yoshimasa became weary of the administrative affairs and wanted to retire from active life in order to pass his last days in nature's company. As he had no son of his own, he tried to make his brother Gijin his successor. His brother was the abbot of the Jodo sect and was induced to become a layman, but he would not consent to the proposal of Yoshimasa, who swore that if he had a son by Tokihime he should be made a priest from the cradle, and the position of Gijin should in no circumstances be affected. Yoshimasa made this oath before all the gods, and after reiterant requests at length Priest Gijin gave in and changed his name to Yoshichika. He entered the mansion of Sanjo, Hosokawa Katsumoto being appointed his guardian. In great anger, Tokihime returned to her parents' house. Yoshimasa was much distressed and begged her to come back, attempting to win her favour by all possible means. She did return, and a child was born, though Court scandal said the child was not Yoshimasa's, but that of a Court noble. Tokihime could not bear the idea of her child entering the religious life and worried Yoshimasa day and night. The result was that Yoshimasa changed his mind and gave up his intention of abdicating. Thereafter there were dissensions between the officials in the service of Yoshichika and the others in the service of Yoshimasa.

The Disturbance in the Ashikaga Family.—Though Tokihime was successful in forcing Yoshimasa to change his mind, she was not easy about her son. There was a certain Yamana Sozen, who was a relation but a rival of Hosokawa Katsumoto, the guardian of Yoshichika, and Tokihime secretly asked him to stand by her son and see him elected to the Shogunate, a request which was readily granted by Sozen, who aimed at acquiring power on account of his service in the election of the Shogun. On his part, Hosokawa Katsumoto stood by Yoshichika. Both parties summoned their compatriots. In 1407

(2nd year of Onin) two armies confronted each other in Kyoto, those encamping in the eastern portion being Katsumoto's troops consisting of soldiers from nineteen provinces, whilst those in the western city belonged to Sozen and were gathered from eighteen provinces. About forty provinces were involved in this war, and 80 or 90 per cent. of the whole of Japan was mixed up in the disturbance. The two armies confronted each other over ten years. In 1474 both Sozen and Katsumoto died of illness, and in 1477 all the troops on both sides withdrew from the city, returning to their respective provinces, and thus the war came to an end. This was the Onin War. During these eleven years soldiers of the two parties ravaged and plundered in all parts of the city. The Imperial palaces, temples, mansions of civil and military people, and the houses of the citizens were destroyed. Kyoto was no more an object of political ambition, and looked like a vast field. The Court nobles were dispersed in all directions in search of a livelihood. All the lords found that Kyoto was no more the place to strive for political power, and returned to their districts and began to encroach upon their neighbours. No sooner did the great central disturbance come to an end than local conflicts began to take place.

OUCHI BECAME THE KANRYO.—In 1473, when the Onin War was coming to a close, Yoshimasa retired from the Shogunate, to be succeeded by an eight-year-old child, Yoshihisa, and enjoyed his last days in natural scenery surrounding the Silver Pavilion of Higashiyama; but as the new Shogun soon died, he called Gisai, son of Yoshichika, from China, and made him his successor. Gisai changed his name to Yoshitane. The influence of the Shogun at this time was very weak and his orders were observed by the people of Kyoto only, and even the lords in the neighbouring districts dared to disregard them. When Yoshitane fought with Hosokawa Masamoto and was defeated, the latter elected to the Shogunate Yoshizumi, son of Masatomo in Izu. Yoshitane was kept under ward, but escaped, and with twelve followers fled to Echizen, then wandering through the provinces of Etchu, Mino, and Ise, he finally came back to Settsu, whence he intended to cross by sea to Iyo. Bad weather forced him to land at Noto, the lord of which, Murakami Masafusa, offered him much help and escorted him to the Ouchi family of Suo Province. Ouchi Yoshioki was much delighted, and considered that the time was ripe for him to seize the central power. He sent out a manifesto to the districts of Shikoku and Sanyo, and gathered a large force. He then came up to Kyoto, escorting Yoshitane, with 123,000 men, and captured the province of Settsu. Ashikaga Yoshizumi fled at the news, whereupon Yoshitane resumed the Shogunate and Ouchi Yoshioki made himself the

Kanryo, taking charge of the administration over ten years, but financial difficulties obliged him to return home, whereupon Hosokawa Takakuni became the Regent in his place. The rise and fall of the Shogun had now no bearing on the welfare of the country, and the change of Regent went almost unnoticed ; the movement or change of the Shogun and Regent was no more than the family disturbance of a mere lord. The Ashikaga Government had no more authority to levy taxes and was compelled to carry out the tokusei administration. The reign of the Ashikaga had long been a financial wreck, and now its remains were simply animated by the conflicts for power among the lords.

Political Power falls into the Hands of the Lower Class. From the middle age of the Ashikaga reign all the lords recognized the presence of common people in order to support their militarism and were obliged to treat them benevolently. On the political stage the power gradually fell into the hands of a lower class of people that had never been recognized in such a circle. As the central political power fell into the hands of the indirect vassals, so in like manner many famous families in the provinces were ruined, and availing themselves of this chance many new generals raised their heads. Takeda Shingen was stationed in the province of Kai, where he had a vast influence over the neighbouring districts ; Oda Nobunaga rose in the province of Owari, and aimed to get the whole country under his sway; Nagao Kagetora wanted to rule over the Kanto district; the Kyogoku in Omi became feeble, and a local grandee named Asai raised his head in their place. Otomo Sorin held the province of Bungo, and Amako Harumoto rose in Izumo; while the latter's general, Mori Motonari, following the general tendency, rebelled against the Amako and became independent, with the province of Aki as his headquarters. Murakami Yoshiteru occupied Shinano; the Shimazu family held the province of Satsuma; the Tokugawa held Mikawa; the Saito held Mino; and the Shoni held Kyushu. Thus all the generals styled themselves lords. In a word, there was no Japanese Empire in the 16th century, but only independent lords. These lords trained soldiers, kept horses, started agriculture, and welcomed the farming settlers. Each of them formed an independent country and always aimed to entrench upon his neighbours. Their constitution was entirely military, and the time was ripe for the division of the military and farming classes. Its economical policy was physiocratic, and there was some sea transportation and commerce on account of the transactions in agricultural products. The currency of the time was the Eiraku copper, but gold was also used by weight, the metal being kept in sacks in case of sand gold or as a beaten-out metal. Silver was also used as the supplementary currency, and the calculation was made by measuring the weight. To supply the necessities of militarism the mining industry of copper, iron, silver, and gold was gradually started. As for the military arts, the combat of individuals was lessened when compared with the periods of the Minamoto and the Taira, and strategy was based on phalanx movement. The military implements were spears, pikes, swords, bows and arrows, the same as in former times, but the manufacturing arts of these arms became highly elaborate and ingenious. The art of the iron-worker was most improved at this time, and it was in this period that a Portuguese vessel arrived at Tanegashima in 1543 and imported guns into this country for the first time.

CHAPTER XX

THE ARRIVAL OF THE PORTUGUESE

The Portuguese came for the First Time.—At the end of the Ashikaga Age, when the power of the Shogunate had crumbled and feudal lords arose in all directions, the arrival of the Portuguese ships in Japan opened what was really a new world to the eyes of the Japanese. According to many historical records, the Portuguese ships reached Japan for the first time in 1543, when they came to Tanegashima Island of Satsuma Province, and the Japanese saw a fowling-piece for the first time in their lives. There are various opinions as to the object of the Portuguese in coming to Tanegashima Island. According to the records in Japan, they are said to have run accidentally into Tanegashima, being overtaken by storm and attacked by pirates. But according to Portuguese archives, Fernand Mendes Pinto, together with his two companions, Christopher Borrells and Diego Zeimoto, who were employed in a pirate ship, seem to have been driven by a storm to take refuge in Tanegashima; and Gensho, a priest of Satsuma and the author of *The History of the Gun*, tells us that there was on board this ship Ochoku, a Chinese scholar. Though Ochoku was called a scholar, he was in fact a notorious pirate in connection with wako (the Japanese pirates), and the ship should properly be called a pirate ship. The natives of Tanegashima Island, seeing to their great astonishment that those Portuguese sailors landed with firearms to hunt, and that flying birds and running beasts fell before them, reported it to Tokiaki, the lord of the island. Tokiaki thereupon invited these Portuguese sailors to an interview, presented them with 1,000 ryo of gold, and offered to put at their disposal some pretty women if only they would show him how to use firearms and how to make them. He obtained his desire and, in addition, two small-arm pieces. The names of these Portuguese are said by some to be Antonio de Mota, Francisco Zeimoto, and Antonio Piasoto, and by some Fernand Mendes Pinto, Christopher Borrello, and Diego Zeimoto, who are, according to another record, said to have travelled to Japan for the first time and been surprised to find the abundance of gold, which caused them to report to Europe that Japan was a very rich island. The coming of the Portuguese to Japan was a kind of revelation, causing a great change in tactics and strategy, which proved the beginning of a social and political revolution.

THE INTERCOURSE BETWEEN EUROPE AND THE ORIENT IN THE MIDDLE AGE.—Till about the 15th century the Orient and the Occident perhaps knew nothing about each other; Europe was one world and the Orient was another. Even though they had heard something about one another, yet it was all so vague that it was like a voice from the sky. Of course, among the ancient records there is a trace of intercourse between Babylon in Mesopotamia and China in the earliest age. This trading continued till the 5th century. The Chinese ships crossing the Persian Gulf floated up the River Euphrates, but after the 5th century those expeditions ceased, and about the beginning of the 15th century they were limited to Madras in India, whence their merchandise was transported to Europe by land. In those days the most important export from China to Europe was silk, which was sent by caravans from Sensie Province, its place of production, to the River Oxus, the frontier between Afghanistan and Persia, and the Roman merchants bought it there, transported it by river to the Caspian, across that sea and then up the River Cyrus. Thence it was transported for a space by land to the Black Sea, whence it was sent to Constantinople. This transportation took 243 days if all went well. Therefore among the Romans 10 momme of silk was equal to 10 momme of gold in value. It is said that Heliogabalus, who is noted as the most extravagant of all the Roman emperors, was the first to wear clothes made of silk thread only, and the Europeans could only hear that such a valuable silk was produced in the remote district called China, and know not whether China lay in the farthest corners of the earth or where it was. However, in India there was a Persian Christian missionary, who happened to enter the interior of China in the year 558, when he went to Sensie, where he saw the art of sericulture and spinning. Returning to Constantinople, he reported to the Emperor Justinian, who greatly praised him, and, giving him money and men again, sent him to China, whence he brought back silkworm eggs concealed in bamboo tubes in order to introduce the art of sericulture and spinning. The price of silk then fell lower, but only below that of gold and silver. This was Europe's first communication with China, but it disappeared like a dream, leaving not a wrack behind it, and China remained for a long time as a strange star in the farthest heaven to the eyes of the Europeans. This was really why the various countries between Europe and China were so powerful, being able to make direct communication with both.

THE ARABIAN EMPIRE.—Among the powerful states situated between Europe and China, the earliest one was in the districts of Palestine, and the later one in Arabia. They rose and they fell, but from old times the one that held the gate between Europe and the Orient never failed to be the leading power of the age. The intention of King David, who captured the ports of the sea, was to get the supremacy in trade between Europe and Asia, and that his successor, King Solomon, could indulge in such colossal extravagance was because he captured the sea-ports of the eastern coast of Africa, and by this gained the profit of trading with India. Alexander the Great subjugated Asia Minor, conquered Egypt, and by invading Persia and penetrating to India learnt more of the real conditions of the Far East than all his predecessors, who had been content with trade profit. After the death of Alexander the Great, Egypt fell into the hands of the Ptolemy family; and when Ptolemy Philadelphus succeeded, to help trade with India southward from the Red Sea, he built a canal of 300 cubits wide and 30 cubits deep between Alcino in the Red Sea and the eastern branch stream of the River Nile, and by this he tried to ship Indian products directly to the city of Alexandria by sea, but was hindered by various unavoidable circumstances. (In later years this undertaking was accomplished, and we know it as the Suez Canal.) Philadelphus hereupon established a new city on the western coast of the Red Sea, where the goods from the ports of Persia and those which came from the East by land were gathered and sent to Coptos, whence they were carried to Alexandria by a canal. This condition continued for several hundred years. After the fall of the Roman Empire, the Mohammedans arose, and, conquering Egypt, drove all the Europeans out of Alexandria, as a consequence of which the trade with India fell entirely into the hands of the Mohammedan Arabians, and the Europeans knew merely traditionally the splendour of the Indians and Arabians.

THE CIVILIZATION OF THE ARABIANS.—The 9th century was the most flourishing age of the Mohammedan civilization, and in science, religion, foreign trade, and navigation, etc., the spirit and talent of the Arabians were so conspicuous that the so-called civilized countries of the present day can scarcely compare with them. The great Haroun al Raschid wielded power from Rumania in the Balkan Peninsula in the north to the Persian Gulf in the south, while subduing all the Moors on the coast of Africa, in the inlands of Spain, and of the Mediterranean Sea. His power was so great that all the coins were stamped with his countenance, and his was one of the largest and most glorious empires ever planted. This great empire blocked the intercourse between Europe and China, so that the conditions of India and China were known only to the Arabians. The Arabians had then the supremacy of the sea just as England in later years, and contributed not a little to the civilization of the world, and the records we have of travels which tell us of the conditions of India and China are only those written by the Arabians. Thus some centuries passed away, while in the southern part of Europe the people were only told by the Arabians that India and China had inexhaustible natural resources. In the year 1087 a certain Constantine Afa travelled to Asia, yet his journey ended without reaching China. At the end of the 11th century a Jewish traveller sailed to the East, yet he visited only Egypt, Syria, and Persia, and his voyage ended without reaching China. About the middle of the 12th century a Jew called Benjamin, who lived in Tudera of Navarra, went to Candy via Bagdad from Horab, Baras, Charan, Nisibin, Musru, and reached the middle part of India, but, without entering China, he returned to Europe via Egypt. In this long stretch of 1173 years some Arabians once reached China by sea through India and reported concerning the customs and manners of that country. In spite of the record being still extant, Europe could not get any information about China, the record being informative only to the Arabians. After this, in 1246 Diano Calpini, and in 1243 Willian Euplkis, reported of a great empire called Kittan in the East, but these were no more than reports heard from Chinese with whom they met. In 1260, however, Marco Polo, after staying one year at the Court of Balkai Khan, on the River Volga in Russia, and three years in Bokhara, returned home after staying at the Court of Kublai Khan in Mongolia. In 1271 he again set off on a journey to Asia, and passed some years there, and in 1291 went to Meclan, going by sea through Java, Cochin, Bantam, Sumatra, Ceylon, and, entering the interior of India, he reached the coast of Socotra. Thence he crossed to Zanzibar and, visiting Abyssinia, returned to Venice through Ormuz. This journey brought the Orient and the Occident into contact with each other.

Marco Polo's Journey to the Far East.—It seems that Marco Polo started about October 1271, and went via Armenia to Bagdad, intending to take ship in the Gulf of Persia, but he could not carry out this plan. So he went up north through Persia, and via Balkh, over the Pamir tableland, to Kashgar.

Then, by way of Kotan and the Lob Nor, he crossed the Desert of Gobi and reached the Court of Kublai Khan, who was residing at Kaiping, 100 miles away to the north from Changkiakow, in June or July of 1275. This journey from Europe took him three and a half years. Kublai Khan took a fancy to him for his clever and varied conversation, his keen observation, and his excellent manners, and kept him in his Court. When Polo returned home, he pleased his acquaintances with reciting what he saw and heard during his journey, but about the year 1300 his record of experience was published and electrified all Europe. The active powers in Europe then were the countries included in the Hanseatic League, consisting of Germany of to-day and Holland, and the dukedoms in the peninsula of Italy or the Mediterranean Sea. Being sea states they had the sea-going spirit and were very keen on foreign trade, particularly with the East. Trebizond, Alexandria, and ports in the Persian Gulf had been great distributing markets for the Eastern products, but, owing to the rise of the Mohammedan power, Alexandria was the only route now left for India trade, and even that was by no means safe. In consequence, European traders had done their best to trade with India and the Far East by sea, not by land. Upon the publication of the work by Marco Polo, they were all greatly stirred by his account of the conditions of the Kittan Empire, where the writer himself saw its riches and greatness, with an ample opportunity for commerce and abundant gold. Above all, in reading a description of Japan, " The natives are white and civilized, the land rich in natural resources ; gold is inexhaustible beyond supposition, and the palace is roofed with pure gold, just like lead in Europe, and the paving-stones of the palace are made of gold of a thickness of about two fingers," they felt their mouths water. Ignorant that the King of Kittan was a relation of the cruel barbarians who had once overrun Europe, they tried to enter into relations with Kittan in spite of the Mohammedan Empire which separated them. For this a sea-route was essential, and all European countries were in accord about it.

The Far-Eastern Route via Africa.—Among those who endeavoured to communicate with India and China by sea without passing the country of the Arabians, the most earnest were the Portuguese. As we have seen, the maritime nations of Europe were very anxious for a share in the Eastern trade in which Venice and Genoa had grown rich and powerful, and the Portuguese attempted to find an eastern route round Africa. The spirit of adventure was in full flower and, encouraged by Prince Henry the navigator, they pushed southward along the coast of Africa and reached the Guinea coast, where they commenced the infamous practice of kidnapping the blacks as slaves. Prince Henry died in 1460, but in 1486 Bartholomew Diaz discovered the Cape of Good Hope, and in 1498 Vasco da Gama reached the Malabar coast. It is interesting to note that the first of the European chartered companies was established by the Portuguese to exploit their African discoveries.

The Expedition of Vasco da Gama.—Gama, then a man of thirty-seven years of age, had three ships of from 60 to 170 tons and 550 men for his great adventure. The people all watched his expedition with a deep anxiety and, at the same time, a great hope, and the adventurer justified their trust, and, after struggling with hunger, sickness, and bad weather, at length, on May 17, 1498, reached a small village called Calicut, eight miles north of Calcutta, opening thus the direct communication between Europe and Asia which the Europeans had dreamt of for some hundred years. It was indeed an epoch in the history of mankind, and this success of the Portuguese so greatly stirred up the hearts of the Europeans that the navigators of every country for a while adventured everywhere in search of new lands and seas. In 1500 the Portuguese fired upon Calcutta; in 1503 colonized in Oochi of India; in 1510 captured Goa; and in 1511 Albuquerque, a Portuguese, captured the Peninsula of Malacoa. In 1509 the Portuguese entered Sumatra for the first time, and in 1511 discovered the Molucca Islands; in 1518 Lorenzo de Gomez discovered the island of Borneo; and Magellan, who, although a Portuguese, served the King of Spain, having been badly treated by the King of Portugal, discovered a sea-route to the Pacific Ocean from the Atlantic Ocean via South America, and during 1599-22 discovered the Philippine Islands and the South Sea Islands. The discovery of the state of Virginia in North America by Sebastian Cabot, born in Italy and residing in England, was in 1534; and in 1537 the Portuguese, proceeding farther, captured Macao, and, using it as a base of operations, often fired on Canton. The number of Portuguese, together with other foreigners, residing in Macao was 10,000, and the Portuguese who reached Japan in 1542 came from that port.

THE PEOPLE OF THE ISLAND OF TANEGASHIMA ASKED FOR REINFORCEMENTS.—By introducing firearms first to Sorin Otomo and next to Tokiaki in Tanegashima, the Portuguese not only brought about a change of the state of things in Japan, but also opened a new phase in her diplomatic relations. According to the record of a Portuguese in 1550, on one of the warships sent home by the Portuguese Viceroy of India was a messenger of the lord of the island of Tanegashima to the King of Portugal. This messenger is said to have been on board with tribute in order to ask for an aid of 500 men to capture the Loochoo Islands. Had this been carried out the power of Portugal would have begun its interference in the domestic affairs of Japan.

CANONS WERE DEVISED.—News of the guns brought by the Portuguese reached the central provinces much faster than the present postal delivery, for news used to be transmitted wonderfully fast in spite of the imperfect means of communication. About the year 1558 Michinao Kono of Iyo came to an agreement with Otomo of Bungoyakata, and in order to defend himself against Mori of Aki

Province, he constructed several fortresses along the coast of Uma, and calling up all the blacksmiths from Bungo Province, made them learn how to make powder and bullets, and then ordered the people to produce powder. He contrived cannons for defence of the fortress, but as he was ignorant how to make iron cannon, he used big pine-trees, scooped out the inside, and bound the outside with iron hoops. With these he equipped his fortresses. Mori, knowing nothing about cannon, attacked with some hundred warships crowded with soldiers, and many of his ships were sunk and his men dispersed in all directions. It was only fifteen years after the guns were introduced by the Portuguese ships that a coast-battery was devised.

The Great Change caused by the Gun.—The introduction of guns was one of the important factors in changing basically the social organization of Japan. First, tactics were altered by firearms, for, as a direct result, defence works of bamboo were raised, and then the houses and mansions of feudal lords and samurai were protected with a stone wall. There had been castles in Japan before, but it was nothing but the name given to the breastworks behind which soldiers had defended themselves. The Fujiwara Age Castle was constructed with mud walls, wooden fences, and moats around. Later, naturalized Koreans introduced their system, in consequence of which our tactics improved, and watch- or signal-towers were built, but no stone castles. The introduction of firearms by the Portuguese, however, was succeeded by that of cannons, for defence against which tacticians racked their brains and at last devised bamboo bundles in field operations and a stone castle in defence. This castle not only showed an advanced degree of fortification at the time when cannon made their appearance, but also stimulated not a little the progress of the industrial arts. The feudal lords began to build their castles in the same way, making an entire change in the art of fortification and necessitating the construction of stone walls, castle towers, and citadels of the inner, the second, the third, and the detached castle.

The Classes of Samurai and Farmers separated from each Other.—At the same time with this change in fortification a great change arose in our social organization. From the beginning of history Japan had no special class of samurai. But from the end of the Monarchical Age powerful families arose in all directions, protecting their own peoples and extending their private lands—Court officials in name, really feudal lords in authority. The private peoples, driven hard by these powerful families, were slaves or serfs with no right under the laws. Some were unable to become citizens for reasons which originated several hundred years before, some had been sold because their forefathers could not pay their debts, some had been cast into slavery for crime. When the powerful families began to use their slaves and serfs in reclaiming land and in fighting with their neighbours, slave and serf were the reclaimers, the fighters, the guards, the horsemen, and the messengers necessary to their masters, and afterwards they became gradually their master's family and followers, changing into small land-owners. When the private people of the powerful families became soldiers under those families' command, they had been long cultivating the fields, and at home they had swords and bows, but in the fields they were intimate with hoes, ploughs, cows, and horses. The construction of the castle as a defence against firearms utterly changed this state of affairs, and between samurai and farmers there grew a distinct separation of classes. The castle was the centre of administration and military affairs; therefore, when attacked by enemies, it was the chief object to protect the military force, which was the centre of administration, so the castles were constructed with stone walls and heavy gates, within which the lord, family, and soldiers entrenched themselves, and the citizens excluded from the castle were exposed to the perils of war. They were not, however, liable to be treated cruelly, as war in Japan was between the same race and not different peoples, so they had no particular reason to shut themselves up in the castle. This is why the castles of our country protected only the lord and his men, together with their families. But since the samurai were made professional fighters living within the castle, and the farmers and townspeople who served to support the samurai lived outside the castle, there was a distinct separation of classes between samurai and farmers. Of course, most of the samurai of low grade engaged on farming on a small scale. They tilled the land close by the castle, and in emergencies they fled inside, abandoning hoes and ploughs. With the appearance of the modern castles, then, the separation of samurai and farmers, which had been several hundred years coming, was now made clear for the first time, and the samurai was born.

SMALL LOCAL MAGNATES FELL AND GREAT ONES ROSE.—The appearance of the modern castles also made the separation of samurai and farmer distinct from another side. In old times, when the castle was only the name given to great mansions or houses surrounded with fences, even the head of a gang of thieves and highwaymen could easily possess a castle, so wherever there was a vantage-ground which faced the river and was backed with a hill, and so placed as to make it an important point in communication, there stood a castle. And wherever there was a castle, there lived an independent local magnate, always engaging in fighting. With the limbs with which Heaven had endowed them and their own swords they could make themselves the lord of a castle, but now such castles could not stand against firearms and gunpowder. Only a stone castle could resist, and the local magnates had now to choose whether they would make a bid for power and raise a stone castle, or submit to the possessors of the effective weapons of civilization, and spend their lives peaceably tilling the soil. Some of them submitted to the military commanders who had the castles of modern type, and entered their castles, and others became farmers. Such was the tendency of that age, which made distinct the separation of the samurai and farmer classes.

THE FIRST CATHOLICS IN JAPAN.—As above stated, the mere introduction of fowling-pieces changed the methods of strategy and the defensive preparations, made distinct the separation of the classes of samurai and farmers, and even altered the social organization; but these changes were slight compared with those in the spirit of the Japanese and in their lives caused by the opening of the foreign trade. In 1545, two years after the arrival of the Portuguese ships at the island of Tanegashima, the Portuguese came again to Satsuma and traded in the Bay of Kagoshima, then proceeded to the Bay of Hirado of Hizen and carried on trade there. The novel and curious wares of Europe and China which they brought fascinated the people, and their tales about a great world far over the sea, where the lives and thoughts of the peoples, military instruments, ships and warships, and playthings were far in advance of those of Japan, threw the Japanese into a sea of astonishment. At that time there was a man of Kagoshima named Hanjiro, who, having killed a man in quarrel, and having no place to hide himself, fled to a Portuguese ship and begged to be taken aboard. A Portuguese merchant called Alvary counselled him to go abroad and see a famous priest, to whom he should confess his sin and get absolution, and told him of Francis Xavier, a Roman Catholic missionary at Malacca. So Hanjiro, committing himself to the care of Alvary, went to Malacca and saw Xavier. Christianity in Europe was then full of the missionary spirit which Ignatius Loyola had implanted in his famous foundation, the order of Jesuits. Xavier, a disciple of Loyola, was earnest, faithful, high-minded, and learned, and of great magnetism. Deeply moved by the story of Hanjiro, he sent him to Goa in India to study Christianity there. Goa is south of Bombay and was a Portuguese colony and the Oriental base of operations of Roman Catholicism. Hanjiro studied Christianity there and was baptized. He must have been no ordinary fugitive, seeing he was accompanied by his servants. Xavier once asked him whether it would be difficult or easy to propagate Roman Catholicism in Japan, and Hanjiro replied that the Japanese would not easily be won over, and much would depend on the character of the preacher and whether he acted up to his doctrines. Xavier then made up his mind to send Côme de Torrez and Juan Fernandez to Japan, accompanied by Hanjiro.

THE JAPANESE SURPRISED AT THE GREATNESS OF THE WORLD.—When Xavier went to Malacca from Goa, a Portuguese told him that he was informed by a Portuguese merchant residing in Japan that a feudal lord in Japan had long been in hope of receiving a missionary to hear the doctrine of Roman Catholicism. At this Xavier set off for Japan in high spirits, and arriving at Kagoshima on the 15th of August, 1549, he sojourned in the house of Hanjiro. The Japanese were first surprised to see the red-bearded, blue-eyed men, and then astonished by the natural power of their guns and powder. They were made to realize how great was the world the Portuguese went round by the strange birds, curious beasts, precious silk, and beautiful damask brought from islands in the tropical zone and China. They wondered at the ideas and learning of the Portuguese suggested in the difference of their customs and manners from those of Japanese. They were all devout Catholics, or were said to be, and the Japanese people, putting all this together, believed that there was a new heaven and earth far over the sea, and were thirsty to know this civilization. For this civilization was not like the quiet study of Confucianism, but a practical achievement before their eyes. Those who came from this new heaven and earth raised the price of merchandise, which had been almost a drug, to the great surprise of the Japanese, and demanded an unlimited supply, so that even a blade of grass or a tree had some value in the market. As for copper, its price was very low, as there had been only a home demand, but this was raised by the Portuguese. The Japanese could not understand why this foreign trade was profitable to them. That they should become intimate with the Portuguese thus rich and thus strong, and learn their civilization, was the general idea of that time, and the foreigner, trade, and Roman Catholicism were one and the same to the eyes of the Japanese. Xavier's coming at such a time may be well said to have offered a golden opportunity for Roman Catholicism.

THE CONDITION OF KYUSHU.—As Xavier's learning, character, earnestness, and appearance made him a fit representative of this new civilization, it was not long before he won the heart of Takahisa Shimazu, and the people and Roman Catholicism advanced with great strides. The zeal of the people toward this religion, however, was not sprung of pure religious faith only, and the feudal lords especially approached the Roman Catholics with a view to profitable trade; so when the Portuguese, who had made Kagoshima the centre, began to assemble their ships at the port of Hirado as being a better seaport, the lord of Satsuma and his followers were greatly disappointed and began to assume a cold attitude towards the faith. The lord of Hirado had tempted away the Portuguese, who made him a present of cannons and bullets, and for this the Shimazu family bore a great grudge against the lord of Hirado. The Buddhists, taking advantage of the circumstances, persecuted the Roman Catholics, so the missionaries moved to Hirado one after another, and as the Portuguese also removed there following in the train of the missionaries, Hirado became the most important place for foreign trade in Japan. Not only did Portuguese ships come there, but Spanish also. Thenceforth the Portuguese sailed and traded all around, making Hirado their centre. The ports along the coast of Kyushu all welcomed their ships continuously, as it was their great delight that they could get foreign novelties and rare goods and make a profit by exporting the goods which had been of low price till then. At that time Kyushu was like a country without a ruler. Shibukawa was the Governor of Kyushu, representing the power of the Ashikaga Shogun, but as his influence was weak, the powerful families did not obey him, and all were independent. The most powerful among them was the Otomo family, holding Bungo and Chikugo. Otomo was obeyed by local magnates such as Kusano, Hoshino, Takahashi, Miike, Kamaike, Inuzuka, Kawasaki, Tajiri, and Nishinuda, and had intercourse with Korea, and, calling himself the Governor of Kyushu in his letter to the King of Korea, settled the diplomatic relations between them. As for Shoni's family, though no match for the Otomo, yet, holding Chikuzen, he was strong in the support of the local magnates of Hata, Kusano, Hira, and Arima, and being the descendant of a famous old family, he often set at naught the Governor of Kyushu and menaced him. Shibukawa, the Governor, being unable to bear it, appealed to the Shogun in Kyoto, who ordered the Ouchi family of Choshu to destroy the Shoni family. The survivors escaped to the island of Tsushima, and, helped by the So family, the lords of the island, they acquired the province of Hizen. As for the Shimazu family, successive generations had lived in the remote province of Satsuma and kept its independence while they sometimes sallied forth and raided the provinces of Bungo and Hizen. Among others, the Kikuchi family took a stand in the province of Higo. Kyushu then was divided into many independent parts lacking in unity, and the rest of the dominions of the above-mentioned powerful families harboured local magnates who called themselves the lords of the places. Those who occupied the coast were generally great fishermen or pirates who mostly joined the wako. Their manners were rude, their lives loose, their thoughts low, their tempers hot, and their strength great, while they all suspected and were jealous of one another.

Now the Portuguese merchants came, and their gorgeous way of living, their effective weapons, and the great profit to be made in trade were spread before their eyes. The powerful families and local magnates at once wished to monopolize the trade with Portugal and cut out one another; and as the Roman Catholic priests were the centre of the veneration of the Portuguese merchants, every lord was eager to welcome Roman Catholicism, and thus attract to his country the Portuguese merchants. At first they invited the Roman Catholic priests with a view to get commercial profit, to obtain effective weapons, and to see their novelties, but after a long association they began to be surprised at the sublimity and reconditeness of their doctrine and the kindness and integrity of the priests, and this religion won many firm believers, spreading itself in all directions with wonderful rapidity. Even the Roman Catholic priests themselves were astonished at their wonderful success, and believing this a miracle of God, granted to show them that the time of salvation for the world had come, their belief became more firm, and with earnest zeal and burning words they moved their hearers' hearts. Xavier, during his long sojourn in Hizen, learned Japanese, and in his conversation with the Japanese he became aware of the fact that Kyushu was only a corner of Japan. To the north was Kyoto, and believing that if he could propagate Roman Catholicism there he would easily convert all Japan, he made up his mind to go up there some day.

The State of Kyoto.—Kyoto was at that time in a most miserable state. In the last stage of Yoshimasa, Kyoto was in the extremity of both political and financial derangement, as already described, and that Yoshimasa was still Shogun was not because of his own power, but because the feudal lords were holding their ground on all sides and engrossed in ruling several provinces each without any hope or desire of becoming Shogun. Among these powerful families there were really some descendants of the famous families of the age of Minamoto and Taira, but most of them were low-born people who had the good luck to avail themselves of the disturbances of the time, and acquired land and wealth by bloodshed. There was not one whose hands were not bloodstained. They could increase their land, followers, and power year by year, nevertheless they could not but feel humiliated when they turned their eyes upon their family names, and contrived to lend brilliancy to them by acquiring some office or rank from the Imperial Court. As the only way of adding lustre to their names was to serve the Imperial Court, they preferred not to contend with the Shogun and paid tribute to the Emperor yearly. In 1535 the Nikkwa gate of the Kyoto Palace was broken down by a storm and the Court and Government could not afford to have it rebuilt. It was necessary, during the coronation ceremony of the Emperor Gonara, for the courtiers to chase about among the local powerful families for a contribution to the expenses, when Yoshitaka Ouchi, contributing 200,000 hiki, was appointed Vice-Governor-General of Kyushu ; Kokyo of the Hongwanji Temple, contributing 10,000 hiki, was given the appellation of a quasi-Imperial prince in holy orders, and the guaranty of succession for his posterity. Ujitsuna Hojo, Motonobu Takeda, Uchiteru Imagawa, Takakage Asakura, etc., all made contributions, and so the rebuilding could just be managed. Owing to the fact, then, that the feudal lords were proud of having Court office and rank, and that they were suspicious and strove to expel others, the Shogunate just managed to exist, not of its own strength, but only untouched as being not worth contending for. The Shogun being so ignored by the feudal lords, his political power was a mere shadow. Such was Kyoto of which Xavier thought day and night as a happy ground to propagate Christianity.

CHAPTER XXI

EFFECT UPON KYUSHU OF THE PORTUGUESE CIVILIZATION

Rise of the Ouchi Clan.—In the middle of the 16th century, when Roman Catholicism entered Kyushu, a great dukedom grew up between Kyushu and Kyoto, which, in concentration of power and money, formed a Government resembling the Shogunate. It was the realm of Ouchi Yoshitaka of Nagato Province, who held the seven provinces of Nagato, Suwo, Aki, Bingo, Iwami, Buzen, and Chikuzen. His wealth came from mining, shipping, the fishing industry, and in trading with China and Korea. Besides, as Shimonoseki and Moji were in his possession, no ship from the middle part of Japan and Shikoku could pass without his leave, and the sovereign of China only permitted trade under the permit of the Ouchi family. Korea, too, fell under the Ouchi influence, and the merchant ships which plied between Japan and Korea were generally put under his authority. The Court nobles of Kyoto who were sharp enough to see the transition of political power went down to Nagato one after another to pay court there. The Ouchi family, while contending with the Amako family in the north-east, became intimate with the Mori family on the east and allied with the Otomo family on the south-west. The powerful families in Satsuma, Osumi, Hyuga, Iki, and Tsushima Provinces submitted voluntarily to Otomo, and the Otomo family entered into matrimonial relations with Ouchi. The Ouchi family was the richest in the country, having been for a long while engaged in trade with China and Korea, and being a backer of the wako; and as their forefathers were often in Kyoto, and sometimes even in the administration, this family was very familiar with the civilized conditions of the capital town and was always in hope of becoming Court nobles, for which purpose Ouchi used to contribute to the Imperial Court and the Government more than 1,000 kwan of coin every year. When Court nobles began to swarm round him at Nagato, Yoshitaka began to copy the fashions of Kyoto and held meetings for reading or composing odes and poems just as in the Imperial Palace in Kyoto. He also took a fancy to the fashion of the Ming Court of China, and sending for clothes from there, wore them himself, and made his attendants wear them, besides learning the Chinese language, thinking it a mark of civilization.

Roman Catholicism was welcomed in Nagato.—Ouchi's Court in

Yamaguchi was as much a magnet to the Roman Catholic missionaries as to the Court nobles of Kyoto. Xavier, who had intended to go up to Kyoto from Kyushu, made up his mind to go to Yamaguchi, to convert that city, and set off from Hakata on board a ship with two Japanese called Fernando and Machu Bernard, who, in October 1555, became Jesuits. But the splendid life of the lord of Yamaguchi, which imitated the Kyoto life, was too voluptuous and vainglorious to assimilate religion easily. The people, too, hearing missionaries attack vengeance and concubinage, sneered at them ; and when Xavier walked in the streets the children ran after him to jeer and scoff. His earnest courage and erudition, however, made at last many converts, so Yoshitaka Ouchi, wishing to see him, one day gathered his retainers and followers, and ordered a debate between Xavier and a Buddhist priest. No decision was come to, but from this time Yoshitaka did not disturb the mission work, though he did not help it. After spending some time in evangelizing work the missionaries left Yamaguchi, and after a journey of three months, staying and preaching here and there, reached Kyoto in February 1551. There Xavier begged several times for an audience with the Emperor Gonara and the Shogun Yoshiteru, but the Court officials asked 600 écus of gold for an audience fee. Xavier, being too poor to pay, gave up his hopes of Kyoto, but afterwards, when he was going to preach in Yamaguchi, the Portuguese merchants begged him not to wear such miserable clothing, so he followed their advice and put on a suit of clothes presented by them. To Ouchi, the lord of Yamaguchi, he presented what had been sent to the Japanese Emperor and the Shogun from the Governor-General of Portuguese India and the Bishop of Goa. The present consisted of an automatic bell, a musical instrument, and various articles made in Europe, and at the same time he presented the letters from the Governor-General and the Bishop. To Yoshitaka's great surprise, Xavier refused a great sum of gold he offered in return for the present. The incident upset all his belief in the greed of priests and their willingness to accept presents, and he asked Xavier if there was anything he could do for him. Xavier replied that it would be the greatest favour if he could be given freedom to preach Roman Catholicism, which was their sole object in coming to Japan from so far. Yoshitaka and his followers all conceived great respect for him ; and Takayo Naito, a chief vassal of Yoshitaka, was so moved that he at once granted Xavier permission to preach in his domain, forbidding the officials and citizens to persecute or obstruct the missionaries. In addition, as a special favour, Xavier was given an old Buddhist temple, together with land, in order to build a church. The house of Xavier now swarmed with the people. Some came out of flattery to their lord, some out of their curiosity for a novelty, some to study the religion in preparation for attack, and some out of true desire for a deeper knowledge. One day, when Fernando, the Japanese, was preaching in the busiest street of the city of Yamaguchi, a ruffian approached him and with a jeer spat in his face. The crowd watched breathlessly to see what he would do, but he merely wiped his face and went on preaching to the admiration of all. From that time many samurai and citizens gathered at Xavier's gate, and boys and Buddhist priests were converted to his religion, as a consequence of which some of the Buddhist temples were deserted and fell into ruins. The Buddhist priests were naturally up in arms and planning to destroy the new faith, when Otomo Sorin of Bungo sent a letter to Xavier asking him to come there. Xavier called Côme de Torez to Yamaguchi, entrusted to him the charge of the church affairs, and then went to Bungo by himself.

Bungo becomes Christian.—Otomo Sorin, who succeeded as lord when he was only twenty-five years old, was a man of strong and sagacious character. He was firm enough to subdue the rebellions of his retainers and subjects and exercise a wide authority, and sagacious enough to absorb the new ideas. As we stated in the previous chapter, even Tokiaki, the petty lord of Tanegashima, had schemed to capture the Loochoo Islands by borrowing 500 soldiers from Portugal, so the Portuguese civilization was not likely to be overlooked by ambitious men. When Xavier came to Bungo, Sorin sent 500 soldiers to welcome him, and tens of thousands of spectators watched his entry, the roofs and windows all being crowded with people. Sorin's first idea had been to satisfy his curiosity and make use of the strangers, but in the end he became an admirer of their civilization and a believer in Roman Catholicism. His subjects were greatly agitated, and, making common cause with the Buddhist priests, they shut up the Buddhist temples, notifying that until the Portuguese were driven away there would be no services. This put the people in an uproar and drove them to attack and kill the Portuguese, who escaped on board their ship and, weighing anchor, put out to sea. Sorin subdued the disturbance with soldiers, and the Buddhist priests asked for the issue to be decided at a public debate with the Roman Catholic priests. Sorin consented, and the debate continued for five days, the hearers finally deciding that the Buddhist priests were defeated. Thenceforth Roman Catholicism, being put under the protection of the lord, spread rapidly in all directions.

New Civilization in the City of Oita.—Sorin from that time did not hesitate to build churches and employ the Roman Catholic priests. He reformed the institutions of his castle, revised old laws and ordinances, and established an orphan asylum, a charity hospital, a leper-house, and schools for boys and young men, leaving unexecuted none of the enterprises of civilization learned from the Roman Catholic priests. And as he endeavoured to make foreign trade prosper by welcoming the Portuguese, Kasugaura became a most important and flourishing port, where ships from Europe, China, and many ports of Japan dropped anchor, and the Portuguese stores stood side by side in the streets. At length, in 1543, Sorin, wishing to learn the conditions of Europe, sent Gensa Ueda, one of his vassals, to Rome with a present of gold, silver, and some articles for the Pope. The Pope, being surprised to hear of this wise lord on the island in the Far East, gave Gensa a warm welcome, but he died of illness in Rome, and the Pope entrusted his followers with the return present to Sorin. Sorin was fifty-two years old at that time, an age when one is inclined to become conservative, and yet he had sufficient spirit to do such an unheard-of thing. The messenger sent to Rome by Daté Masamuné of later years only followed in the footsteps of the envoy of Sorin. In Oita there lived a man named Kantsu Nakao, whose wealth was reported to be the greatest in the western part of the country, and it was said what when ships from home and abroad arrived the price of the goods was not fixed without this man, and if he once shook his head there was no trading. Even at Nagasaki the foreign ships would use his scale of prices. His great wealth must have been obtained by the trade with Portugal. All this shows clearly enough how the intercourse with the Portuguese created new enterprises and a new spirit in Kyushu. As the Portuguese civilization fixed its base in Oita, the ships from the ports of Sakai and other commercial ports also gathered here and traded in home and foreign goods. Oita became the most prosperous city in the country, its manufacturing industry developed, and the town was the envy of the neighbouring lords for its unique prosperity.

THE SCRAMBLE FOR THE SILVER-MINE AT IWAMI.—After Xavier left Bungo, the Roman Catholics in Yamaguchi were led by Torrez, whose earnestness and sincerity won a great many converts. The Buddhists tried every means to persecute the Roman Catholics by slander or impeachment, but being unable to silence them, they turned to policital means, and a good opportunity soon cropped up. Yoshitaka Ouchi, the lord of Yamaguchi, having been a backer of pirate fleets, knew well the profit to be made from the trade with China and Korea, and had an eye to see what commerce and industry could do, so he set his eyes upon the silver-mine of Iwami. The Ouchi family is said to have descended from some prince of Korea. As this family had resided on the coast of Tatarahama in Suwo Province, they took the word "Tatara" as their family name, and afterward changed it to Ouchi. The word "Tatara" in Mongolian means the bellows used in metal-working. In

Japan also the bellows has long been called Tatara, and so the Ouchi family must have been one of those families of metal-workers who came over from Korea bringing tatara. They were, therefore, one of the first exploiters of the silver-mine of Iwami. In the age of Ashikaga Takauji, Ashikaga Tadafuyu attacked and captured Iwami, and he was said to have worked out the silver-mine completely, for deep mining was not understood. The mine later belonged to Ujikiyo Yamana, who was already in possession of a great fief, his families and relations owning one-sixth of all Japan, and greatly increased his power, but again the mine ceased to be worked. In the age of Yoshioki, however, Jutei Kamiya of Hakata in Chikuzen visited Seiuemon Mishima at Dengi in Izumo, and, after negotiating with him they worked the disused silver-mine together and got a great quantity of silver. Ships from various parts of the country flocked to Iwami Province and bought silver-sand. The neighbourhood of the mine grew prosperous, and Jutei himself gained great wealth. Bringing from Hakata two men, Sotan and Keiju, he began to get silver by salving ores, and presented 100 silver coins to the Ouchi family every year. In 1537 the Amako family of Izumo Province seized the mine and worked it for themselves. In 1539 Ouchi Yoshitaka regained it once more and increased the annual tribute of silver to 500 pieces. Thus the feudal lords scrambled for the mine, and Yoshitaka helped Mori to destroy Amako chiefly to get hold of this silver-mine.

YOSHITAKA RUINED HIMSELF BY HIS LUXURY.—As Yoshitaka, who drew a large revenue from fishery, shipping, mining, and foreign trade, became more and more luxurious and addicted to the Kyoto fashion of living, he was surrounded by flatterers, who bred discord among his chief retainers and veterans. Those who liked novelty and were go-ahead acknowledged as their leader, Sagara Takao, chief retainer, who was favoured by Yoshitaka for his fine penmanship and literary genius ; while those of conservative spirit and old veterans and vassals made as their leader, Harukata Sue. Sagara was Yoshitaka's favourite, and many of the chief vassals who were out of favour sided with Harukata, who, taking advantage of the dissensions between the Buddhist priests and the Roman Catholic priests, aroused the public mind. He raised an army in February 1551 and attacked Yoshitaka at Yamaguchi. The outbreak was very sudden, and Yoshitaka fled and eventually killed himself. Sagara Takao ran away and hid in Tsukushi. The soldiers and citizens set fire to and plundered the city, reducing to ashes the castle and warehouses, and leaving nothing of what Yoshitaka had inherited from his forefathers. In such a manner the suzerainity of the middle provinces and the Government came at length to an end. The Buddhists imputed it all to the punishment of Heaven fallen upon the lord who helped Roman Catholicism. However, not long after, Masayori Yoshimi of Iwami Province, an old vassal of Ouchi, raised an army against Harukata, and Mori Motonari seized the opportunity to press upon Harukata at Itsukushima. Harukata fled to Awonoriura, whence he intended to escape to the opposite coast, but as he could not get a boat, he went to Shimooye, and there committed suicide; he was thirty-three years old.

THE MATSUURA FAMILY OF HIRADO INVITED THE ROMAN CATHOLIC PRIESTS.—Seeing that the Portuguese merchants who brought the profit of foreign trading respected and served the Roman Catholic priests, the powerful families in Kyushu, who really did not care a straw about the religion, vied with one another in welcoming the Roman Catholic priests in order to make money in the foreign trade. Matsuura, the lord of Hirado, had greatly persecuted the foreign religion and had no liking for it, in spite of which, in 1554, he sent a letter to Nugey, the bishop of the Indian mission, begging him to send a missionary, asking to be baptized and promising to protect the missionaries. Seeing this letter, and not knowing the real motive, Nugey thought it was no ordinary case that a lord himself sent such a cordial invitation and believed it to be God's intention he should go to Japan. So he started with Mendez Pinto, but storm drove him to land in Bungo instead of Hirado. Pinto had been in Bungo once before, but when they landed Bungo was in an extremely deplorable condition to their eyes. The Buddhist priests had made common cause with all those who preferred the old ways or had been ousted by the progressives and for the time being had obtained the upper hand, and when Nugey landed, Sorin was shut up in his castle. Eventually Sorin overcame the rebels and went in more than ever for foreign ways and the new religion, so that his dominion became a base of operations of Roman Catholicism and at the same time wealthy and powerful to the great astonishment of the surrounding feudal lords; but after Nugey went to Hirato at the invitation of Matsuura, the advantageous position of that port at last made the Portuguese move their headquarters thither.

THE CARRYING TRADE OF THE PORTUGUESE.—Owing to the great distance of their mother country the Portuguese subordinated the trade with Europe to trading between the ports of the Orient. And as China was the greatest producer and at the same time the greatest purchaser in the Orient, the trading of the Portuguese in Japan too chiefly consisted in jobbery between Japan and China, their transactions in European goods being one-third or one-fourth of their whole turnover. As a port of this carrying-trade, Hirado, being the nearest to China and the most convenient, was fixed as the base of their operations. And the convenience was found not only in the geographical facilities of the place, but also in the personal favour that Matsuura, the lord, showed to the Portuguese.

THE LORD OF HIRADO INVITED OCHOKU THE LEADER OF CHINESE PIRATES.—As almost all the present aristocracy, despite their calling themselves the descendants of some old noble, are most of them sprung from leaders of robbers or pirates, so nearly all the feudal lords in Kyushu were of doubtful descent. When Tokugawa founded his Government, many of the local magnates of the western provinces who set up to be aristocrats were whale catchers or leaders of fishermen or pirates, which astonished Iyeyasu not a little. About 1329 a certain Owatari, in possession of Kawachi of Hirado, was a great ship-owner with an ambition to own 99 ships to communicate with the 99 neighbouring islands, an ambition which in time he realized. It is true he called himself a merchant of salt and whales, but he was a pirate on the sly. Among the local magnates of Hirado was the Matsuura family. As Owatari had no son, Matsuura managed to be chosen as his son-in-law, and, succeeding to his father-in-law's fortune, raised the Matsuura family to power. About 1532, however, there was a Chinese pirate called Ochoku, who was a leader among the Japanese pirates operating on the coasts of China and made Fukue of the Goto Islands his headquarters. Takanobu Matsuura, who knew something about the profits of pirates, invited Ochoku to Hirado in 1541, giving him a residence at Miyanomachi as an honoured guest. Ochoku built a castle and a great mansion and assumed the title of "King of Ki," dressed like an Emperor, and built a villa, which he used for drinking and feasting. The times were such, both in Japan and China, that the Central Government was impotent and incapable of suppressing robbers and pirates, and Ochoku took advantage of it to make himself the leader of all the pirates in the China seas.

PINTO, A SEA-ADVENTURER, CAME.—It was in 1550 that Ochoku operated most actively. Two years after his removal to Hirado, that is in 1543, he went with Pinto, the Portuguese, to the island of Tanegashima. This Pinto was typical of the Portuguese that were wandering about in the Orient. He was born in Lisbon, and at fourteen years of age was captured at sea by a French pirate ship, but was spared, and passed several years at Setubal. When he was twenty-six or twenty-seven years old, intending to seek his fortune in the Orient, with four companions he went round the Cape of Good Hope and, passing between Madagascar and Mozambique, entered the Red Sea, and then touched at a port of Abyssinia, where he joined a Portuguese ship he fell in with there. He was afterward captured by a Turkish pirate ship and sold to a Greek as a slave, resold to a Jew, and finally, in Ormuz, set at liberty by a Portuguese merchant. He then went on board a ship going to Goa, the Portuguese base of operations in India, and arrived there in 1558. As soon as he arrived there he joined a pirate ship to prey on the Turks, but got nothing for his trouble but two wounds. At that time the Portuguese had already removed their headquarters from Goa to the Malay Peninsula, placing a governor at Malacca. This governor, Don Pedro de Feria, seeing the spirit in Pinto, sent him to Sumatra to assist the King of Batan against the King of Ateen, but in this war he was on the losing side and again made a slave. Luckily a Mohammedan bought him, so he could return to Malacca. In May 1542, with 50 companions like himself, he went to China, where he headed a robber band, but was reduced to beggary. When the Tartars attacked Peking, he was captured, but as John Mendez, one of his companions, knew something about fortifications, the Tartars detained him, setting free all the rest. Pinto, in order to return to Malacca, wandered down to Cochin from Peking, and when he reached Compass Island he found a Chinese pirate ship which had put in there after an unsuccessful action. Pinto, with his three companions, went aboard this ship, in which eventually he reached Tanegashima after a severe fight with other pirate craft.

PINTO ON TANEGASHIMA ISLAND.—This is Pinto's own story, and the Chinese pirate in question seems to have been Ochoku of Hirado. Pinto writes that the lord of Tanegashima Island was surprised at the magnificence of the ship, and upon visiting it and seeing Pinto and other foreigners on board, asked their nationality. He was doubly surprised to learn that they were Portuguese. Pinto records, too, that the interpreter between the captain and the lord of Tanegashima upon that occasion was a woman of the Loochoo Islands. The Portuguese adventurer, Pinto, went ashore to shoot, and they say 26 water-fowls dropped at every shot, and the rumour about such a god-like weapon at once spread all over the island. In great envy the lord begged for two fowling-pieces, and in return for them the Portuguese were given 1,000 ryo of silver, but not the fourteen-year-old girl whom they had been promised under the pretence that she was dead. At this juncture the lord of Bungo sent to Tanegashima Island for the Portuguese, and thereupon Pinto went to Bungo.

HANJIRO WAS THE FIRST TO BECOME A ROMAN CATHOLIC.—Ochoku, who had brought Pinto to Tanegashima Island, returned to Hirado, going round to Kagoshima and then to Ningpo, his native place. Pinto then wandered about Siam, and then to Goa, but was out of luck, and so went on board the ship of John Alvanz in order to revisit Japan in 1547. He came to Tanegashima and entered Fuchu of Bungo, where there chanced to be an insurrection and many Portuguese, too, got killed. Pinto escaped from this and cast anchor in the Bay of Kagoshima. One night he approached the land in a boat in pursuit of a runaway slave, when two Japanese implored him to save them by taking them into his ship, as they were eluding pursuit and facing immediate death. Pinto, after great hesitation and consideration, sent them aboard. The captain and others sympathized with them and took them to China, and then to Malacca. These two were Hanjiro and his servant, who afterwards assisted Xavier in preaching his faith. The Portuguese ships which brought Xavier to Japan were no more than disguised pirates, and it is really wonderful that ferocious pirates should be the guides of the messenger of benevolence, and the modern history of Japan should be thus opened.

MATSUURA LEARNED FROM THE PORTUGUESE HOW TO MAKE FIREARMS.—Matsuura of Hirado had so keen an eye to the main chance that he had welcomed Ochoku, a great leader of the Chinese pirates, as an honoured guest, and treated him like a king, and now he was fortunate enough to find Portuguese to take the place of Ochoku. The Portuguese residing in his domains paid great and deep respect to the missionaries, and so he thought the best way to build up a profitable foreign trade and obtain firearms was to show hospitality to these priests. He therefore got the Portuguese to invite them from Satsuma. Thus Hirado became the centre of the Portuguese trade, from which the traders went to and fro and entered the interior of Kyushu as far as Hakata and Karatsu on horseback. Matsuura got from the Portuguese three guns and a cannon, but not knowing how to make the powder for them, he planned to learn by making his chief vassals, Kagote Tazaemon and Ichinohe Kageyu, turn Roman Catholics. At first they would not, but at last were prevailed upon to obey their master's orders, and the Portuguese in great joy imparted to them the secret of making powder. The fate of the two vassals was tragic. Converted at first for purely political reasons, they became earnest Christians and began to do evangelical work. Matsuura was much annoyed, for at heart he hated the foreign religion, but for a time he could do nothing. When eventually Christianity was prohibited, he called upon them to recant, and when they refused, put them to death with their families. This cunning Matsuura had once invited Ochoku the pirate to Hirado from the Goto Islands, and now at the appearance of the Portuguese, who were far superior than Ochoku, he ignored the Chinese pirate and invited the strangers to Hirado. Indeed, he was typical of the character of the lords at that time, who stuck at nothing to make money.

HIRADO WAS A CLEARING-HOUSE OF WESTERN CIVILIZATION.—That Matsuura invited to Hirado the Portuguese merchants and the Roman

Catholic missionaries was opportune and greatly enriched Hirado. The crowding thither of the Portuguese ships called the Chinese merchant ships in pursuit of the profit of trade, and pirate ships and the Japanese merchant ships to get the goods the foreigners brought, thus making Hirado for some while the central market of the sea trade of the Orient. The ship-owners of Hirado and those who sailed to this port received as transportation fee 20 per cent. of the goods, and the lord of Hirado received 10 per cent. of the goods, both import and export. There was also a great business in repairs and refits after every voyage, and country blacksmiths became at a bound naval architects, for what they learned of European and Chinese art made them splendid shipbuilders. The ships paid well for their repairs, and the merchants spent a lot of money ashore. Hirado was, indeed, at its highest point of prosperity. Shinokawa Koichiro, a vassal of the lord, learned the art of making gunpowder, and in 1544 another vassal, Yaita Kinbei, invented a method to make matchlocks, and made 600 pieces. So rich and strong was Hirado that it was widely feared, and many begged to enter into close relations to get the assistance of its matchlock corps. Firearms had been spread so far by Otomo of Bungo and Tanegashima of Satsuma over a part of Kyushu and Shikoku, and then to Nagato and Suwo, but by Matsuura they were spread over another part of Kyushu, and thence to the central provinces, at last bringing about a general change in Japan.

THE SPANIARDS CAME TO HIRADO.—The coming of the Portuguese stirred all Kyushu, as we have stated, and the subsequent arrival of the Spaniards increased the effect. In the discovery of new lands across the sea Spain had been contending with Portugal. When the Portuguese made Goa in South-West India their base of operations, after reaching India round the southern point of Africa in 1499, Spain discovered the continent of America. In 1543, when the Portuguese are recorded to have arrived at Tanegashima, a Spanish fleet cruised along the Pacific coast from Panama up to the northern part of America, where Seattle is to-day, and Mendoza, the Viceroy of America, discovered the coast of California and established a colony there. In 1539 a great gold-mine was found in Chile, and in 1545 a great silver-mine in Mexico. With her power, civilization, and wealth, Spain was not content to leave the Far East in the hands of Portugal, and stretched out thither. During 1528 and 1529 the Spaniards discovered many islands in the Pacific Ocean, but found nothing of value; and in 1564 they boldly grasped the nettle and sent out a fleet with sealed orders, to be opened when 300 leagues off the coast. These sealed orders directed them to capture Luzon (the Philippines), which they did, and the Philippine Islands became the Spanish base. However, the confederation ruling in Europe between Portugal and Spain caused them to pool their interests even in the Orient, and the Spanish ships began to gather at Hirado, where Portugal was already established, and in consequence Hirado became the most necessary central market in the Orient.

THE FLEETS OF PORTUGAL AND SPAIN SWEPT AWAY THE CHINESE PIRATES.—We have seen how Ochoku, the Chinese pirate, acting as the guide of the Portuguese merchants, had realized the coming of Xavier, the missionary. And that the ferocious pirate led and guided the saintly missionary is marvellous and makes one wonder at the ways of Providence. More surprising is it that the Portuguese merchant ships in their turn swept away the Chinese pirates. Though the Portuguese ships were great and powerful, they were not seldom attacked by the pirates and endangered; and these pirates who cruised between the coast and islands of China and the coast from Formosa to Kyushu could not be exterminated by a small force. Such being the case, Portugal and Spain, by negotiation, each gathered twelve ships at Hirado, and, making it their base of operations, began to sweep away the pirates. Meanwhile, as Japan was being unified by Hideyoshi and Iyeyasu, the authority of the Central Government reached in all directions, which also caused the decline of piracy. They were utterly wiped out in the sixteenth century, but the decisive shock to them was in the allied attack of the two fleets.

THE PORTUGUESE WERE NOT ON GOOD TERMS WITH MATSUURA.—The home and foreign trade of Japan at the time was an unregulated and free trade, so the Portuguese and Chinese could touch at any port and trade freely. The Portuguese, in fact, knew the coastline and waterways of Kyushu better than the Japanese themselves. Only at such a port as Hirado, where there were warehouses and necessities, were duties levied. The profit, then, was immense, and the trade of the Portuguese and Chinese advanced with great rapidity. According to Mendez Pinto, who came to Bungo in 1554, at the port of Bungo hundreds of Chinese ships used to gather, the Chinese selling gold at almost half the price of the Portuguese, who could not compete with them. One night there was a storm, when more than 2,000 ships were sunk, the Portuguese ships numbering only 27, the Chinese accounting for most of the rest. This throws light on the prosperity of the trade in Bungo alone, and it may be easily imagined how people were stirred up by the visits of the foreign ships everywhere along the coast of Kyushu. As has been said, Matsuura, the lord of Hirado, disliked Roman Catholicism at heart, but in order to get the profit from trade he had welcomed it outwardly. The religion spread vigorously and, as in Yamaguchi and Bungo, opposition arose among the Buddhist against the Roman Catholics, and various commotions took place. The missionaries and the Portuguese, seeing that the lord had no intention of subduing the disturbance, perceived that his heart was really in commercial profit and not in religion, as he did not care a fig whether he dealt with Ochoku, the pirate, or God's messengers, if only he could get profit by them, and they made up their minds to remove to other good ports.

Omura of Hizen Province became Christian.—Omura Sumitada, the lord of Omura of Hizen Province, was proud of his family and would not submit to Matsuura, often contending with him by force, being proud of the reputation of his house. The Portuguese merchants, deceived by Matsuura, found a good port at Yokose-ura in the territory of this rival of Matsuura, and in 1562 began trading there. Omura, on his part, too, was not averse to handling the profit of trade in his territory, as he was not on peaceful terms with Matsuura, so he endeavoured to conciliate the Portuguese and promised them: "Every Portuguese residing in the port shall be exempted from various taxes, and those who trade with the Portuguese shall be exempted from taxes for ten years. The Portuguese can build Roman Catholic churches as they please, and the missionaries shall be well treated. Yokoseura should be enlarged to 2 square ri and be exempted from various taxes, and no one without the consent of the missionaries should reside in the port." From that time the merchants in pursuit of the profit of Portuguese trade gathered in this port from all directions, and by building houses and making streets established the prosperity of the place. Omura not only welcomed the Portuguese ships for the profit of trade, but also became a believer in Roman Catholicism when the doctrine was explained by his retainers and relatives who had been converted to this religion, and he himself being mild and sincere had admired the highly virtuous missionaries. Now, the more he came in contact with the Portuguese, the more deep became his belief. He was instructed in Roman history by the missionaries, and upon hearing about the deeds of Emperor Constantine, who had become the leader of the Christians, he was deeply moved, and becoming a militant believer called himself Bartholomew. He had a new military uniform made, embroidered with gold and silver and ornamented with a golden fringe round the border. Round his neck was a great rosary and a glittering gold cross, and on front and back was a white figure inscribed with the name of Christ. The splendour of this gorgeous dress dazzled all beholders, and he made his chief vassals and his body-guard wear similar garments.

The War between Omura and Matsuura.—One day Omura, the prince, visited a shrine accompanied by his retainers, took out the images of the gods which had been worshipped by his forefathers, beheaded and burned them, and, replacing them with a beautiful cross, he knelt down before it and paid homage. His intention was to convert all his land to Roman Catholicism by sudden reform. Among his thirty-two chief vassals, twelve would not submit to him and secretly planned his dethronement. Matsuura, his commercial rival and political opponent, gave them every encouragement and promised them help. In 1536 Omura was, as usual, about to perform a ceremony before his ancestors' images, when he seized them and cast them into the fire, by which he showed that he would never worship such idols. At this his subjects were astonished so immensely that they did not know what to do, and the twelve rebellious vassals spread vile slanderous reports about Sumitada and contrived to persuade the lord of Goto to take his place. Chijiwa Makazu, the lord of Goto, was the son of Sumisaki, the late lord of Omura, but his mother being a Chinese and a concubine, the chief vassals of Sumisaki, after his death, made Makazu the lord of Goto, and adopted Sumitada, the second son of Harusumi Arima, the lord of Arima, and made him the lord of Omura. Makazu was, of course, not contented at heart and readily fell in with the plans of the rebels, who at last, on August 23rd, raised troops, and laying siege to the castle, burned it to the ground. Sumitada escaped and hid in a neighbouring forest for several days. No one knew where he was hidden except a Chinese, by whom he was given food secretly. The insurgents, with the assistance of 150 ships from Matsuura and 60 ships from Goto, burnt the Roman Catholic churches and killed the believers. Sumitada escaped from his hiding-place, entered a small castle in the neighbourhood, gathered his former retainers, and several times got the upper hand of his great enemy with his small force. At this crisis, Harusumi, the ex-lord of Arima, interfered, by conciliating the leader of the insurgents with a promise that he would make the young lord Yoshisada marry his daughter, suppressed the rebels with his help, and then, sending troops to Omura, he saved Sumitada, and by their joint efforts Omura crushed the rebels completely. Roman Catholicism spread more and more; the conspiracy of the lord of Hirado to snatch away the profit of trade from Omura by ruining the new faith ended in failure, and Yokose-ura port flourished more than ever.

THE PORTUGUESE FOUND OUT NAGASAKI FOR THE FIRST TIME.—From that time on the struggles between Matsuura and Omura continued, but the bravery of Omura Sumitada in putting down the disturbances made his faith popular, till in 1575 more than 60 Buddhist priests were converted to Roman Catholicism, together with 20,000 of the people, and in the next year 15,000 more accepted the new faith. In these two years the Roman Catholic churches erected in Omura's territory numbered 40. In 1570 the Portuguese, sending a boat to Nagasaki, discovered that it was as good a port as Yokose-ura and asked to be allowed to commence trading there with the same privileges. This brought about an entire change in the relation between Portugal and Japan.

NAGASAKI WAS SOLD FOR 100 KWAMME OF SILVER.—The Portuguese offered 300 momme of silver yearly as ground rent for Nagasaki. At that time Ryuzoji Takanobu began to subdue the southern part of Hizen, and the local great families thereabouts all submitted to him, except Omura and Arima. In consequence, between those who worked with Ryuzoji and Omura's followers there was a continuous struggle which placed Omura in great difficulties. Brave as he was, his income was small and war-funds very short. The Portuguese in Nagasaki helped him by presenting catapults, guns and bullets, and powder, with which he managed to repel enemy attacks, yet the long campaigns completely exhausted his resources and he borrowed 100 kwamme of silver from the Christian churches, mortgaging the annual taxes of the neighbourhood of Nagasaki, Yamazato village, Urakami, and Fuchi villages, etc., till the time of redemption. When, therefore, the Portuguese rented Nagasaki, they got the privilege to use it as their own territory, or, at any rate, a condition nearer to that of territory than what we call a concession under extraterritoriality at present. In that undeveloped period, ignorant in judicial knowledge, this vague lending of the land caused a condition which gave rise to a state within a state. The fact that Omura borrowed money from the Church, offering as a mortgage the annual taxes of the villages around Nagasaki, brought about the following state of affairs. The farmers of those villages by their lord's order paid their land-tax directly to the Roman Catholic priests. The Portuguese treated them kindly, feeding them, giving them charity, and clothing the poor, so they respected the missionaries as their lord and regarded these benevolent priests as their own fathers, and no one could object, as it was the result of their lord's order. When the time of redemption came, Omura could not pay; the mortgage fell in, and Nagasaki was handed over to the Roman Catholic missionaries. Reports of the benevolence of the Portuguese spread, and not only Nagasaki but also the villages around it all became the temple-land of Roman Catholicism. An old record says that at this time 1 koku of rice was about 13 momme of silver, which would make 100 kwamme of silver equal to 7,700 koku of rice. Therefore Nagasaki and its neighbourhood once fell into the possession of the Portuguese merchants for 7,700 koku of rice.

MATSUURA RECONCILED WITH THE MISSIONARIES.—Torrez, the superintendent of the missionaries residing in Bungo, in order to show Matsuura and other lords that the Portuguese merchants whom they courted for profit were at the orders of the missionaries, often intervened in the coming and going of the Portuguese merchant ships, as a consequence of which ships coming from China would enter Yokoseura, ignoring Hirado. In extreme cases the missionaries in Hirado ordered even the ships bound for Hirado not to unload their cargo and to sail elsewhere. Thus they tried to chastise Matsuura. In 1554 two great Portuguese ships entered Hirado from China, bringing a report that another ship was following them. Froez, the missionary from Takahashi, and Torrez from Bungo came to Hirado, and ordered the captains to cast anchor 2 ri off the port. This was because they planned to show that the priests ruled the Portuguese and to spite the lord of Hirado. The captains obeyed, and though the lord of Hirado tried to induce them to enter, they declined, saying that they could not without permission from the priest. As at that time Matsuura was greatly in need of the profit of trade, he sent a special messenger to Froez, begging the ships might be allowed to enter, apologizing for his past cold treatment, and promising to favour Roman Catholics in the future. The priests made two conditions: first, that he should allow the Roman Catholic missionaries to reside in Hirado, and second, by the building of a church in Hirado at the believers' own expense. When Matsuura agreed, they began trading.

Matsuura fought with the Portuguese.—Matsuura's promise of kind treatment was, of course, only with an eye to trade, so he broke it before long. About the same time the Roman Catholic mission in India sent to a missionary residing in Hirado a present by a servant of Koteda, which, by Matsuura's orders, was taken from him. The present was a Madonna to be enshrined in the church, and the retainer who purloined it desecrated it, cutting out its eyes. In 1567 Juan de Belira, the superintendent of the mission in Malacca, was about to enter Hirado on board a Portuguese ship, when hearing of this incident he shaped a course towards Omura for the port of Hakata belonging to Sumitada, the lord of Omura. Matsuura, in a great rage, sent 50 ships in pursuit of him. The Portuguese captain evaded them for some time by skilful navigation, and when at last they approached, fired on them, killing 70 persons outright and wounding 200, who subsequently died. It proved an expensive indulgence of temper on the part of Matsuura, and the Portuguese ship safely arrived at Fukuda-ura. As a natural consequence of this event, the Portuguese avoided Hirado more than ever, and several years after, when they made Nagasaki their base of operations for trading, Hirado quite declined. It was when they all resided in Nagasaki that the trade between Japan and Portugal attained the highest point of prosperity.

The Courage of the Portuguese at Sea.—The most surprising thing about the Portuguese in the history of the East was their courage in crossing uncharted seas in small ships without any of the facilities of good ports and meteorological forecast, and so on, such as sailors of to-day enjoy. The ships in the time of Vasco da Gama were of from 60 to 150 tons only, and though the size increased year by year, yet all ships were small, so that shipwreck was an everyday occurrence. According to the report of Falsao, the ships sent to the East during 82 years from 1497–1579 numbered 620, of which only 325 returned home. From 1580–1612 186 ships were sent, of which 100 returned, the rest being lost at sea. The Portuguese, however, were not daunted by these perils, and year after year they adventured out to the East. They were, indeed, sea-fighters whose courage rose with storm, and who found their romance in crossing wide oceans. To romance was added possible gain, for though the pay of a mariner was scarcely enough to keep body and soul together, they all shared in the profits of the venture. The unit of the division of profits was one sailor; two cabin-boys equalled one sailor; and a carpenter, a rope-maker, a cook, a barber, and a priest equalled two sailors; while a boatswain and a quartermaster counted for one and a half sailors. Life in the ships was very hard, and the crew were often in want of water and food. The vessels were crowded, the cabins dirty and the air foul, so that sickness was rife and the losses between Portugal and India amounted to about 60 per cent. The most conspicuous instance was in 1576, when the ship on board of which went Lorenzo de Tovora lost 900 out of 1,000 by sickness.

The Price of the Right of Navigation.—Portugal amply remunerated her ships abroad. According to the Report of Iniz de Ficnerade Falsao in 1612, the captain of the ss. *Solfara* received 8,500 yen as his salary for three years, together with a share of trade profit amounting to 570,000 yen, and this was only his official income, to which must be added an immense sum made on his own account. The best way to reward a man for services was to give him a special licence of navigation, which was a present worth having, with a saleable value, and often contributed to a religious or a charity corporation. At the end of the 16th century one man is recorded to have bought over three special licences of navigation to Japan, one from a charity hospital at Goa. About 1612 the right of navigation to China or Japan cost 250,000 yen, that from St. Thomas to the Straits of Malacca 56,000 yen, that from Goa to Mozambique 60,000 yen, and that to the Moluccas 70,000 yen.

The Portuguese Profits in Minting.—In Japan the Portuguese found themselves in contact with samurai and priests whom they could not treat as they did the people of India, but in commercial matters they found the Japanese not very different from other Oriental races and adopted their usual measures, carrying on a coastal trade with rapidity and safety. Finding the value of silver compared with gold was higher in Japan than in Europe, they endeavoured to get payment in gold. Great profits were made, too, by minting copper coins, the material of which they purchased in Japan at low price and sent to India for minting. According to Calmo Nazares, when the Portuguese settled their colony at Goa there were 75 kinds of coins, and to unify them copper coins were made. In 1510, in the time of Albuquerque, the price of copper per quintal was 13 baldaos, but out of 1 quintal he minted 3,736 copper coins. In these circumstances the value of copper rapidly rose, and between 1529 and 1538 1 quintal went to 16 baldaos, in 1540 to 18 baldaos, and in 1545 to 20 baldaos, out of which 38 baldaos worth of copper coin was minted. Subsequently, as the currency varied in value the coins were often reminted, and in 1564 they fixed the ratio at 35 baldaos out of 1 quintal copper. Ignorant of the high value of copper in India, the Japanese merchants supplied it at a very low price.

The Portuguese Civilization in Nagasaki.—When Nagasaki and its neighbourhood were transferred by Omura to the Portuguese, the priests established three great churches and set up oratories. The shrines were burnt, and the Buddhist temples likewise. "Heaven's fire" the priests called it. A charity house for the poor was started which tempted many to become believers and share in the advantages offered. Moreover, the people were ordered to destroy the shelves for Shinto tablets and the family Buddhist shrines in their houses, and to throw away the images of gods and Buddha and family tablets, and those who did not obey were made to quit their territories on a fixed date. Thus they propagated their religion and carried out their trading, and as they were backed by the European civilization, all the coasts of Kyushu felt the effects. Where there was commerce there came the religion without fail, and where the religion was propagated there came commerce, consequently the Portuguese and the Spanish languages and customs and manners began to soak into the daily life of the Japanese people. The kappa (capa) worn by the priests came into common use and was made out of oiled paper, which was largely used as a substitute for woollen cloth. The Portuguese brought the fruit of a climbing plant from Cambodia and called it bobera, which became a favourite food in Kyushu under the name of bobura (pumpkin), and in the eastern provinces was called cabocha. The tempura which the Spaniards were fond of became one of our national dishes, and castilla, or sponge-cake, favoured by the Portuguese was corrupted into kasutera, under which name it is still known. The shamurozome, a method of dyeing, was imitated from the dyed goods imported from Siam. The word "sikiriba," derived from the Spanish "scribe," was used in the meaning of an accountant or treasurer, and even as a verb "to settle accounts." As the Portuguese called warships galiota, all warships were called gareuta ships. The cloth with a striped design called Bengara-jima was formerly imported from Bengal, and striped cloth called Santome-jima was imitated from the cloth which the Portuguese imported from St. Thomas Island. Liqueur became rikyushu, veludo, birodo; satin, shichin; and striped cloth is called Shima because it was imported from the islands (Shima in Japanese) abroad. That the foreign words came into use in Japanese daily life and then were corrupted shows how great was the influence of the European civilization and how deep and strong the influence of the religion backed by such powerful civilization.

The Christian Names of the Lords in Kyushu.—Otomo Sorin, lord of the provinces of Bungo and Buzen and half of the provinces of Higo and Chikugo, was given the Christian name of Francisco. The wife of the lord of Goto Island was christened Mary. Chosokabe Motochika, the lord of Tosa, was christened; the lord of Amakusa on conversion called himself Dom Michael. Ito Sukechika, the lord of Hyuga, was converted, with his wife, and called his eldest son Dom Bartholomew and his second son Dom Jerome. In fact, almost all the local magnates in Kyushu were converted to Roman Catholicism, and the religion worked some wonders. In 1580, in Nagasaki, a Portuguese quarrelled with a Japanese samurai and killed him. The son of this samurai, a Roman Catholic believer, meeting with his father's foe, struck at him, and, though wounded, pursued him into a church, where he received further wounds. Both parties confessed their sins and, after forgiving each other, expired. Although the desire for vengeance for his father's wrong could not be suppressed, even by the dictate of his adopted faith, yet the samurai forgave his enemy in his dying hour.

Portuguese Profits in Trade at Nagasaki.—The Portuguese then extended their power throughout Kyushu. A consideration of the amount of their trade profits is most interesting, but at the same time extremely difficult. They were unequalled as dauntless mariners, but lacked economic talents, just as the Russians and the Turks in later years. If the Roman Catholic priests had not guided their souls and Jews and Italians tutored them commercially, they would have ended as merely brave military people, for that many Jews and Italians helped in the Portuguese trade and taught the Portuguese how to gain commercial profit is a fact not to be neglected. In fact, they sucked the profits from the Portuguese as a leech sucks blood, and successive Governor-Generals of India often tried in vain to expel the Jews. The Portuguese themselves had no economic talents, so their profits made in the Orient were chiefly what they captured or plundered. Neither had they any systematic organization in their politics and commerce, like a soldier of fortune who fights and makes peace just for the pleasure of performing a glorious deed. Their merchant ships and warships made great profits abroad, yet they generally fell to a captain or a commander, and even if not, it was easy come and easy go. No proper records are left to refer to. However, Danvar's summary from the old record of the Portuguese Government tells us that the tax paid by the merchant ships going from Goa to Japan amounted to 300,000 seraphims, and this had been assessed at 10 per cent. Seraphim is the name of an Indian coin, and as it is said to have corresponded to 1s. 6d., though it fluctuated somewhat, it must have been about 74 or 75 sen in Japanese money. Now 300,000 seraphims is 220,000 yen, and if this sum represented 10 per cent. upon the trade in the Orient, the total turnover would be 2,200,000 or 2,300,000 yen. The profit seems to have been, though we cannot but resort to assumption, there being no reliable proof existing, about 10 per cent. on the capital. They, however, counted in this profit 25,000 ducats as presents to the Japanese lords and voyage expenses, so if 1 ducat corresponded to 9s. this would be about 110,000 yen, i.e. 5 per cent. of the profit. According to the report of Nuita, the Governor-General of Holland in the Orient, the Spaniards used to give the Chinese merchants money in advance in order to collect goods from China. The same custom held good when dealing with the Japanese merchants. If the interest and loss on this prepayment be estimated at 20 per cent., it is not being set too high. And if other expenses, after entering a Japanese port, for repair of the ship, the purchase of goods, pleasure, and presents for the Roman Catholics and their missionaries in Japan be estimated at 15 per cent., their net profit in the trade with Japan must have been about 1,200,000 or 1,300,000 yen yearly, this covering the profits produced by transmitting the European goods to Japan and China, and vice versa, so the amount of business between Japan and Portugal only must have been 50 or 60 per cent. of the whole amount of transactions in the Orient. Consequently the annual profit of the trade between Japan and Portugal must have been 600,000 or 700,000 yen.

The Price of Foreign Goods at that Time.—If the reader thinks that this 600,000 or 700,000 yen was paid in gold coins of Japan only, as the later economists state, he is greatly mistaken. It is true that when the Portuguese came for the first time, the Japanese were surprised to see the novel and curious articles from foreign countries and purchased them needlessly, but as there is no possibility of import without export this natural tendency soon induced the export of Japanese goods, till the proportion of export and import became balanced, and only a small amount of gold left the country. The profit made by the Portuguese was a trading profit. The Spaniards came from Manila and the Portuguese from Macao, both having their bases in the land of the south barbarians, so the Japanese called them both the Namban (the south barbarians) and their trade the south-barbarian trade. Among the goods brought by these southern barbarians the most conspicuous were woollen cloth, leather, glassware, and other novelties; firearms, bullets, and powder made in Spain and Portugal; and the productions of India. Then there was Chinese merchandise, among which the most important articles were raw silk and silk goods. It should be curious to hear that Japan, who now are supplying the greater part of the raw silk of the world, imported a great quantity of it from China 300 years ago, yet it is a fact. The price of raw silk was 50 or 60 ryo of silver for 100 kin. In spite of the great quantity of silk imported, the import of silk goods was small, the reason, according to the Chinese, being that Japan had a special pattern of her own and she was not in need of the Chinese cloth, and the Japanese would weave as necessary on the occasion of a festival or a feast. Silk which cost 50 or 60 ryo of silver per 100 kin is said to have risen to the price of 500 or 600 ryo, when divided and sold in various parts. Next in value to silk was floss-silk for use in cold weather, selling at 200 ryo of silver for 100 kin. A greater part of the medicines imported from China could be made in the country, but this item was also important in the trade with China. Such medicine as onidum officials, which was much valued as it did not grow in Japan, was sold for 60 or 70 ryo of silver for 100 kin. Kanzo, imported from China, sold for 20 ryo per 100 kin. Cotton being scarce in those days, cotton goods were also imported. Pongee is white silk cloth dyed into such designs as suited the Japanese taste. Brocade, a kind of cloth to be used in the theatre or similar shows, sword belts, book-bindings, picture-mountings. and so on cost 70 ryo of silver per 100 kin. Mercury is very scarce in Japan, and what sold in China for 30 or 40 ryo of silver per 100 kin once brought to Japan realized 300 ryo. The most surprising thing is that even the needles which all the Japanese women used were imported from China, one needle costing 7 rin of silver. In those days the cotton cloth produced in Satsuma was sold in Kyoto at the rate of 1 momme 3 bu of silver in the Japanese scale per 1 hiki; so if 1 hiki was 60 shaku, 7 rin of silver would be equivalent to 3 shaku

1 sun 3 bu of cotton cloth. It is, indeed, wonderful that one needle had the same value as that quantity of cotton cloth, even when the cloth was scarce. The needles were imported not only from China, but also from Holland. Pots and pans were produced in Japan, but cauldrons were imported from China, one cauldron costing 1 ryo of silver; and among other imported articles there were ceramic wares, porcelain, carpets, tapestries, sugar, toilet powder, lacquer-wares, and pictures, etc. The Chinese old coins were imported at the rate of 1 ryo 2 sen for 1,000 mon of this money, and it is a remarkable fact that these coins were circulated in Japan.

EXPORTS FROM JAPAN.—It is quite difficult to know at present what kind of articles were exported from Japan. In later years the items of imports were extremely incomplete, even at the time of the Dutch trade, and though the items of the exported articles were distinct, they were only recorded as " copper and silver, so and so kwamme, and other various articles, etc." They are supposed to have been wheat-flour, dried fish, and other foods for the southern barbarians; salted pork from pigs which were originally imported and bred in the country; iron nails and plates, timber, lumber and other materials for shipbuilding; weapons, such as swords, sabres, spears, and halberds; lacquer-wares, porcelain, copper, and silver, etc. Silk which had been imported at Nagasaki, and which began to be made into silk goods, created spinning-mill work in Hakata, and then stimulated the general weaving industry. Pig-iron, imported through the Portuguese, produced the steel industry in Hakata and its neighbourhood which formed the nucleus of the steel industry existing at the present day in the prefecture of Fukuoka. Even so early, Hakata had this industry, being an important source of supply of weapons for the feudal lords, the iron to be used for foreign ships, and the weapons for the pirate fleets. Among the imported European woven goods, velvet was highly prized and used as a collar, which made the Japanese very anxious to learn how to weave it, but the Portuguese would not give away the secret. However, a kind of wire to be used in weaving was found by chance in a roll of velvet among the great many rolls imported at that time. Japanese weavers were highly delighted at this and discovered the way to weave velvet by the use of this wire. This was about 1640, when the Portuguese trade had declined, yet it shows how adaptable the Japanese industrialists were. Pearls and corals were also exported, both of them being produced in the islands around Kyushu, corals being at first believed to be crimson pearls, as stated in *Marco Polo's Travels*. Besides these, as minerals, crystal, gold, silver, lead, white and blue precious stones, sulphur, and amber were exported; and as industrial products, mother-of-pearl, fans, lacquer-wares, Kai silk, pongee of Iwami, paper of Tajima, silk of Awa, swords of Bitchu, straw mats of Izumo, rings of Sanuki, iron of Bungo, cattle of Nagato, chestnuts of Tamba, sea-urchins of Echizen, ear-shells of Oki, and laminaria of Tango, etc. The technology of natural and industrial products had been developed with great strides under the spur of the Namban trading.

CHAPTER XXII

THE FALL OF THE ASHIKAGA CLAN

Shogun Yoshiharu died of Indignation.—While the European civilization brought by Portuguese, called southern barbarians, stimulated the whole island of Kyushu, as described in the last chapter, and had a tremendous after-effect not only mentally but also physically upon the whole nation, a great revolution was forthcoming. Toward the end of the age of Ashikaga, the power of the Shogun only covered the central provinces, and the renewal of the Shogun became as trifling a matter as the flitting of a bird from tree to tree. The rise of the Ouchi and Otomo families was a matter of much more political importance. In 1521 Hosokawa Takakuni, Regent to the Shogun, built a castle in Amagasaki, Settsu, and his power exceeded that of the Shogun himself, who attempted to replace Takakuni as Regent with Hatakeyama Tanenaga. Takakuni forced him to fly to Awaji, and then called Yoshiharu, a son of ex-Shogun Yoshisumi, from Harima and installed him in the Shogunate. In Kyoto, Miyoshi, a retainer of the Hosokawa family, became gradually powerful, and dominated Kyoto, where he had seized the real power of the Shogunate. Tired of the quarrels with Hosokawa and Miyoshi, and seeing his family fortunes decaying day after day, Shogun Yoshiharu could bear it no longer, and in 1546 he left the Shogunate to his son Yoshiteru. The Shogunate courts were filled with many undecided suits and the people were in an uproar. No taxes were paid, and the Shogunate could not supply the Government officials with food; even the guards deserted without the Shogun being able to check it. Seeing this deplorable situation, Yoshiharu died in 1550 of sheer chagrin.

Growth of Ashigaru.—From the middle age of the Ashikaga family, the political power passed into the hands of the lower ranks; lords lost their authority, subordinate vassals rose instead. Men of local influence also often drove away lords and subordinate vassals and became masters of provinces. Farmers and townspeople were so miserable that they rioted *en masse* to protect their interests by physical force, thus originating the democratic movement. In the religious world, Zenshu, Rittshu, and other sects, which were formerly the Government religions, lost their power, and the new religions joined hands with the democratic movement, resulting in the building of castle-like temples. The chief abbot of a temple was like a lord of a castle and his disciples like a standing army, but in the meanwhile a class called Ashigaru grew up. Among the citizens or farmers, those who were too high-spirited to be servants and had no means of becoming samurai, but only wandered about the country, are called Ashigaru. At first Ashigaru were employed as guides or attendants, but later they became robbers and then mercenaries, whose trade was incendiarism, assassination, and so on. In time they became a necessary adjunct of an army. They carried only a sword, with which they rushed into the enemy's camp and sometimes took prisoners. Ashigaru means simply light-footed soldier. Such a famous general as Oda Nobunaga started as a leader of Ashigaru; but in the age of the Tokugawa family they became an essential factor in the feudal system.

The Miyoshi Family firm Believers in the Hokke Sect.—In spite of the rise of these new powers and new phenomena, it is remarkable that the local colour of every province was distinct. The time had been when the local men of influence and the Church were always at loggerheads, but now that the local authorities and religious powers controlled provinces themselves, one province was converted to the tenets of one religious sect, and became subject to one local authority. In 1530, when the Miyoshi clan attacked the Hosokawa in Iimori Castle, the latter sent for help to the Hongwanji Temple in Kyoto. The abbot sent out a call to the believers in the Ikko sect in the neighbouring provinces, and himself went to Osaka. Over 30,000 common soldiers of the Ikko sect answered the call and raised the siege of Iimori Castle, Miyoshi being no match for such a great army. Many officers and men were killed, and his forces were broken up. Subsequently Takaya Castle was also captured by the Ikko sect, who had at their disposal an army of about 100,000 soldiers. Having thus helped Hosokawa in his time of need, the Ikko people became haughty and overbearing towards the clan they had saved, and in August 1532 attempted to attack the Hosokawa clan. Hosokawa then, adopting the policy of friendship with distant states and hostility with neighbours, called in the Hokke sect against their rivals of Ikko to raise the siege of Ikeda Castle. Twenty-one temples of the Hokke sect and many of their supporters met and agreed to Hosokawa's suggestion, and the Hongakuji, Honnoji, and Myokenji Temples also joined in the attack upon the Hongwanji Temple. In spite of the defence offered by the priests and devotees, the odds were too great, and Hongwanji was burnt to the ground, not a hall being left; all the treasures were looted, a majority of the priests and followers were killed and the abbot had a narrow escape. The quarrel spread, and in all the neighbouring provinces there was heavy fighting between Ikko, Hokke, and local lords. Ikko taught that to die for the sake of the religion was a death for Buddha, and was rewarded with paradise, so nothing ever daunted its soldiers, and the more they were attacked, the more firmly they combined ; the more they were put down, the higher they arose. Indeed, the fighting power of the temples was at its zenith in this time. Everywhere Ikko and Hokke armies warred with lords and captured castles. The priests were staff officers or swordsmen, the believers soldiers, thus forming a strict feudal coterie. The agitation was a political one, and they were a political element like the feudal lords. In 1590 Nagamasa Asai asked the Hongwanji Temple in Osaka to get Ikko believers in Omi to raise an army to oppose Nobunaga. In response, 4,000 soldiers of the Shoganji Temple, 2,000 of the Konkoji Temple, 1,500 of the Joganji Temple, 500 of the Junkeiji Temple, and 2,000 of the Shoganji Temple, amounting to 10,000 soldiers in all, were collected. This is not, of course, the whole army of the Hongwanji Temple in Omi, but so numerous a force it was nevertheless, from which one can easily imagine how great a military power the Hongwanji Temple had.

SHOGUN YOSHITERU WAS KILLED.—In 1546 Rokkaku Sadayori became Regent to the Shogun, at which time Miyoshi Chokei, who was not on good terms with the Shogun, supported himself by plundering in the capital. Shogun Yoshiteru ordered the Hosokawa clan to attack Chokei, but they failed and made a nominal peace. One day, later Ise Sadanori invited Chokei to a banquet, and Shinshi Kuro, a guard of the Shogun, rushed in, slashing at Chokei with his sword. Chokei used a cushion as a shield and escaped from all but one slash, and in his turn cut down Kuro. Kuro was clearly instigated by the Shogun, so Chokei retired to near Osaka and allowed Matsunaga Hisahide to administer the Shogunate Government in his stead, controlling him from a distance. This Hisahide treated Yoshiteru like a prisoner. Yoshihide, a cousin of Yoshiteru, wished for the Shogunate, of ill repute and empty name as it was, and asked Chokei Miyoshi for it. On the other hand, Yoshiteru and his followers were ready to go to any extreme to expel Miyoshi and his followers. The Shogun arranged with Kizo Tsutsui in Yamato to send an army and attack the Miyoshi clan, and Matsunaga Hisahide thought it better to take time by the forelock and attack the Shogun first. At that time (1565) Yoshiteru was building the Nijo Castle in Kyoto, levying a charge of 2 bu of gold per door in the manors of Kamigun and Shimogun of Settsu. Hisahide and his friends attacked him there with an army of 1,000 and more soldiers, taking advantage of the fact that the gates were unfinished. Yoshiteru's guards lost their lives in a vain attempt to defend him, and after a desperate fight, in which he made use of a precious ancestral sword, the Shogun himself was cut down. He was then thirty years of age.

THE PERSONALITY OF CHOKEI MIYOSHI.—The rebels invited the sixteen-year-old Kanetake, who was a younger brother of Yoshiteru and living in Rokuon-in Temple, under the pretence that they were going to instal him in the Shogunate, and when he came they killed him. His elder brother, Yoshiaki, the head priest of the Ichijo-in Temple, tried to escape there, but he was confined and deprived of his guards. Only Fujitaka Hosokawa waited on him, but, making the guard drunken, he fled to Omi. It is unpardonable that the Shogun was attacked by rebels instigated by his cousin. It is still worse that he was stabbed to death in his own castle. Miyoshi cannot, of course, escape the responsibility. Then was he rough and brutal after all ? Not altogether. History tells us he was a strong, able man with a good reputation among the people. In 1560, when Chokei confronted Hatakeyama and the priest-soldiers of Negoro at Kumeta, Chokei's younger brother, Saneyoshi, who was the lord of the Wakae Castle in Kawachi, was killed in the battle. On that very day Chokei held a poetry meeting at Iimori Castle, at which a long ode was to be composed, everyone present contributing one line. The first line was composed, but no one could make the second, and while all were racking their brains, including Chokei, the information of Saneyoshi's death in battle arrived. Though Chokei opened the letter, he did not make it public, and after a while he at last composed the second line, which struck the whole assembly with admiration. Then it was Chokei told them of his brother's death in battle, and said that the meeting was closed for the day. Then he stood up quietly, gathered an army, and attacked Takamasa suddenly, gaining a great victory. The story speaks well for his self-possession and elegant accomplishments. We are further told that on meeting with a Portuguese priest and hearing him, Chokei said he was a reasonable man, and gave him liberty of preaching. He was also very kind to his brothers and relations. How, then, did he come to commit such a great crime as fighting with his master, although so calm, elegant, and kind to his blood relations ? Probably because since the 15th century a great revolution had taken place in material and mental life; even the closest bonds were dissolved. The old society, which was built on falsehood, long-established customs, and ritual, had dissolved and a new social cohesion based on reason and common interest had not yet grown. In such a time no great man is likely to be free from censure. Chokei was not the only warrior who left behind an ill name. There were many others, but most of them had an elegant side to their characters seemingly incompatible with their ill names.

The Emperor and the Shogun were Poverty Stricken.—When Yoshiaki had escaped, the party of Miyoshi and Matsunaga pushed Yoshihide into the Shogunate and asked the Emperor for his appointment on February 1st. The Imperial Court demanded 60 kwan of copper coin as the fee, and as Miyoshi and his friends were unwilling to pay this charge the appointment was postponed until the 8th. After some negotiation a smaller sum was accepted, and then the appointment was published. Emperor and Shogun being both so poor, their dignity suffered and their commands were ignored. The silver tribute to the Imperial Court from the silver-mine in Tajima was not presented at all this year, and only a very small amount of tribute of any kind reached the Imperial Treasury. The Emperor ordered the Kamo Shrine to build an outer moat, but the Shinto priests, under various pretexts, did not obey the order. The Imperial estate in Wakasa Province neglected to pay the tribute to the Court, and with great difficulty 3 koku of rice was collected from the Imperial manor of Yamashina, near Kyoto. Such being the fiscal condition of the Imperial Court, it is scarcely surprising that life was very simple there. On January 28, 1568, when Anchinsai Hosokawa entered the Imperial Court, which held a feast, Shirakawa took up a bottle and pressed the Emperor to drink, and Gonotsuji presented a relish to him with chopsticks. At a second dinner there was nothing but wheat vermicelli soup. At the close of the feast, Anchinsai presented a sword to the Emperor and 30 sen to the Court ladies as a gift. When even an Imperial banquet was so simple, much more was it the case with the Court nobles. On such occasions they ate rice cakes and dog soup. Vermicelli soup with wild duck in it was a luxury, and they were only too happy to receive such simple presents as a bundle of dried persimmons or a few biscuits. Though the finances of the Shogun were a little better, yet eight days were spent in negotiating about a payment of 50 kwan-mon. To get this paltry position of Shogun, Yoshihide Ashikaga murdered his uncle.

Yoshiaki Relied upon Nobunaga.—Yoshiaki first fled to Omi, and then went to Echizen to get help from Asakura Yoshikage, but seeing how weak Yoshikage was he passed on and joined Oda Nobunaga in Owari. The Oda family were among the chief retainers of the Ashikaga clan when the father of Nobunaga got possession of Owari; and when Nobunaga inherited, his reputation and influence spread in all directions, and he had long cherished the intention of conquering the whole country. The power of the Shogun had now fallen to the ground; the Imperial Court could not even enforce obedience from their subjects in the immediate neighbourhood of Kyoto, who would pay no taxes, and the Court nobles and illustrious families were scattered here and there in search of a livelihood. A certain Court noble, Tadafusa

Madenokoji, heard of Nobunaga's reputation, recommended him to the Emperor, and advised him to call him to Kyoto by secret Imperial order. At that time what the Emperor wished was neither the recovery of the sovereignty nor the purification of the state, but simply the safety of the Imperial Court manors, the payment of the taxes, and the repair of the Imperial Palace—in fact, the Court was like a fish gasping for water. When Nobunaga was out hunting, the Imperial messengers came, and he heard the news when he was in the bath after his return home. After bathing he changed his clothes, received the messengers, and made his attendant read the Imperial order, at which he expressed great joy, saying that he had been very anxious about the state while he had possessed only half the province of Owari, and now he could conquer the other half of Owari within that year and Mino next year. At that time Nobunaga's dwelling had three rooms, a six- and an eight- and a twelve-mat room, and he received the messengers in the eight-mat room, entertaining them with the game he had shot that day. When they left he presented them with more of the produce of the chase, such as geese and cranes. So simple were the times. Now, when Yoshiaki turned to the Asakura family, he secretly sent a messenger to Nobunaga, who had just destroyed the Imagawa family and was in high spirits, and gladly consented to come to the help of Yoshiaki. In spite of Yoshikage's dissuasion, Yoshiaki had turned to Nobunaga at last. How long Nobunaga had been preparing for going up to Kyoto can be seen from the fact that after he invited Yoshiaki on July 27th, only ten days passed before, as his first step, he marched to Mount Sawa of Omi on his way to Kyoto. In compliance with Nobunaga's manifesto, Nagamasa Asai in Omi Province promised to serve Yoshiaki and gave a hostage, but as Yoshikata Sasaki refused, Nobunaga took by storm the castles of Kannonji and Mitsukuri, with the assistance of Asai, Sasaki and his family escaping. Nobunaga pursued and entered Kyoto, and on September 28th took up his headquarters at the Kofukuji Temple and allowed his followers to plunder the neighbourhood. On the 29th he attacked Katsumasa Ikeda in Settsu, who surrendered and handed over his son as a hostage on the condition that he should be given a fief of 2,000 kwan. After that the provinces surrendered to Nobunaga one after another, and Yoshiaki entered Kyoto and became the Shogun. In the same month Yoshihide died and some of his retainers, Matsunaga and others, escaped to their native provinces, while some surrendered to Nobunaga. When the five provinces—Omi Yamashiro, Settsu, Isumi, and Kawachi—were completely pacified, Nobunaga allotted these provinces to his retainers, but all of them Nobunaga directly ruled.

THE PERSONALITY OF NOBUNAGA.—Nobunaga was only an ignorant boy. In his youth he learnt only riding, swimming, shooting, and archery; his sole pleasure was to hunt by hawking, and, though bold, he was selfish and dissolute. Sometimes he gathered his followers to make them fence with spears and swords, and at last he made a halberd 21 feet long, saying that it was the only real weapon for use in battle, and made all his men take to it. In the streets he would attack anyone he met with his great halberd, and was entirely unruly, so much so that Hirate, his tutor, at last committed suicide in despair. In due course he was installed in the place of his father, and in May 1560 he was attacked by Imagawa Yoshimoto. Yoshimoto ruled four provinces—Mikawa, Totomi, Suruga, and Izu—and had an army of about 45,000 soldiers, while Nobunaga could boast of only 5,000. The two castles of Otaka and Kutsukake, which were held by Nobunaga's divisional commanders, at once fell, and as from the very first the strength and number of the enemy were evident, some of his retainers advised Nobunaga to shut himself up in Kiyosu Castle. He declined, saying that from the beginning of the world Fortune had never smiled on those who shut themselves up in castles, and at the next dawn he would attack Yoshimoto and would kill him or be killed himself. All his veterans agreed with him. At midnight he made his followers saddle up, took a simple meal of boiled rice and tea, with a few relishes, and, leaning against a camp-stool, sang out three times: "Life lasts only fifty years and the world is like a dream or vision. Nothing that has life in this world is immortal." Then he led his army in the storm to the attack. The army of Yoshimoto had become careless of defence, despising Nobunaga's little force, and they were completely defeated, Yoshimoto himself being killed with 2,900 of his men.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF NOBUNAGA.—From this time Nobunaga impressed both his own followers and his enemies by his courage and greatness, but most people looked upon him as only a common, brave general. Very few knew that he was deeply versed in administration and also familiar with important affairs of state. The favourite way of administration in those days was to get the zealous backing of one's followers by rewarding and punishing strictly and justly, forming them thus into a compact group, and marshalling the economic resources of the common people to support this army. This was done by looting the enemy on the one hand and encouraging agriculture and the industrial arts in the province on the other. He was the best statesman who realized all this. The citizens of Kyoto trembled with fear of Nobunaga, and some fled from the city, believing his administration would be a savage one. But, on the contrary, this warrior statesman ruled more wisely than had ever been seen since the Ashikaga age began, and all the people were taken by surprise. First, he put regulations and orders in force very severely, strictly prohibited the soldiers from plundering, and not merely gave the citizens security, but also tried to make the merchants from other parts gather to Kyoto. Secondly, he sent commissioners to Tokaido and Tosando to measure the mileage of the road, build ships for facilitating the traffic in the bays and the ports, and repair the road, making the main highway 21 feet wide and the lanes 18 feet wide. On both sides of the road pine-trees and willows were planted in rows to make traffic easier in winter and in summer, and all the ferry ships were made very stout. One hundred ryo of gold and 500 koku of rice were given in advance to these commissioners for their expenses lest they should impose upon the people. He also abolished many barriers custom duties, seeing how the landowners and za merchants disturbed communications by setting up innumerable barriers and taxing the goods passing through. He also exempted Kyoto from Jishisen tax, and the lands belonging to the temples and Court nobles were made official lands and exempted from Jishisen. Not only did he give other land to the temples and Court nobles, but also lent money to the citizens to encourage trade, the interest to be used for governmental expenditure. The citizens of Kyoto, who had suffered from robbers and evil administration for several hundred years, were loud in applause.

THE HONGWANJI and SAKAI WERE TAXED.—While the citizens of Kyoto thus became admirers of Nobunaga, the people outside the city hated him because he taxed them to placate the citizens. When he got the power in Kyoto, he levied 5,000 kwan upon the Hongwanji Temple and Ishiyama Temple in Osaka, and 20,000 kwan upon the northern and the southern manors in Sakai, and forcibly took the money from the temples. On other temples he levied according to their wealth. In those days 100 kwan of copper coin corresponded to 40 ryo of gold and to 100 bales of rice containing 35 sho each. Sakai had been an important trade port and its citizens had a strong self-governing spirit, the condition of the city much resembling that of free cities, such as Hamburg, Bremen, etc. When even such a distinguished general as Nobunaga issued his orders, they looked upon it as an attempt at loot on the part of a common general, and absolutely declined to pay the tax of 20,000 kwan. Nobunaga was much enraged and about to attack them with armed force, against which the citizens put up a strong resistance under Notoya and Beniya, who summoned every citizen to assist, built a tower and dug a moat, and waited for Nobunaga's attack, defending the northern gate with thorn bushes. The attack never came and the citizens were left victorious.

When Nobunaga was a common lord in his own native country he summoned Portuguese missionaries from Kyushu, and had them debate with Buddhist priests. After he centred Kyoto in triumph he gave the missionaries permission to propagate their religion and to build a church, which they called Nambanji, that is to say, " Temple of the Southern People," perhaps because he genuinely favoured Catholicism, but mainly because he hated the corruption and arrogance of the Buddhist priests and their intervention in politics and war. For what reason did Nobunaga, who destroyed castles with as much ease and unconcern as one wrings the neck of a chicken, give up his intention to enforce his will upon Sakai? Because he knew the most important duty of the state was to cultivate the national resources, and he was not the man to kill the goose that laid the golden eggs.

THE FALL OF THE ASHIKAGA FAMILY.—Nobunaga had already taken possession of Kyoto, brought Suruga under his sway by the league with Ieyasu Tokugawa, lord of Suruga Province, conquered Owari and Mito Provinces ; half of Echizen belonged to him, and most of Omi. Shingen Takeda in Kai trusted him, and Kenshin Uesugi in Echigo was also mollified by his diplomacy. As a matter of fact, though neither Shingen nor Kenshin had any intention of entering the field against him, they would have no change in any case, as they were bitter enemies of one another. The Hojo family had extended their power in Sagami and Musashi Provinces, but was satisfied with remote provinces. In the west the Shimazu, Ryuzoji, and Otomo families, although they contended among themselves, were not inclined to try to rival Nobunaga, and they, too, were not to be feared. His only fear came from the Mori family, who had invaded Buzen, Bungo, and Hizen, crossing the channel toward the west, ruled one-half of Chugoku, and were in secret alliance with Hongwanji in Osaka against him. Nobunaga had been really the master of the Japan for five years when he entered Kyoto for the first time. There he repaired the Imperial Palace and built not a few shrines, including the Iwashimizu Hachiman, which, although a a centre of worship for the Imperial Court from ancient days, had been allowed to fall into ruin. All his shrines were of great magnificence and astonished the eyes of the people. By his actions in Kyoto he won the favour of Emperor and Court nobles and plebeian, but Yoshiaki thought differently. He had quite forgotten that Nobunaga helped him to the Shogunate and followed a very tortuous and foolish policy in his efforts to exercise the rights of the Shogun. He even secretly urged Shingen Takeda and others to attack Nobunaga. In 1573 Nobunaga sent a long letter of complaint and censure, containing seventeen items of which the following are of interest: " First, ex-Shogun Yoshiteru had neglected to visit the Imperial Palace, and Nobunaga had requested Yoshiaki not to repeat this fault. Why, then, had he neglected to pay the visit? Second, why did he send messengers to beg for horses and so on from the lords of the other provinces? If these were necessary, Nobunaga himself would furnish them. Fifth, why did he frown upon those who made acquaintance with Nobunaga in the Shogunate Court, even Court ladies? Ninth, why did he take bribes from one Karasumaru? Twelfth, what was the intention of the Shogun in selling rice last year and saving gold and silver, secreting the case from Nobunaga? He had never heard of a Shogun trading through all the ages. The feudal lords stored not arms, but hoarded gold and silver, becoming miserly and mean, in imitation of the Shogun." Nobunaga had facts and figures for all his complaints, but Yoshiaki stuck to his guns, relying upon the help of the feudal lords and did just as he liked. Of course, he knew that Shingen Takeda was likely to attack Nobunaga from Totomi, and the Asai in Omi would do the same in co-operation with the Asakura in Echizen. Seeing that he could not overawe Yoshiaki by banging on the big drum, Nobunaga planned to conciliate him for a while, and sent a message to Yoshiaki that he could have peace if he would give a hostage and a written oath. Yoshiaki perceived Nobunaga's weak points and was by no means inclined to yield—in fact, he had a castle secretly built at Ishiyama. On this Nobunaga sent four generals—Mitsuhide Akechi, Katsuie Shibata, Nagahide Miwa, and Yoritaka Hachiya—to attack and destroy the castle, and with his base thus destroyed Yoshiaki had to come to an apparent reconciliation on April 3rd. Nobunaga was still anxious lest he should make a second attempt, and he removed the headquarters to Mount Sawa on May 22nd, and gathered blacksmiths, carpenters, and woodmen in the pine grove at the foot of the mountain. There he built a hundred-oared vessel, 180 feet long by 42 feet wide, with an arrow-house in the bow and stern, to enable thousands of soldiers to enter Kyoto at a time in case of emergency. The infatuated Yoshiaki, thinking he could deceive Nobunaga, continued to plot, and on July 3rd matters came to a head. Nobunaga on the same day embarked in his great vessel, landed in Sakamoto Bay in the teeth of a heavy storm, and on July 7th entered Kyoto, encamped at the Myokakuji Temple in Nijo, arrested the Court nobles as conspirators, and on July 16th attacked and captured Yoshiaki and confined him in the Wakae Castle, Kawachi. Thus the Ashikaga family was totally destroyed.

THE SHOGUNATE OF NOBUNAGA.—When Nobunaga became the Minister of the Right on January 28, 1581, he gathered his retainers in Kyoto, and held a parade of horses for His Majesty's inspection. This was in reality an appointing ceremony of Nobunaga as Shogun. Thus Nobunaga's dream of a Feudal Government was nine parts out of ten accomplished, but never even in prosperity did he sink into indolence. His pleasures were found among horses and wrestlers. The remarkable features of this feudal age may be summed up as follows: First, agriculture and industry progressed, increasing the yield of gold and silver as all feudal lords made efforts in civil administration. Secondly, as the result of the progress in both domestic and foreign trade, the trade cities of Nagasaki, Sakai, Hakata, etc., were formed and became naturally self-governing communities. Thirdly, as the result of the quarrels of the feudal lords, a sort of economical politics was naturally founded. Fourthly, as the consequence of military operations, the need for gold and rice gave rise to the large merchants. Fifthly, new religious sects arose instead of the old ones. Sixthly, navigation and shipping became gradually prosperous, and the Japanese scattered abroad, founding a new Japan wherever they went.

CHAPTER XXIII

APPEARANCE OF THE GREAT FEUDAL LORDS

FEUDALISM IMPROVES THE STATE OF THE NATION.—Since the founding of our Empire the monarchical system had been adopted, but under it the national fortunes made little progress. With the introduction of Chinese institutions in the age of Taika and Taiho, governors in the provinces were merely officials of the Central Government, like the present prefectural governors, and invested with the power of life and death. A local governor watched every smile or frown of the Central Government, and, moreover, as the term of office was limited, they were more likely to think of feathering their own nests than improving the lot of the people. The best that could be said of some was that they were not actively corrupt, but passed their time in amusing themselves, while the baser sort built up a fortune on bribery and injustice against the time when they would have to return to Kyoto. Under such a system as this, given a wise emperor and able ministers to control prefectural and provincial governors, a good administration would have followed, but unless the country were always so blessed, corruption was bound to follow. The old Government of Korea show this fact clearly. Though this monarchical system was broken up by the rise of the Minamoto and the Taira families and feudalism began to appear, yet the only effect of this semi-feudal system was that the local magnates drove away the Government officials, made themselves lords, and divided up the country into several thousand manors. As it was not a matured feudal system under which feudal lords stood independent of each other and controlled by a Central Government, there was no competition among the local powers. There was little stimulus in the life of the people, and hence culture progressed insignificantly. Toward the end of the age of the Ashikaga these magnates, in their efforts to satisfy their own interests, drove the submissive people very hard, and about the beginning of the 15th century the people of Japan fell into great misery. Necessity is the mother of invention, and to the nation thus fallen into this extreme misery came almost unconsciously a great awakening. Submissive folks who could not bear any longer to be treated as slaves fled to other provinces and deserted their land. Men of a higher spirit who preferred death to their present misery turned nobushi (field warrior), who worked in the fields but were mainly bandits.

The sheep had, indeed, become tigers. These men were called Ashigaru in Kyoto and looked upon as provincial rowdies, but afterwards the Shogun, the sovereign, and the temples also had of necessity to take them into account as an element on the battle-field. On the stage thus set were brought firearms introduced by the Portuguese. In the provinces great feudal lords were appearing, and those who had hitherto lorded over a few villages became so insignificant as not to merit the name of lord at all. The ruling classes began to realize that their province could not hold its own against its neighbours if they drove their peasants away by oppression, and so they adopted the policy of protecting them from ill-treatment by the soldiery, and did what they could to keep them contented. Thus a proper feudal system, in which the lords looked upon the people as necessary to support their fortunes, was established, and was the first step in the growth of the national power.

THE IKKO FORCES WERE ONLY FARMERS.—It was set forth in the previous chapter that at the end of the age of Ashikaga many semi-soldiers and semi-farmers appeared besides the real soldiers, and finally their power became so much increased that even the military forces of the feudal lords could not exterminate them. Oda Nobunaga, in 1582, warred with the Ikko sect in Echizen Province, and their immense army of over 100,000 men, which was annihilated by Nobunaga, was composed mainly of peasants.

THE FEUDAL LORDS WERE AFRAID OF THE FARMERS.—When Nobunaga brought the whole country under his sway, he gave Higo Province to Sassa Narimasa, Chikuzen Province to Kobayakawa Takakage, and afterwards a part of Higo to Konishi Yukinaga, but all of them were greatly perturbed and perplexed by insurrections. Sassa Narimasa was even driven away from his province and obliged to commit suicide. He had surveyed the land and altered the distance which farmers were obliged to transport their tax rice from 3 ri to 5 ri, and then to 8 ri. The people would not stand it and rose in insurrection. Higo Province was transferred to Kato Kiyomasa, and he suppressed an insurrection with armed force. Konishi did the same in his territory. The people who had been as obedient as sheep for hundreds of years, under the stimulus of starvation, oppression, or religion, seemed completely changed, and the feudal lords were forced to placate them, whilst at the same time increasing their power by reclaiming land and widening their domains. The whole country was, indeed, in great confusion, but here and there were true feudal lords who courted popular favour by sound administration. In the beginning of the sixteenth century, among those who were noted for their efforts to supply good administration were the Hojo family in Kwanto, the Imagawa family in Suruga

Province, the Takeda family in Kai Province, the Otomo family in Kyushu, the Oda family in Owari Province, and the Mori family in Suwo. To Imagawa and Takeda must be given the palm. They encouraged agriculture and provincial production, built roads, and regulated the status and stimulated the *morale* and discipline of the samurai class. The object in all cases was to prohibit private feuds and violence, and to anchor the farmers to the soil, thus building a firm basis for the military power needed for defence against or attack upon neighbouring lords. All who were in the race for power, such as Oda Nobunaga, Takeda Shingen, Hojo Ujiyasu, etc., realized that the farmer was the basis of the pyramid. But it must not be thought that the regulations were always new; some were a revival of those of the Monarchical Age and some were based upon the local customs of a particular province. In all cases, however, the initiative came from the lord. In later years the institutions of the Tokugawa family were imitations of the old constitutions of Imagawa and Takeda.

THE TAKEDA FAMILY IN KAI PROVINCE.—Next to Imagawa and Oda the Takeda family, long established in Kai, was most successful in administration. In the beginning of the 16th century Takeda Nobutora, a subtle and cunning warrior, greatly extended the power of the family. He had two sons called Harunobu, better known as Shingen, and Nobunshige, of whom the latter was his favourite, and he wished to make him heir. Harunobu appealed to his brother-in-law, Imagawa Yoshimoto, the lord of Suruga Province, and with his help was recognized as heir, but he did not thereby win the affection of his father. In 1536 Nobutora invaded Shinano Province with 8,000 men and besieged Unnoguchi Castle, defended by Hiraga Yorinari, who repulsed him. When Nobutora was in retreat, Shingen, then sixteen years old, asked him for 300 men to make a fresh attack. With this small force he made a surprise assault upon the castle, whose garrison had scattered in all directions when the army of Takeda had withdrawn. Only about 100 were left in the castle, which Shingen carried by storm, Yorinari being among the killed. Nobutora was surprised by Shingen's military genius, but still planned to make his favourite son his heir. Shingen revolted, and had his father confined by Yoshimoto Imagawa, to whom he was paying a visit (1540). Shingen then became the lord of Kai Province instead of his father. A soldier from his childhood, yet he liked poetry and was a good administrator, qualities which won public opinion to his side, of which he well knew how to make use. After getting a firm hold of Kai, he entered Shinano and conquered most of it. The local lord could not stand against him, and applied for help to Kenshin Uesugi of Echigo, which proved the beginning of the long struggle between Kenshin and Shingen. Both of these men had intended to enter the field against Oda, and it was thanks to their prolonged and indecisive duel that Nobunaga had a clear course for his ambitions.

The Personality and the Administration of Shingen.—Shingen was a great strategist and tactician, relying so much on his skill that in an age of great castle building he never erected one in Kai, preferring to meet the enemy in the field. His army was consequently strictly disciplined and well organized, and very nearly reached the ideal embroidered on his colours, " Steady as a mountain, attack like fire, still as a wood, swift as the wind. In heaven and on earth I alone am to be revered." His prudent foresight is typified by the fact that when he felt old age coming upon him, he put his seal on 800 sheets of papers, which he stored away. When his health failed, he took them out and gave them to his people, with instructions that for three years from his death envoys from the neighbouring lords should have their reply written on those papers, which would conceal the fact of his decease and maintain the respect due to his province. He calculated that in three years the power of his successor would be established. A remarkable feature in his civil administration was not only that he felt for the farmers, but that he made taxes payable in both money and rice, two-thirds to be paid in rice and one-third in money. This made it possible to substitute money fines for corporal punishment in the case of farmers and townspeople, and simplicity and thrift were encouraged in the samurai class. Public opinion did not approve of the marriage of priests, but Shingen granted the privilege in return for a money payment. In the case of a quarrel between townspeople, a fine was imposed upon the quarrellers, who then were set free, and the same procedure was followed with those who had rendered themselves liable to punishment by bringing an unreasonable suit. Thus in almost all cases a money fine was imposed, and discipline and order were maintained much more by making the people hand over their precious money than by cruel corporal punishment. The result upon the people was that they were spirited and energetic, far different from those who were under the control of the other feudal lords, who seemed as much cowed as a dog in a house of mourning.

The Militarism of Shingen.—Shingen's policy of administration sprang from his military necessities. He did not live in the centre of the country, but the mountainous province of Kai, so that he could not extend his power unless he emerged and conquered the surrounding provinces. Offensive warfare and not defensive was his game. His campaigns were always short, three or four days perhaps, forty or fifty at the longest. Difficulties of transport made it impossible for him to carry on for more than fifty days. Large financial resources and an extremely efficient and numerous army were necessary to do the work in so short a time, and these he had. The four districts of Kai Province which he possessed consisted of 788 villages yielding 306,500 koku of rice. The number of soldiers he drew from these four districts is recorded as follows :—

NAME OF FAMILY.

	Horsemen.		*Horsemen.*
Tenkyo Takeda	200	Ukyo Komai	55
Kyogo Takeda	15	Katsuyori Takeda	200
Katsurayama	120	Nishina	100
Baba, Governor of Mino Province	120	Kiso	200
Yasaburo Oyamada	200	Saburobei Yamagata	300
Akiyama, Governor of Hoki	50	Jokan Imafuku	70
Watari	120	Oyamada, Governor of Bitchu	70
Shoyoken	80	Tango Shomyoyama	20
Saemon Takeda	100	Uemondayu Ichijo	200
Itagaki	120	Mochizuki	60
Shurisei Naito	250	Anayama	200
Sahei Kurihara	100	Danjo Takasaka	450
Hayatonosuke Hara	130	Uemonjo Tsuchida	100
		Atobe Oinokami	200

This is 3,740 horsemen in all, and as each was the head of a family and followed by four retainers, the whole army amounted to 14,960 soldiers. Besides, there were 30 Ashigaru leaders with 255 horsemen, to whom again were subject 785 Ashigaru, who were sent anywhere they might be called for. Such being the case, the four districts in Kai Province sustained an army of about 20,000 soldiers. Besides his main army, Shingen commanded a band of 2,020 horsemen called Semopshu of Shinano Province, 1,035 of Eastern Kozuke, 430 of Suruga, 320 of Totomi, 150 of Hida, 170 of Etchu, 180 of Musashi, and also Mamiya, Mukai, Obama, and Masabe, who were pirates. In addition to the above officials, cooks and couriers are said to have amounted to about 9,340, so that the total is brought up to more than 40,000 souls. To this must be added 6,373 soldiers of his bodyguard, so that we arrive at a host of more than 50,000 men. Even to-day 50,000,000 people provide an army of only 1,000,000, and 300 years ago the single province of Kai mustered such a large force, showing clearly the efficiency of Shingen's methods. It was only by treating his people well, prohibiting oppression and encouraging economic development, that he was able to mobilize and feed such great armies, and in this he imitated the administration of the Imagawa family.

THE SYSTEM OF TAXATION IN KAI.—The Takeda family were living in Kai. Kai Province is surrounded by mountains on all sides and is 109 ri 20 cho from Kyoto by the Tokaido and 98.5 ri by the Tosando, 36 ri from Edo (Tokyo of to-day) by the Koshu highway, and 34.5 ri by the Omi highway, 27 ri from Fuchu in Suruga Province, 26 ri from Odawara, and 24 ri 30 cho from Matsumoto in Shinano Province. The transport service was well organized, and part of Kofu was tax-free in consideration of the inhabitants undertaking the post service. Kato Hachiroemon was in charge, and the citizens were divided into Josuke and Daisuke, the former regularly engaged in the post service and the latter helping in case of need. Josuke had to provide 230 men and 150 horses, and Daisuke 503 men. The system enforced by Shingen, like that of other feudal lords, was a product of the Patriarchal Age, and though the rights of the people were not considered, yet it was his desire to protect the people, and consequently he officially fixed even horse hire and the wage of a palanquin bearer. While other lords taxed only the common people and very rarely samurai or the temples, Shingen made all pay alike. The reason why the military power of Shingen was so great, and his followers were relatively simple and thrifty, is that the samurai were not exempt from taxation.

Miscellaneous Taxes of Shingen.—There were many miscellaneous taxes besides the land-tax. Those who went on the hills to cut wood paid a tax to officials stationed at the mountain foot. Afterwards the system changed and the villages around the woods usually paid rice. Besides, there was a market fee payable four times a month when the market was opened. Both Kido-yaku and Sekisho-yaku levied taxes on horses, men, and goods on the road, and there was a special barrier for climbers of Fujiyama. Moreover, there were the taxes imposed upon lacquer-ware, dyeing, clothing, locksmiths, windows, woods, and an annual tribute of bamboo and salt. Further, the people and samurai paid service money.

The Wealth of Shingen.—It was not only these impositions that made up Shingen's income; what most helped were the gold-mines in his territory. It is believed to have been in the end of the 15th century that gold was most abundantly produced, though Kai Province had long produced it. On Mount Kurokawa there are gold-mines which were said to have produced much gold in ancient times. On Mount Amehata, to the north of the River Abe, there were gold-mines, and also on Mount Ho and Mount Kokkukei. The farmers who lived along the rivers running out of these mountains paid a tribute of gold, which they washed out of the sand when not busy on the land. These mines were all owned by the lord, and the gold-diggers only got a part of what they recovered.

Everything concerning the Gold-Mines was kept Secret.

Kai Province had always produced gold, but it was kept a secret, and even the amount of the yearly product was unknown except to the persons concerned. But Aoki Konyo, in the middle age of Tokugawa, working on the prevailing tradition, computed the yearly output of gold to be over 3,000 ryo of 4 momme. When Iyeyasu, founder of the Tokugawa Shogunate, first defeated Takeda in 1582 and entered Kai, he collected all the gold in the province and ordered Matsuki to mint 300,000 coins weighing 1 momme each, which were called Matsuki coins, and, besides, there were 2 shu coins, 1 shu coin called Saiji kin, 1 bu of which was equal to 12 momme of silver. Three thousand five hundred ryo yearly produced from the age of Shingen's ancestors is equivalent to 70,000 yen at to-day's value, and 300,000 ryo of gold gathered by Iyeyasu when he entered Kofu is equivalent to 6,000,000 of our yen. From the fact that very shortly after Iyeyasu entered Kofu 300,000 ryo of gold was minted it can be surmised that it was only a small part of the gold collected by Iyeyasu's orders, and that there must have been a great deal more gold in the country. Writing in Tokugawa times, Kaempfer says that miners handed over two-thirds of their output to the Government and kept the rest. Though it is unknown from what sources Kaempfer drew his information, he must have had some grounds for what he said, as he had investigated the circumstances of that time.

PRICE OF GOLD AND SILVER IN KAI PROVINCE.—From early times there were no silver-mines in Kai, no silver coins were in circulation. The only way was to circulate the gold coins as a standard and to collect the subsidiary silver coin from the neighbouring provinces, and in the age of Shingen it was officially fixed that 1 ryo, i.e. 4 momme of gold, corresponded to 48 momme of silver. In the same age in Europe the ratio of gold and silver was 1 : 12 or 1 : 13, and in Kai, too, the ratio was 1 : 12. The reason why in the later years the eastern provinces around Edo had a gold standard and the western provinces around Osaka a silver standard is that much gold was produced in the eastern provinces, chiefly in Kai. Shingen finding such great assistance in his gold-mines, all other feudal lords made efforts to exploit their natural resources of gold, silver, copper, and iron, etc. ; mining became very prosperous, and it is scarcely too much to say that almost all the famous mines at work to-day were started at that time, which gives some idea of how the Feudal Government developed natural resources. We have shown in Shingen's case what an important part mining played, and there were several other feudal lords whose finances were bolstered up in the same way, if not so richly. Oda, for instance, owned the Ikuno Mine. Those who had no mines of gold and silver interested themselves in foreign trade, as at Hakata, Sakai, and Nakatsu.

The competition between the great lords was very severe, and as the smaller lords had not their resources in mining or commerce, but had to rely only on agriculture, they were gradually wiped out or incorporated, and the country more and more fell into the hands of the great lords. This was at the end of the Ashikaga age—that is, about the beginning of the 16th century.

CHAPTER XXIV

JAPANESE PIRATE FLEET SPREAD ALL OVER THE ORIENT

The Historical Strata of the World are Common.—The geological strata of the earth are the same throughout the world, and igneous rocks, aqueous rocks, and deep-made rocks are formed in regular layers. If the strata differ in any places it must be because of earthquake or eruption. In the history of human beings, too, there are identical strata. Every nation first had an age of slave economy in primitive times; second came land economy; and, third, the money economy. Every nation was patriarchal in the primitive ages; then with a little progress came oligarchy, in which the power of the patriarch was somewhat restrained, and in the most advanced stage the rule of the majority. Those who have read the previous chapters will recognize that Japanese history is simply the other half of the seal when compared with that of China and Europe. Japan was later in founding her Empire than the Chinese continent, and so she fell behind. But this does not mean she did not go through the same development. She did, and with the long strides she made in the ages of Nara, Heian, Taira, Minamoto, and Hojo, she overtook the world situation, and in early Ashikaga her history conforms to that of China and Europe. In other countries there was a time of expansion, invasion, and extension; in Japan we had the wako or Japanese pirates.

The Origin of Japanese Pirates.—It is not clear when the pirate fleets of Japanese first appeared, but probably they were in evidence about 1260, i.e. some ten years before the great Mongolian invasion. At first the coast dwellers of Kyushu invaded Korea for plunder, and the invasion was of a spasmodic nature, but later it became a fashion throughout Kyushu, Shikoku, and Chugoku, and finally took the shape of a fixed occupation, like the crusades in Europe. About 1276, when Kublai Khan was preparing to invade this country, the power of the Japanese pirates was already strong and the soldiers of Korea could not suppress them. An army of five divisions led, by King Kyobin, was completely defeated, and the pirates thereafter ravaged and plundered the province of Genra so remorselessly as almost to denude it of population. The repulse of the Mongol invasion in 1281 increased their power still more. The Mongolian invasion not only stimulated the national spirit of Japanese, but taught us two facts also. First, we learned to pay more attention to naval warfare, as the wars at that time were conducted on the sea, in which Japanese had small skill. Secondly, as Korea had much finer warships than those of Japan or any other country (not a few of them were able to carry 4,000 koku of provisions), Japan got a new idea of shipbuilding and began to build bigger and stabler ships, which was all to the advantage of the pirates. These pirates, who at first only plundered Korea, afterwards proceeded from Liaotung to Shangtung, from Shangtung to Koso and Sekko, from Koso and Sekko to the Yang-tse-kiang, and then on to Canton Province along the coast, and further down to the South Seas. Even the Yuan Dynasty, which once invaded Japan with a great army of 140,000 men, was troubled by the isolated Japanese pirates, who had no national backing to replace their losses. The Emperor Taiso of the Ming Dynasty rose and founded the strongest and most superior state that the world had ever seen, conquering all his neighbours, but even he was annoyed by the Japanese pirates. Therefore he left to his descendants a warning as follows :—

> Japan is in a corner beyond the sea. Even if you should conquer her land, it is not worth having, and even if you should subdue her people, they won't take your orders, so you should not invade Japan with an army, but cut off the communications.

Thus to cut communication with Japan was the Ming Dynasty's established policy.

The Japanese Pirates first harassed Korea.—At first the Japanese pirates attacked Korea only, and the Korean Government devoted its whole time to the defence against them. History seems to tell us of nothing excepting forays of the Japanese pirates, and the fall of the old Korean Dynasty and the rise of the house of Li was due to nothing but the disorders caused by the Japanese pirates. In February 1350 the Japanese pirates in a body attacked Kojo, Chikurin, and Kiosai in Korea, but were defeated with a loss of 300 killed, which gives some idea of the numbers on both sides. In April the pirates attacked Juntenfu with one hundred or more vessels and plundered the coasts of Nanking, Kyusei, Reiko, Choyo, etc. Small vessels then could carry 30 or 40 men and the large ones 80 or 90, so this raid seems to have been made by 3,000 or 4,000 men at the least. After that the pirates attacked continuously every year, and in 1364 they increased to more than 200 ships. We are told how Japanese people lived at first on Kiosai Island and had been anxious to enter into friendly relations with the people there who permitted it, but they suddenly plundered the sailing-boats of Ningpo, Wenchow, Reizan, and Benshu. In 1375 Tsunemitsu Fujiwara was naturalized in Korea with his followers, and they were permitted to live in Junten and Engi, etc., and were supplied with food by the Korean Government. But after a long time the Korean Government gave secret orders for his death. The plot failed, and the angry Tsunemitsu left the place with his followers by sea. Up to this time the pirates had been content with looting gold, silver, and rice, but after this incident, wherever they went, they killed women and children to the last one, and the coasts of Zenra and Yoko became deserted. So far-reaching was the dread of the pirates that in 1376 Korea wished to move the capital to Tetsugen. In 1379 the corsairs made an inroad in Chimpoko with 500 ships. Leaving their ships moored together and guarded by soldiers, the pirates landed and plundered widely, carrying rice to their ships in such quantities that we are told their path was strewed 1 foot deep with abandoned rice. The sea-bandits were finally repulsed by a gun, and in their retreat killed all the women and children prisoners, whose blood flowed in a stream. Only 330 women are said to have escaped and returned home. In 1384 they began to invade Kanshu, Kogen, Hokusei.

KOREA MADE PEACE WITH JAPANESE PIRATES.—At last Korea came to the conclusion that she could not suppress the pirates, so she sent an envoy called Kinitsu to Japan to ask Shogun Ashikaga Yoshimitsu to put a stop to piracy. Yoshimitsu replied that he could not, owing to the internal disturbances, and King Kyobin attacked Tsushima Island with 100 vessels, hoping to cut off the pirates from their base. The expedition was repelled by So Yoriyoshi in 1413. Korea then descended to bribery, the pirate ships coming at an appointed time to receive the ransom they demanded. With these goods they entered into trade relations with Koreans at the seaports, and both sides gained a profit and made acquaintance with each other.

THE PIRATES TURNED TO CHINA.—After the settlement with Korea, the pirates turned to China, where they made forays off and on. It was the age of the Emperor Kobu of the Ming Dynasty, which flourished mightily, and yet China was subject to piratical raids. In 1420, however, the corsairs were heavily defeated at Kinchow in Liaotung, and the coasts of China were at peace for a time. In this affair the Japanese, numbering above 2,000 on board 30 vessels, hid their ships near the Chosan Islands outside Pe-chili Bay and landed for the raid. The Chinese had spies watching and laid an ambush for the unsuspecting invaders. When the pirates landed, the Chinese set fire to the hidden vessels and at the same time the ambush arose and attacked them. Eight hundred and fifty-seven men were taken prisoner, 742 were killed, and only 10 vessels carrying 30 or 40 men apiece got away. After this heavy defeat, for scores of years the pirates discontinued their raids, and with their fall foreign adventuring ceased until, in due course, their successors appeared. This was in 1532, ten years before the vessels of Portugal visited Japan for the first time, when Japanese pirates invaded China again in a body, and after that the Chinese never had a year of peace.

The Vessels of Pirates.—The vessels on which the pirates sailed were about 70-ton capacity and carried a banner inscribed with the name of Hachiman-daibosatsu, sea-god of Japan. In later years the profession became an open and honourable one, and pirates at the top of the tree vied with feudal lords. In the age of Ashikaga, among those who made agreements with the Korean Government were Kokuji Murakami Aki, who called himself the pirate of Mount Sugatenjin; Teigi of Kamadaseki, calling himself the general of the pirates in Iyo Province; and Yoshiyasu Kajiwara, calling himself the general of the pirates in Bingo Province. It may be said, in fact, that the pirates were nothing but the navy.

Preparations of Pirates for both Peace and War.—Along the Yang-tse-kiang the pirates fought naked, armed with a sword, and so great was the terror of their name that crying children were silenced with it. Shanghai of the present day was at first only a lonely fishing village, but when the pirates sailed up the Yang-tse to attack the famous cities and old capitals a castle was built there for defence. Out of fear of the pirates no Japanese was allowed to land with a sword on the East Indian Islands. It was difficult to tell the pirates from the merchants, and so everyone alike was forbidden to carry a sword, armed with which Japanese merchants sometimes turned into pirates. They plundered not only on land, but sometimes attacked ships at sea also, and it is true that a famous English navigator called John Davis was attacked by pirates off the coast of Borneo and killed. As a measure of defence the Chinese Government put up 7 guard-houses in Shantung and 59 castles along the coast of Sekko. In addition, Fukuken was ordered to prepare 100 vessels and Canton 200 vessels. The length of the coast-defence line was as long as that of the great wall of China, and when the Japanese pirates went down to the south from Shantung, everywhere defenders had to be on the *qui vive* and all energies were exhausted. No wonder it should have been said that the fall of the Ming Dynasty was due to the trouble caused by the Japanese pirates in the south and waste of the national power in defence against Manchus in the north.

Tribute and Plunder.—Though they were called pirates, they were not all professing pirates from the first, but apparently peaceful merchants. Only when they were dissatisfied did they turn pirates. A Chinese scholar writes thus of them: " The Japanese pirates were on the islands of the sea, and their nature was cunning and greedy.

At first, during Kobu era, they paid tribute but were not obedient. The Imperial Court first made inquiry and then discontinued intercourse as a fixed policy. In the early part of Eiraku they again came to bring tribute, armed, but carrying local products. If they got a chance they made use of their arms, but they were crafty enough to say they had come to present the local products. In case of raid they looted the treasures of the people, and in case of tribute they received presents from the country, so they were always on the right side. At the end of Sentoku they came and, getting no chance of a raid, wanted to present tribute. The Imperial Court ordered them to go to Peking without knowing their intention, and sent them away with treasures and presents on board. In Seito they again came and, seizing their chance, they entered Tocho, invaded Taiko, plundered godowns, burnt down the houses, massacred all the people, piling up dead bodies like a mountain, making blood flow like a river, pouring boiling water over babies tied to a post, amusing themselves with their cries. When they captured a pregnant woman they would wager as to whether the child in the womb was male or female and then cut it out; everywhere they abandoned themselves to dissipation and orgies of obscenity. Upon this the Imperial Court ordered preparations to be made against the pirates." In the above description we find the characteristic adjectives and fabrications of the Chinese, but we can see how they were threatened by the Japanese pirates. In these circumstances the Ming Dynasty published an order, permitting the Japanese to come to bring tribute once every ten years, with not more than 200 unarmed people on board two vessels or less, all contravening the order to be apprehended as pirates. This order was not strictly enforced, and later it was altered to a maximum of 300 people and three vessels.

Chinese are partly to Blame.—There was sometimes trouble between the messengers of tribute to the Chinese Imperial Court and the Chinese, but this was not always due to the haughtiness of the Japanese but partly to the chicanery of the Chinese merchants. We hear constantly how the Japanese tribute-bearing envoys were tricked by the Chinese. In most cases the Japanese spent much time on the way to China and back and in Peking, so when they had finished their business they were always in a hurry to be off. Coolies to carry several hundred mon of money from Peking were scarce, and the money was entrusted to merchants of Nanking and Sekko and the neighbourhood who came to Peking to trade. When the Japanese visited these merchants in Nanking and Sekko to get the money, they sometimes were told they had not returned or had gone to Korea, or any other lie which might save the merchant from handing over the money. Put off in this way, the quick-tempered Japanese would rush into the house with drawn swords and wreck it, or else find their man and kill him. In such cases, thousands of the natives would gather and attack the lodgings of the Japanese, laying every kind of villainy at their door. Generally speaking, the Chinese were the tricksters and the Japanese violent. One-half of the wrongs committed by the Wako must be shifted to Chinese shoulders.

Wako was a Joint Undertaking.—Chinese called these pirates Wako, which means invasion from Japan, but they were not all Japanese. Chinese rebels frequently guided the raids. In 1438 Wako plundered Daishu and Ningpo in 40 ships. In 1443 they attacked Kainei. Both these raids were made in conjunction with Chinese. In August 1549 the chief officer on the sea patrol of Sekko and Fukkien prefectures reported to the throne that evil characters had made an insurrection with the help of the Wako, and in co-operation with the Wako leader had plundered widely. In 1510, when Ashikaga Yoshisumi sent a messenger to the Court of Ming, he chose Sokyo. In 1380 Ko Iyo, Prime Minister of China, plotted a rebellion, relying on the help of Japanese. The plot was discovered and Ko Iyo disgraced.

Wako's Weak Point lay in the Smallness of its Ships.—Wako then terrified the whole of Ming, but at sea the smallness of their ships made them no match for those of Ming. Feared like wild tigers on land, they did not always win at sea. Bogengi, the Chinese writer, says that "a big ship of Wako had 30 oars, and the next in size 20, but nowadays a wretched Chinese is teaching them how to build a Chinese ship." He says further: "In building a Japanese ship, contrary to our method, they use great timbers, which they intertwine together without using iron nails, and only cover the joints with iron plates. In order to prevent leakage they use grass called Tansuiso instead of using hemp fibre and tarpaulin. Their method of building is very costly in labour and materials, so only the powerful can afford to make them. The Wako who invade our country are of the poorer class, and the report that Wako have now made thousands of these ships is a mere falsehood. The biggest of their ships can hold 300 men, the middle-sized 100 to 200, and the smallest from 40 to 80. They are so small that when they meet with our great ships they are unable to attack and are easily sunk. Therefore they always fear our great ships from Canton and Fukkien, and, above all, they fear our kosen, which have side-oars resembling a fence. Wako ships are flat-bottomed and do not cut through the waves. Their sails are suspended in front of a movable mast, while ours hang on the sides of a fixed mast. They can only sail before the wind, and when there is no wind, or an adverse one, they have to unstep the mast and row. Consequently it takes them more than a month to cross the sea. Nowadays, however, evilly disposed men on the coast of Fukushu and Sekko buy ships abroad and reconstruct the keels. Thus reconstructed, they stand up well against any kind of wind, and being very easy to handle can cross the sea in few days. When Wako ships come, they generally carry about 400 kin of water, i.e. about 800 bowls of water per head, and each man uses 6 bowls of water a day. The taste of their water is not salty nor unfit for drinking like sea-water, but it is liable to purge the bowels. Their ascent on Mount Fuda is neither for the exchange for water nor with the sincere intention of burning incense, but solely for the reconnaissance of our military preparations." Bogengi is said to have begun to write his book in 1602. When the Wako first raided Korea their ships could carry only 60 to 80 men, but in the interval of 70 or 80 years the art of shipbuilding progressed so much that the vessels would carry as many as 300 to 400 men. The Wako period is an epoch not to be ignored in the history of our navigation and shipbuilding.

Wako proved the Beginning of Foreign Trade.—In spite of the damage inflicted upon China year by year and the growth of atrocities, yet there sprang up a sincere desire for peaceful trade between the two countries. After the Mongolian invasion in the era of Koan, the pirates were out for revenge; later they were influenced by the joy of looting, and particularly the necessity of getting minted money. When the dispute between the Northern and Southern Dynasties was composed, the feudal lords of Japan again began to attack one another. They had territories and the empty name of " feudal lord," but no more security of tenure than the governors in the Monarchical Age. They trembled lest their lands should be confiscated by the Central Government or overrun by neighbouring powerful lords, so their one idea was to build up a military chest by taxation, instead of setting their hands to permanent enterprises such as reclamation of lands, forestry, or mining. Under such administration the degradation of currency was unavoidable. There had been three kinds of coins (i.e. gold, silver, and copper) from of old in Japan, but gold ones soon became extinct and silver ones were scarce, leaving only copper coins for common use. In the times of the Emperors Tenchi and Saimyo plenty of the To coins came over from China, but in 770 (Wado era) for the first time copper was found in Musashi Province and copper coins were minted, called Wado Kaichin and of equal quality to Kaigen-tsuho, the coins of To. With the gradual extinction of gold coins and the scarcity of silver ones, the copper coins were widely circulated. In the reign of the Emperor Shomu order was given to build a temple called the Kokubunji in every province to enshrine a great image of Buddha made of copper, and this example of temple and image building was followed by the Imperial successors and generals, at first out of genuine piety, but latterly from sheer ostentation. The consequent enormously increased demand for copper out of all proportion to the output of it at last culminated in the debasement of the coinage. This unfortunate custom of the casting of Buddhist images attained its highest point in the age of the Emperor Shirakawa, when 3,000 copper images of Buddha were made at a time. The copper coinage ceased to be sufficient for daily use, and the people were obliged to get coins by selling goods to China over the sea in return for the coins of that country. The coins of the countries of To and So were in very high credit, and ours fell very low. In 1193, in the reign of the Emperor Toba, the circulation of the foreign coins was prohibited by order, which stopped the entrance of the So coins, but their disappearance, and the consequent shortage of copper coinage, proved a great inconvenience. To counteract this the prohibition of the circulation of foreign coins was removed, but they did not come in fast, as their market price was very high. About 1290 Hojo Tokimune, the Regent at Kamakura, sent a messenger to So to buy copper coins with gold, and distributed them in the market, giving great facility to trade thereby. Later, in the age of Ashikaga, there appeared iron coins of a very bad quality, which were called Akusen, or base coins. In short, the degradation of the coinage and its scarcity were crying evils in the ages of Hojo and Ashikaga, and in almost all provinces the Eiraku coins were used. In Kyoto there was no official mint and the work was left in private hands; Akusen were widely used in Kyoto, so the coins of Kyoto got the name of Akusen. In Ise there were coins made of lead, and in Hakata the Eiraku and Kyobu coins of Ming were privately minted. It is not surprising, then, that one of the chief objects of Wako from the coasts of Kyushu and Shikoku was to get Chinese coins.

Money was at the Root of Everything.—Throughout all the struggle between the Northern and Southern Dynasties the scarcity of currency was felt more than ever, and the only thing left was to trade with the continent over the sea and to get their copper coins by giving what our country had. This is why, in the age of the Ashikaga family, the commerce with Ming was greatly encouraged. On one hand, then, was Wako bringing great calamities with it, and, on the other there were those who turned to commerce by peaceful means, showing the dawn of quiet in those turbulent times. In 1401 Ashikaga Yoshimitsu, the Shogun, by the advice of a certain merchant, sent a message to the ruler of Ming asking for commerce and intercourse between the two countries. In 1405 Yoshimitsu arrested 20 pirates from the islands of Iki and Tsushima and sent them to the ruler of Ming, who was greatly pleased, but sent them back to Japan to be disposed of as the Government wished. The escort took the captives as far as Ningpo and boiled them alive in cauldrons. Such means were not infrequently resorted to in order to extinguish Wako.

Yoshimitsu's real Intention of getting Profit by Foreign Trade.—That Yoshimitsu humbled himself before China and accepted Japan as a fief from the Ming Emperor is, of course, ignominious and ignoble, but we must remember that his root idea was to get profit by foreign trade, for the messengers of tribute were merely commercial commissioners. In the age of Yoshimitsu the ruler of Ming supplied Japan with plenty of Eiraku coins. About 1400, Japanese messengers of tribute to Ming took besides the tribute, sulphur, cedar-wood, swords, fans, lacquer-wares amounting to ten times as much as the tribute. The Government of Ming calculated the price at 34,700 kwan, but as the Japanese were not satisfied, another 10,000 kwan was put on. Still the messengers grumbled, so a further 1,500 coins were added. In spite of all this the Japanese departed grumbling. In 1453 Shogun Yoshinori sent to the Ming Court a list of import goods, and, according to the *Daijoin-nikki*, the principal export goods from Japan were mentioned as copper, oil, sulphur, swords, halberds, screens, relief lacquer, etc. In 1480 the messengers of Ashikaga Yoshimasa went over to Ming in order to get such books as the *Busso* (biography of famous priests), when they are said, at Yoshimasa's orders, to have asked the Ming Court for 100,000 kwan extra money. Ming at that time allowed no one to land from a ship which had not a permit, and as these messengers were on board a vessel not so provided, they were not permitted to enter by the Ming Government. They, however, would not leave, and staying by the sea-shore carried on transactions there. In order to regulate the system of foreign trade and prevent invasion, the sea patrol of Sekko prefecture was made to take charge of the military affairs of the five prefectures—Fuku, Ko, Sho, Sen, Kennei—and strictly to prohibit the people, under pain of death, from trafficking with Japanese without getting Government permission. The magnates of Sekko and Fukushu, who had been gaining much profit by secret traffic with Japanese, were greatly annoyed. The chief of the police laid the blame upon the head of the patrol Gan, who finally killed himself. Such a serious outcome shows what large profits were at stake, and when people found themselves deprived of them, they bolted to the islands and joined the Japanese pirates in their forays, or even raided the provinces themselves disguised as Japanese and carrying Japanese pirate flags.

The Greatest Wako Invasion.—The greatest Wako invasion occurred in 1553. A certain Ochoku in Anki traded in defiance of the law with Japan and Siam, and having travelled in all directions he was well acquainted with the conditions in Japan and intimate with the Japanese pirates. He afterwards contracted a close connection with Jiro, Montaro, Shiro, and Shisuke, etc., and built a great ship which covered 120 tsubo and could carry 2,000 men. He constructed a castle and tower with wood on board this ship, which carried horses, too, so it was a great power at sea. Matsuura, a powerful magnate in Hirado of Hizen Province, treated him as an honoured guest and made him reside at Hirado. From this time Ochoku called himself King Ki (another name of Chekiang Province of China), and staged an immense raid of pirates with hundreds of ships, which intimidated the coast of China for thousands of miles, from the east to the west of Seki and from the north to the south of Ko. They first of all broke into Shokokuei, and in April raided Daiso, broke into Shanghai prefecture, sailed up the River Yang-tse-kiang, plundered Soin, and attacked Iho ; then, in August, plundered Kinganei and raided Somin and Jojuku ; in January they advanced from Taiso and attacked Soshu, and, plundering Shoko, pressed upon Tsutai; and in June, plundering Guko and Kako, made Senshawa and Takurin their base, whence they raided in all directions. When they fought at Kako with the Chinese Imperial army, they lost 1,900 men, showing how numerous were their forces and how severe the fighting, The historian of Ming writes thus concerning this battle : " Generally three-tenths of Wako were real pirates and the rest are their followers. After battles they made the captives their men, and their law is so severe that these men are forced to serve or perish." In this raid one party, who got separated from the main force, landed and burnt their ship. Then through Koso they went up westward to Buko and attacked the castle of Nanking. There were only 60 or 70 of them, but without losing a single man they killed as many as 4,000. Even after they left the twelve gates of Nanking were not opened for a long while. These Wako lived and plundered on the River Yang-tse-kiang for about three years, till their defeat and dispersion, and even after this an invasion on a small scale continued year by year.

Wako captured a Castle.—In 1561, when Kenshin and Shingen, the two great warriors, were fighting at home, the Japanese pirates in large numbers attacked Kokafu in Fukkien prefecture and captured it. Never before had the Wako captured a castle-town, and the fall of Kokafu frightened the whole country of Ming. The atrocities, however, were not due chiefly to the Japanese, but to the Chinese, who blindly followed the Wako. In 1558 Wako attacked Fukkien, about which the *Komei-jushin-roko* writes as follows :—

> The damage that Fukkien received from Wako this year is very heavy. Excepting the three town-castles of Ko, Sen, and Sho, the whole prefecture became a nest of Wako. The godowns are all damaged and the fields devastated. The poor and the insubordinate all joined Wako. They led and guided them, robbed passers-by, broke open tombs, looted the houses of the wealthy tomb-owners, and paraded the streets carrying the tablets upon which were written the names of the rich.

This shows how much of the atrocities were due to the Ming peoples who joined Wako.

Gold and Silver plundered by Wako.—The Ming Dynasty from its middle period was wearied out with defence against Wako in the southern part of the country, and when the Chin Dynasty sprang up in the north they could not cope with it, and the fall of the Ming Dynasty may be said to have been caused by Wako. The result of the Wako invasions had a great effect upon our country too. While the Government of Japan was doing its utmost to make money by foreign trade, the Japanese pirates tried the more direct means of plunder, and as their loot was gold and silver, copper coins, and other treasures, the wealth brought by them into Kyushu, Shikoku, and the inland sea districts of the middle provinces of Japan is beyond estimation, and in due course this looted treasure brought a new life into the whole country. What Wako was to Japan, such was the pirate ship to Europe ; and just as Wako made its country rich, so did the Portuguese ships their country and the Dutch theirs. The later exploits of English buccaneers form another parallel case. Moreover, the time when Wako was at its height is from about 1300 to about 1520, and it is a noticeable fact that this age is coeval with the ages of expeditions and colonial expansion in Europe. How much wealth those Japanese pirates brought over to their country is not known. We only know that Ouchi, who possessed only a part of Suwo and Nagato Provinces and was a supporter of Wako and a trader, was far richer than any other feudal lord. Nagato and Suwo, being situated in a remote corner of the middle part of the country, had very little arable land, and yet Ouchi Hiroyo, father of Ouchi Yoshiro, who resisted Ashikaga Yoshimitsu, went up to Kyoto when he was the Governor of Suwo and presented tens of thousands of Eiraku coins and newly imported wares from To to the magistrate, the councillors, and the Court, which made his name resound in Kyoto for a time. His grandson Yoshioki, who often made a present of money to the Imperial Court in Kyoto, went to Osaka with his fleet, installed Yoshitane in the Shogunate, and made a present of money to the Hongwanji Temple in Osaka, and then, going up to Kyoto, he was Regent there as long as eleven years. Yoshioki, who had only two provinces, conquered the provinces all around and subjugated Aki, Iwami, and Bingo Provinces, and then made Buzen and Chikuzen subject to him. This shows, on the one hand, what a great advantage sea power was and, on the other, enables us to imagine the great wealth of Ouchi, the backer of Wako.

A TRIBUTE MESSENGER IN NAME AND A WAKO IN REALITY.—Ouchi acted two parts towards Ming. In the first place, as a controller of foreign trade, he had custom officers at Shimonoseki in Nagato Province, where he inspected ships from foreign lands and levied the import duty. In the second place, as an independent ruler, he tried to trade with Ming, but when it failed he began to show himself in a Wako's true colours. In 1505 Ashikaga Yoshisumi, the Shogun, sent to Ming Zuisa, a priest, and Sosokyo, a refugee from Ming, as his tribute messengers. To their surprise they met a man named Sosetsu, who called himself a Japanese tribute messenger and was negotiating at the Court of Ming, and both parties quarrelled as to who was the true tribute messenger. Himself a Ming man and well aware of the weak side of the officials of the Ming Government, Sosokyo bribed the President of the Marine Bureau, and not only got precedence in the Court, but also the privilege of having his merchandise inspected and landed earlier than that of Sosetsu. Sosetsu was, in fact, the messenger from Ouchi of Suwo and not a real tribute messenger from the Shogun. At the time, however, in the eyes of Ouchi, the Shogun was a nobody, and in the messages sent to the King of Korea he used to write his name as if he was really a ruler of an independent country. Sosetsu, therefore, defied Sosokyo, and, attacking his party at Ningpo, killed the chief messenger Zuisa and burnt his ship. Sosokyo fled to Shoko, pursued by Sosetsu, who failed to find him and returned to Ningpo, plundering and burning by the way. He then seized Enren, the general of Ming, captured the Ming ships, and left the country. A Ming general pursued him out to sea, and he, too, was killed by Sosetsu.

THE JAPANESE PIRATES AND THE OUCHI FAMILY.—The Ouchi family thus traded with Ming, calling their representative a tribute messenger but looting all the same, and in Korea disdaining even to hide their true purpose of plunder. The family held the ports of the provinces of Nagato, Suwo, Aki, Iwami, and Bingo, etc., and powerful magnates of Shikoku and Chugoku were all Wako and ready to obey the orders of Ouchi. When, afterward, Ouchi Yoshihiro attacked Korea, the lords of these islands, sending out their own private ships, did Wako work, and the neighbouring districts, envious at their prosperity, all joined in Wako, making it at last a kind of profession. As a result of Wako invasion, the King of Korea finally ceased to resist, and in the ages of Yoshihiro and Yoshioki almost all of the provinces in Korea paid the Ouchi family a tribute every year, in return for which they were free from invasion. Hideyoshi's invasion of Korea in later years was no more than that of the Ouchi family on a greater scale and more complete, and we can see that Hideyoshi's work was as much nature's work as the lovely songs of birds and insects are due to the changing seasons.

CHAPTER XXV

NOBUNAGA THE DESTROYER

Nobunaga's Stratagem for Subjugation.—In 1577 Oda Nobunaga was promoted Minister of the Right (the lord Keeper of the Seal) and at the same time General of the Right. In 1581 he held a parade of chargers in Kyoto, and made it public that he had set up the Feudal Government there, taking the place of Ashikaga. Although he had already subjugated Takeda of Kai Province and Kitabatake of Ise Province, and swept away his opponnets in Kinki, yet there were still not a few who had not submitted. In Echigo, Kenshin Uesugi had died of illness, but his son Kagekatsu was supreme up in the north. In the eastern provinces Hojo was rising to power. In Shikoku, Motochika Chosokabe was extremely popular, and Terumoto Mori was ruling over the ten provinces of Sanyo and Sanin. In Kyushu the Shimazu and Otomo families were entirely independent. In the north-east the powerful families of Satake and Date were not yet subservient to the central administration. In the provinces near Kyoto what most worried Nobunaga was the Hongwanji Temple of Osaka, which was still very strong and inclined to make common cause with Mori, and Nobunaga feared that unless the Hongwanji Temple was brought under control there would be danger of the resuscitation of the remnant of the Miyoshi and Ashikaga families, who were in hiding near Kyoto. The Hongwanji Temple owed its security largely to the sea power of the lords in the middle provinces and Shikoku and to the backing of the Mori family. Nobunaga appointed Hashiba Hideyoshi, Governor-General of the middle provinces, to subjugate the south-west; Shibata Katsuie, Governor-General of Hokuriku, to subdue the north; and settled Takigawa Kazumasu at Kozuke to lead the eastern provinces. It was important to cut off the support given to the Hongwanji Temple from the local magnates in Shikoku, the middle provinces, and the neighbouring islands, and Kuki Yoshitaka was entrusted with this, with Noda and Fukushima in Settsu Province, as the naval base of operations. Yoshitaka once assembled his whole fleet at Sakai, and defeated every attempt to bring in provisions to the Hongwanji Temple at Osaka, where they became very scarce. Having succeeded in the naval policy, Nobunaga made up his mind to exterminate the Mori family, the root of all the opposition to him; for in 1573 ex-Shogun Ashikaga Yoshiaki fled from

Kyoto and, after roaming about many provinces, went stealthily to Bingo Province, and entrusted to Mori Terumoto the restoration of his former power. As a result, Mori combined with the Hongwanji Temple and made common cause with the malcontents in the provinces around Kyoto. On Nobunaga's orders Hideyoshi entered Harima and captured the castle of Miki, the outpost of the Mori clan.

THE EVACUATION OF THE HONGWANJI CASTLE.—Hideyoshi thus cut off Mori's support from the Hongwanji Temple at Osaka while his divisional commander Kuki had already grasped the sea power about the middle provinces. The Hongwanji now stood in a completely isolated position, and the abbot, by an Imperial order, retired to Kishu, evacuating the Ishiyama Castle. This is said to have been the result of the Imperial order, but in reality it was due to the exhaustion of provisions. The fact is that Nobunaga, though he had sure expectation of victory, did not wish to sacrifice officers and men by storming the castle and settled the case rapidly by Imperial order. It was a very unusual case of lenient measure.

HIDEYOSHI FOUGHT WITH MORI.—When Hideyoshi had captured Miki Castle, he built another at Himeji, as Miki was in an inconveniently remote corner. Then, making Himeji his base, he raised an army of 20,000 men, and in April 1581 marched directly from Himeji to Mimasaku, Bizen, attacked Tottori Castle, and took it. In May 1582 he advanced into Bitchu to besiege Takamatsu Castle, and Mori, at the head of his clan, came out to relieve it. In this emergency Nobunaga determined to fight a decisive battle, so ordered Akechi Mitsuhide and other generals to return to their own territories to collect troops to send them to the middle provinces, the scene of the war. Then he went up to Kyoto and took up his quarters at the Honnoji Temple, with a small guard of 100 men. His son Nobutada was separately lodged at the Myokakuji Temple.

MITSUHIDE'S PERSONALITY.—Akechi Mitsuhide was then a divisional commander of Nobunaga. Formerly he owed allegiance to Yoshikage Asakura, called himself Jubei, and had a fief of 100 koku. Once, on New Year's Eve, he was keeping watch at his master's mansion when he looked in the mirror to shave in preparation for New Year's Day, and finding his beard and whiskers mingled with grey hair, he grieved at his declining years and the fact that he had no exploits to his name. Full of these thoughts he entrusted the watch to one of his friends, returned home, and told his surprised wife that he would leave the place the next morning, as he had some intention in his mind, and bade the servant prepare for the start. Hearing the servants complain that the saddle-flaps were worn out and useless, he made them cut up a mat for the purpose and got himself, his wife, and his servants on six horses and rode away. Going to one of his former followers, who was then the head-man of a village at Yanagasa, on the borders between Miho and Echizen Provinces, he there earned his living as a teacher of writing. One day he invited some guests to a feast. There was not money enough, so his wife cut off her hair and sold it for 20 moku of silver. Mitsuhide was so deeply moved that he promised never to let another woman come near him, even if he became the ruler of the whole country. Afterwards, in order to get travelling expenses to go to serve Nobunaga, he sold his household furniture to a dealer. With the money he bought 100 bags of rice, one-half of which he entrusted to the head-man of the village to provide for his family, and, putting the other half on his horse, he went off. As at that time Nobunaga was about to build a castle, he employed him as a supervisor of the stone-wall construction. Mitsuhide laid before him a design made with his own hand, and Nobunaga was so much pleased with his talent that he at once settled on him a fief of 300 koku of rice. Thereafter, being constantly in the field, Mitsuhide became one of Nobunaga's veterans, and in time was made Governor of Takashima in Shiga Province, with a fief of 60,000 koku of rice. He adopted Tadaoki Hosokawa as his son-in-law by the order of Nobunaga, and afterwards changed his fief territory to Kameyama. Among the illiterate generals of the day, Mitsuhide was noted for his knowledge of military science, skill as a poet, and acquaintance with literature, and he was not a little proud of his distinction, thinking very few people worthy to count with him. This ostentatious self-conceit was much disliked by Nobunaga, who was prone to order about all his veterans and old retainers like slaves and amuse himself with it. Although Mitsuhide was young, he was bald, and Nobunaga nicknamed him the "Shaveling," which fretted Mitsuhide intolerably and made him think that his master loathed him and would get rid of him in the end. Now seemed to be his chance, when all the generals were scattered to remote places and Hideyoshi confronted Mori. Nobunaga had few soldiers at his call. If Mitsuhide could attack and kill him now, the whole country would fall into his hands like a ripe pear. So he made up his mind to rebel against Nobunaga and raised every man he could from his fief territory. Then, forming all his troops into three divisions, he went a round of inspection on horseback. He asked Kuranosuke Saito, a general, how many men there were, and being informed that the number exceeded 13,000, he nodded, and proceeded to a distance of about a quarter of a mile and summoned his five generals: "Were they all ready to risk their lives for him? If not, his own head should pay the penalty." After a long silence, Akechi Samanosuke was the first to give the promise, and the others followed him. Mitsuhide then revealed the plot, and, making them sign an oath, left at once for Kyoto at the head of the army. When crossing the River Katsura he held up his whip and cried: " The enemy is at the Honnoji Temple." All his men then knew his intention for the first time.

Mitsuhide Murdered Nobunaga.—When Genuemon's troops, the vanguard of Mitsuhide, reached the Toji Temple, they found about 20 peasants working in a melon-field. Genuemon slew them all to keep the attack a secret. Even when Mitsuhide's troops fired their guns and raised a war-cry, Nobunaga's guards thought it was merely a quarrel among some of their own men. Nobunaga, coming out to see what was the matter, saw Mitsuhide's flags and realized the truth; but it was too late, for the enemy rushed into the compounds of the temple and were cutting down Nobunaga's unarmed pages like grass. Nobunaga at first fought with bow and arrows, and then with his spear, but was wounded in the elbow, staggered back into the temple, and disappeared. The enemy set fire to the temple and Nobunaga was burnt to death. Thus the soul of this hero whose name shook the whole country ascended to heaven in the 49th year of his age. When Nobutada in Myokokuji heard the news, he decided to entrench himself in the Nijo Castle. Some advised him to escape to Azuchi, but he would not listen, saying that as Mitsuhide has his plans already so well laid, he would rather fight and follow his dead father. He then entered Nijo Castle, where he was besieged. His men were only 300, and they could not resist the heavy odds, and many of them were killed. Nobutada, who was only twenty-six years old, committed suicide, and the castle was burnt down by Mitsuhide. There were some defeated soldiers who escaped from the Honnoji and the Nijo Castle to Azuchi, who brought the news of the death of Nobunaga and his son Nobutada, which caused such great uneasiness among the people in Azuchi that some burned their houses and returned to their own country. Gamo, the Governor of Azuchi Castle, accompanied the lady of Nobunaga to Hino in Omi Province, his own territory.

Nobunaga's Work.—Nobunaga was one of our greatest men, and his work, too, was on a magnificent and incomparable scale. Although he had never studied military and political sciences, yet he branched out into new lines in them. He was a pioneer in the road construction in Japan, where there had been nothing but narrow paths or lanes fit only for birds and beasts. He planted rows of trees on either side of the new road so that the passers-by might not go astray in the deep snow in winter and be sheltered from the hot sun in summer. Though this system was not invented by him, yet he put it into practice like an inventor, and wherever a new road was opened, his orders were carried into execution. He was, indeed, such a road builder as the Romans. He understood, too, how to convert political power into money, and even though he was not the originator of this policy, yet he was the man who put it into practice most effectively. He was the first to mint gold coins, and had an eye to the profits to be made from mining. Typical of the dark age when subversions and disturbances took place in rapid succession, destruction, change, and real ability combined in this man. In his age the political power was passing to those of the lower classes who had real ability, and those who had nothing behind them but the glory of their titles and the posthumous honours of their ancestors were being forgotten. Taking advantage of this, he tried to annihilate all the old influences, and never hesitated to pick up a general out of the gutter or promote men from the ranks or even serfs to lead a great army. Nobunaga paid no heed to the Court nobles whom Ashikaga Yoshimasa and others had used as their servants, and tried to destroy the power of the shrines and temples which, since Kiyomori, all the politicians and military commanders had feared and hesitated to meddle with. He intended not only to deprive them of military power, but also to overturn their economical base from the foundation, and almost attained his object, suppressing Hieizan Nara, Negoro, and the Hongwanji Temples. Famous old families, or the local magnates representing the old power, though without deep historical influence, were replaced by his adherents risen from the rank and file. Thus Nobunaga not only took the place of Ashikaga in the Central Government, but caused the new power to overwhelm the old one even in the provinces. In those days the za monopolized every kind of trade and prevented others from trading or buying up the barriers from local magnates, they controlled them themselves, and made use of them to further their own interests on the one hand and to obstruct the liberty of business of others on the other. Nobunaga hated all this, and breaking down all the barriers prohibited the za. In fact, he tried to weaken the old power by abolishing the monopoly system which combined with it and by introducing the principle of equal opportunity to the commercial world. The powers transmitted from the Monarchical Age were perhaps those of the Court nobles, such as the Fujiwara family and others, and of temples. Though their power was largely destroyed by the temples and the families of Taira and Minamoto, still the Court nobles were able to intrigue in the transition period of the power from Hojo to Ashikaga, when the royal authority had not yet disappeared. In the actual age of Ashikaga, however, their power entirely vanished with the complete downfall of the royal authority, and especially so at the time when Kyoto was ravaged by the Onin War, when the Court nobles were so much straitened for food and clothing as to have to flee from the ravaged city and roam the country to find the necessaries of life. The temples, the local magnates, and the monopoly system still remained as the representation of the old power, but they were uprooted by Nobunaga. In short, he destroyed the old society in which history, heredity, superstition, pedigree, and customs were ruling influences, proposing to give the power to those who had real ability, and at the same time to give equal opportunity to all circles of society. He acted almost like a convulsion of nature, breaking down mountains and levelling trees, and was the greatest reformer in our history, his deeds closely resembling those of Napoleon I.

HIDEYOSHI AND THE FLOODING OF TAKAMATSU CASTLE.—At the time of Nobunaga's death, Hashiba Hideyoshi was besieging Takamatsu Castle in Bitchu Province, and was about to flood the garrison out by damming the river, and constructing an embankment 3 ri in length around the castle. The work was begun on the 13th of April, and being completed by the 24th of April, the river-water began to rise and numberless rats and snakes fled from the flood into the houses. The provisions of the castle were exhausted and the garrison in imminent fear of drowning. Shimizu, who was in command, determined to evacuate the castle and release his men by killing himself, and sent a messenger on a raft to the headquarters of Hideyoshi, who was pleased at this stout heartedness, and sending a small boat, together with ten loads of wine and food, into the castle, ordered that no one should kill himself. On the 5th of June he had the embankment broken and saved the people in the castle from a watery death.

HIDEYOSHI DEFEATED MITSUHIDE.—Previous to this, Mori, perceiving that his case was desperate, planned to make peace and sent Ikei Ankokuji, a priest, to confer with Hideyoshi to that end, undertaking to hand over three provinces if Hideyoshi would cease hostilities. On the 3rd of June the news of the assassination of Nobunaga and his son reached Hideyoshi's quarters. Neither Mori nor his envoy knew anything about it, and Hideyoshi coolly answered that he would reply the following day. When, on the 5th, the messenger came again, he acquainted them with what had happened in Kyoto, and asked if Mori would still make peace even in those circumstances. The envoy returned to Mori's quarters and there was high debate, many being for attacking Hideyoshi. Takakage Kobayakawa was alone in insisting that Hideyoshi would no doubt finally bring the whole country under his rule, and that it would be better for them not only to make peace with him, but also to assist him with auxiliaries in case of need. Mori finally fell in with this advice and made a present of 500 guns, 100 bows, and 30 flags to Hideyoshi. Thus, having made peace on the 5th, Hideyoshi left Takamatsu on the 6th, and returned to Himeji on the 8th. Departing from there at dawn on the 9th, he arrived at Amagasaki of Settsu Province by the morning of the 11th. When he was about to start from Himeji, he distributed gold and silver among his officers and men, leaving himself very little. The feudal lords had all been greatly incensed at Mitsuhide's rebellion, but lacked power and reputation to strike the first blow. When, however, Hideyoshi reached Amagasaki, they all joined him in the common struggle. Though Mitsuhide thought that out of the veterans of Nobunaga, Hideyoshi would be the first to attack him because of what he had owed to his master, yet he was greatly surprised to see him get back so quickly. Hoping to defeat him before he came to his full strength, he went down south from Kyoto, and both armies met at Yamazaki. Mitsuhide had sent Matsuda to occupy Mount Tenno, and Hideyoshi had sent Mosuke Horio for the same purpose, and thus the vanguards of the two armies met there. Horio defeated Matsuda and, occupying Mount Tenno, advanced in force. Utterly crushed, Mitsuhide, accompanied by three followers, crossed the River Katsura and was planning to flee to Sakamoto in Omi Province when he was killed by peasants at Ogurusu. Hideyoshi's forces numbered 40,000, and Mitsuhide's, 10,000. Hideyoshi now became Shogun in fact and, after subjugating those of Nobunaga's generals who still opposed him, settled down in Osaka Castle.

CHAPTER XXVI

THE PORTS OF SAKAI AND HAKATA, ETC.

THE HISTORY OF SAKAI.—The characteristics of Nobunaga's age, from the economic point of view, are the improvement of communications both by land and sea, the minting of gold and silver coins, the opening of foreign trade, and the formation of free commercial cities such as Nagasaki, Sakai, and Hakata. About Nagasaki we will write after dealing with the Toyotomi Age. Sakai, being the oldest port, is the most eminent one in the economical history of Japan, and it was the merchants from this port who greatly contributed to the establishment of Nagasaki and Hakata by settling and trading actively there. In dealing with the history of Sakai, we must go back to the origin of the Sumiyoshi god. In ancient times, when the Empress Jingo made an expedition to Korea, Watazumi, the sea-god, appeared in the field of Ahagi of Oto, Hyuga, and said: "Enshrine and rely upon me, then you will always be safe on the sea." Greatly encouraged, the Empress enshrined this god in her ship. When she returned in triumph to the port of Buko, the god again appeared, and said: "I will stay in Sumiyoshi and will protect the ships going in and out there." So the deity was enshrined at Sumiyoshi, and since then all ports in Japan have revered the Sumiyoshi god, just as in China there is a shrine of the goddess Maso in every port. Most of the ships that sailed in and out of the port prayed to the god for safety, with the result that faith in this god rapidly extended. In Settsu, near the port of Sumiyoshi, there was a district famous for salt making, and the people there were all engaged in that industry. The salt making, together with the fishing, turned this place into an important harbour, gradually taking the place of the port of Sumiyoshi, and becoming at last a possession of the Sumiyoshi Shrine. This port was Sakai. The Empress Jingo, after conquering Korea, made that country promise to pay her a tribute every year, which for some years she did, and General Chin, who was in charge of Korean diplomacy, came to Sumiyoshi with the tribute. As one of the rites and ceremonies of the year at the Sumiyoshi Shrine, there was a market opened every September 13th in front of the shrine, which was called Takaraichi (Treasure Market), and there it is said that Korean sailors of the tributary ships used to buy and sell various articles. Thereafter communication between Korea and Japan was maintained through the port. From the fact that in the age of the Emperor Godaigo (about 1300) the Sumiyoshi Shrine possessed a territory of 120,000 koku, and there still remain several shrines in the city of Sakai which were intended for the lodging-place of the Sumiyoshi god, we can see that the port of Sakai belonged to the Sumiyoshi Shrine for a long time. Owing to the development of the communication with Korea year after year, and to the presence of such populous provinces as Yamato and Kawachi in the hinterland, the coasts of Izumi and Settsu became very prosperous. Osaka was then only a reed-grown seashore, and all the fish and salt contributed to the Imperial Court throughout the Yamato and Yamashiro epochs were transported through the port of Sakai, and consequently Sakai became the leading port from both the commercial and the political points of view. The latter because the powerful families of Kyushu and Shikoku began to come and go to the central provinces to carry out their political ambitions, and their landing-place was chiefly Sakai.

Sakai in the Ashikaga Age.—In the era of Meitoku, Ashikaga Yoshimitsu gave Sakai, together with more than ten provinces, to Yamana Ujikiyo, who built a castle at Sakai. He already held the provinces of Harima, Tamba, and Tajima, etc., and had the output of the silver-mine at Ikuno at his disposal, so that when Sakai was added he was almost irresistible and ready to attack Kyoto. After his defeat and death, Ashikaga gave Sakai to Yoshihiro Ouchi, who, holding the provinces of Suwo, Nagato, and Aki as his domain, became as powerful as Ujikiyo was. When he fell, Mitsumoto Hosokawa of Awa Province took possession of Sakai, which was almost as imposing as a royal seat, and put in his retainer Miyoshi to govern there. Miyoshi set his retainer Hisahide Matsunaga over the town, whose prosperity was unparalleled in all Japan.

Development of the Power of Sakai.—The town of Sumiyoshi, where the Empress Jingo enshrined the Sumiyoshi god, gradually declined with the development of Sakai, which was possessed merely nominally by the priests of the Sumiyoshi Shrine. As Sakai became a necessary port in trading with Korea, it grew flourishingly, and from the time Ouchi possessed it it increased its prosperity by communicating with Canton and Fukkien in China. Encouraged by their prosperity, the citizens of Sakai commenced to trade with the Loochoo Islands, and the foreign civilization began to enter Japan through this port, making Sakai as rich and prosperous as Nagasaki in later years. During the time of Shogun Yoshimasa, when in financial difficulties, the Shogun often raised a public loan among the merchants of Sakai, pledging seventeen pieces of land in Kawachi Province as security. The only lever the people had against the military power was money, and the Shogunate Government fell into a pitfall when they ran into debt with the people of Sakai, who began to hold their heads higher than ever, and acquired rights. This state of things made Sakai, which had formed a system of self-government in a certain degree, proceed farther in its ideas and at last gave rise to the system of a free city like those in Europe.

Four Kinds of Cities.—We can divide cities into four classes: A place which grew up because it was the seat of government is called Miyako, or a castle-town; a place which progressed by being a centre of business among groups of villages is called a market; a harbour which developed by ships entering and leaving is called Tsu; and a place which developed because of the presence of big temples and shrines is called Monzenmachi. Wherever there was a royal castle or the residence of nobles, the citizens were politically oppressed, as the ruler was the central figure; he was a host and the citizens were guests. In Monzenmachi, as shrines and temples were the centre, Shinto and Buddhist priests were the hosts, while merchants and farmers were guests. But in the market and the port the common people realized their natural development free from the oppression of nobles and Shinto or Buddhist priests, and used to form a kind of self-governing community. In such a society a few superiors were always prominent among the leaders of the towns and villages by their family fame and wealth, and they consulted with one another and ruled over their towns or villages. Even though there were no orders or laws to obey, all the common people united in obeying their superiors; and though the latter also were under no obligation, they protected and ruled over their towns or villages as if they were property entrusted to them. Thus the self-governing community, in the natural course of history, year after year made its foundations firm and strengthened its power so that finally even nobles and Shinto or Buddhist priests could do nothing to it. In such a society wealth was most highly esteemed and money was power. As wealth increased, so did power. We find two kinds of such communities, one sheltering under the wing of religion, and the other relying upon itself and standing quite independent. An instance of the former is the port of Muro; of the latter, Sakai.

The Port of Muro.—The port of Muro is situated on the promontory of the town of Tatsuno of the present time, three miles east of the port of Harima. To-day it is only a small village with a population of about four hundred, much shrunken from the time when it was the most prosperous place in the central provinces, with a well-sheltered harbour, the best in that part of Japan, although small in extent and not suitable for modern big ships. To the west of the promontory lies Karani Island, where it is said that in ancient time

Koreans loaded and unloaded their cargoes. In the age of the struggle between the Minamoto and Taira clans, yukun (courtesans) of Muro are conspicuous, and from the fact that yukun is the first such name to appear in our history, we can see how well known the port was at that time. One reason why the port prospered is that most ships which sailed from Kyushu to Osaka, Hyogo, and Sakai used to take refuge there for fear of the high waves of the Harima Sea, and from here freight and passengers were sent to Hyogo or Osaka by land, so that Muro became the most important distributing centre for all commodities in the central provinces. When the northern provinces came under the jurisdiction of Ashikaga, Echigo, Etchu, and Owu became important, politically and economically. Muro became more and more prosperous because all marine products and the rice of Echigo and Owu were carried by ships from the north to Muro, passing through Shimonoseki, and from there they were transported by land to the Osaka districts. When Hokkaido afterwards became a chief supplier in the market of the central provinces, in winter the ships sailed via the sea of Kishu and the Pacific Ocean, but in spring they used to reach Muro from Echigo and passing Shimonoseki via the Japan Sea. When the feudal lords in Kyushu came up to the central or eastern provinces they used to land at the port of Muro, and thence proceed to Himeji. The port of Muro was, therefore, most prosperous at the end of the Ashikaga Age, and did not decline throughout the age of Tokugawa. In its prosperous days it had many thousand houses, and was more gorgeous than any other places, except the large cities such as Nagasaki, Hakata, Kyoto, and Edo. On the promontory of the port of Muro there was a shrine dedicated to the Kamo-no-Myojin, who was said to protect the port, and the economic system of the port of Muro was constituted with this god as its centre.

ECONOMIC SYSTEM OF MURO WITH THE MYOJIN GOD AS ITS CENTRE.—As all feudal lords of the western provinces used to land at Muro when proceeding to the country around Kyoto or the eastern provinces, the god was much revered by them, and they kept the shrine in repair without putting the people to a farthing of expense. For a long time it had been a custom to collect 5 per cent. tax from the ship-owners who completed their transactions in the port. At one time the place fell into Urakami's hands, and then into Akamatsu's; and while it was thus passing from hand to hand there arose a custom of self-governing which caused the establishment of a kind of village government. As the basis of the power of collecting the tax was very weak, the people feared that with all these changes they might lose it completely, and so they fell back upon the divinity of the god

Kamo-no-Myojin, and the tax grew to be recognized as a contribution to the deity. No one could have any objection to pay such money to be dedicated to the god, and not even the most tyrannical feudal lords could break the custom. Thus, without being aware who advocated it and when it began, power changed from the hands of the lords, and the heads of Muro-no-tsu port formed a self-governing community, developing it under the protection of their god. The upkeep of the Kamo Shrine being paid for by the contribution from the feudal lords who worshiped there, the community heads administered the proceeds of the 5 per cent. tax without any encumbrance, and establishing a banking organ called Ginkata, loaned money at interest to the villagers, merchants, and ship-owners. Those who could not pay back the whole debt within a year were not allowed to decorate their doors on New Year's Day, which was equivalent to the deprivation of civil rights and a lifelong shame, so all strove to pay up their debts. It is no exaggeration to say that Ginkata suffered scarcely any loss except through unavoidable disasters. Many years later on Ginkata began to invest its capital even as far afield as Osaka. In the age of Tokugawa the lord of the Himeji Castle was at the same time the lord of Muro, but to Muro he sent only a Bugyo (magistrate), who collected a tax of 132 ryo in silver every year and entrusted the municipal administration of Muro to the heads there, not interfering at all. Even the account-books of Ginkata were not subject to the magistrate's interference. At the end of December, when the books were balanced, they only reported, as a formality, to the Shinto priest and the magistrate. Both the Shinto priest and the magistrate were only to be reported to and had not any right to interfere at all.

The Power of Munro over the Neighbourhood.—After a long period, Muro-no-tsu not only governed its own domestic affairs, but also acquired many kinds of powers outside. In the neighbourhood of Muro there is a port called Idzu. The people there wished to build a breakwater, and Muro-no-tsu, despite the land-owner's permission, raised an objection on the ground the new harbour might attract ships away from Muro-no-tsu and seriously prejudice its long-established prosperity and old privileges. The Idzu villagers undertook that the place would never be used except by their own ships, and Muro-no-tsu, loath to trust them, stationed a watchman on Idzu to see whether outside ships entered or not. When the neighbouring village called Noma attempted to build a wharf, Muro-no-tsu again raised an objection to the landlord, and after much negotiation Noma agreed to pay 130 ryo of tax-silver to Muro-no-tsu for the privilege. The silver-tax due from Muro-no-tsu to their feudal lord was 130 ryo, so they were now tax free. The port of Shikama had an origin as old as the port of Muro. Having such a history, Shikama imposed a port duty on the shops using it, but Muro resisted, and ships from there never paid the duty. When they entered Shikama port they cried out in a loud voice that they had come from the port of Muro, and the port officials promptly passed them without collecting any port duty. In this curious history we see self-government springing from a god-patron, and growing to exercise power beyond its own limits. From the early time of Tokugawa, in Kyoto and Osaka, the merchants of every province borrowed a trifling amount of capital from Court nobles, temples, shrines, and the princely families, and by adding it to their own capital increased the amount of their funds. This they called nominal money, and accommodated citizens with loans as under the Muro system. The nominal money as it was called, which came from the Court nobles, shrines, and so on, was, in fact, trifling ; the bulk of the money was provided from the capital of the merchants, but the fact that it was nominal money entitled the lender to preferential rights in collection prior to all other debts. At that time the power of the feudal lords was very strong, and they attached little importance to ordinary loans however large, leaving them unredeemed with the utmost coolness. Even the Courts could scarcely enforce payment, and many merchants were ruined in this way. But in the case of nominal money even the feudal lords had to pay back without fail if they had borrowed it. In cases of refusal to pay, it could be collected by appeal to the Central Government. Careful reflection shows that a loan system such as existed in Muro was designed to escape from the interference of the lord under the mask of the god. As a matter of fact, Muro people were both tax-collectors and circulators of money, so they may be said to have been the first to practise the system of nominal money.

THE POWER OF SELF-GOVERNING OF SAKAI PEOPLE.—Although there was a difference between Sakai and Muro, Sakai, too, in its first stage was a divine possession. Tsumori, a Shinto priest, held Sakai just as the lords held land and natives, but the increase of population and accumulation of wealth formed naturally a kind of self-governing community, and so the god's domain was reduced by degrees and the power of the Shinto priests fell almost imperceptibly into the hands of the eldermen of the town. Such rights were not all obtained from the priests direct. There were a number of local families who became leaders of armies and deprived powers belonging to the Shinto priests. In time, these warriors were either conquered or were ordered to another locality by the Central Government. During such changes the citizens, without intent, found themselves the gainers of one or two new things. For instance, when a transfer of a lord took place, it was customary that he carried away practically everything, even to trees and stones. There were, however, many cases when something was accidentally left untaken. These fell into the hands of the citizens. The common people formed a self-governing community by depriving the feudal lords, Shinto priests, and Buddhist priests of their power, just as ants build their hill slowly and laboriously. For instance, every trade ship entering or leaving the port of Sakai made a payment called mezeni to the Government office, but while at first the Shinto priest pocketed it, in time it fell into the hands of the eldermen. The Shinto priest of Sakai had the power of administration, and also of deciding suits, but at the time of transition these powers, too, fell into the hands of the eldermen, so that at the time Nobunaga came into power, Notoya, Momijiya, plebian merchants, and thirty-six other persons decided all political affairs in a joint conference. These eldermen were a group of rich families who had godowns or warehouses on the seashore and were generally called naya-shu (barn-owners), in spite of the fact that each one had his own name. They engaged soldiers of fortune to guard them, and in the important highways leading to Sakai moats were dug for the defence of the city, which became just like a castle. It is true, then, that all kinds of political power fell into the hands of the eldermen of the city, but they were not obtained without any compensation. They required hundreds of years and millions of money. For example, the offertory at the Kaiko Shrine of Sakai, strictly speaking, belonged to the Sumiyoshi Shrine, but in 1495 Kunimori, a Shinto priest, borrowed money from some common people under the security of the offertory chest, and after that the Shinto priests lost their privilege and the people got it. At the end of the Ashikaga era Sakai had become a completely self-governing community, just like the free cities of the Hanseatic League. How admirably the self-government of Sakai administered the city can be known from a description by an eye-witness in the history of the western religion in Japan.

Trade Relation between Southern Barbarians and Sakai.—It has already been told in a previous chapter that in the Monarchical Age Sakai was the centre of foreign trade, but when, in about 1390, Ouchi Yoshihiro held it, Sakai rose very much in importance as a trade centre. Ouchi had the right to issue permits called Kango-in for the trade ships sailing between China and Japan, and paid great attention to the trade between China and Korea. The people of Sakai, too, were equally keen, and the combination caused trade to flourish mightily. When, in 1432, Shogun Ashikaga Yoshiteru sent the Priest Doen to China as an ambassador, there were merchants of Sakai in the party. In 1474 Yugawa Sen-a, Kojima Saburoemon, and others who were merchants of Sakai trading with China asked the

Ashikaga Shoguns for a permit and dispatched ships for trade. Such being the case, the communications in and out of Sakai, which was the centre of trade, were more frequent than one might suppose. Sukezaemon, one of the naya-shu, had been in communication with Luzon for a long time, making trade his business. The Southern Barbarian pots which were used at tea ceremonies by Hideyoshi Toyotomi seem to have been supplied by Sukezaemon. When Sukezaemon got into hot water with Hideyoshi afterwards, and his wealth was confiscated, he said in a fury that such a small piece of land as Japan was not worth living in, presented his house and furniture to the Toanji Temple in Sakai and went to Cambodia, where he became a port official. The main temple of the Toanji of to-day is the former dwelling-house of Sukezaemon. The beautiful building, the sliding-screens and sliding-doors glittering with gold, all the pictures painted by Kano Eitoku, show to what extent the civilization of those days had developed.

Nobunaga oppressed Sakai.—Such being the prosperity of trade and the activity of commerce in Sakai, Nobunaga, a very sharp observer, early cast his eyes upon its wealth, and when he entered Kyoto for the first time and subdued the neighbouring provinces, he imposed a tax of 20,000 kwan of money upon the citizens of Sakai and 1,500 kwan on the Honganji. The citizens of Sakai had been accustomed to self-government and lent money even to the Ashikaga Shogun ; they feared no one and stoutly declined to pay. Nobunaga threatened to collect it by force, and the citizens made Notoya and Momijiya commanders-in-chief, and prepared forces to meet the attack. Nobunaga had many fish to fry at the time and let the matter slide for a while. In the meantime, Miyoshi attacked the Shogun Yoshiaki, and the citizens of Sakai helped him. Nobunaga came to the rescue, defeated Miyoshi, and then turned on Sakai for its disobedience in the former year and for its assistance to Miyoshi, and demanded 25,000 kwan, saying that if he did not get it he would burn down the whole city. By this time the citizens of Sakai had realized that Nobunaga was too strong for them, and they paid up, promising henceforward never to engage ronin soldiery. It was not long before Nobunaga ordered Sakai to pay an annual barn tribute, which would fall only on rich men, as no one else owned barns. Ten people refused to pay, holding it an unprecedented tax, and proceeded to Adzuchi Castle, Nobunaga's dwelling, to state their views. Nobunaga threw them into prison, and when a few of them escaped, he pursued and recaptured them, after which they were all executed. By now every old family which had shared in the historical self-governing of Sakai was ruined, and in consequence the superiors of each street began to take charge of the Government by turns. Just like Nagasaki during the period from the age of Toyotomi to the age of Tokugawa, Sakai, in the time from the middle age of Ashikaga to the time of Oda and Toyotomi, was the mouth of foreign trade, and at the same time the import tube of the foreign civilization. She held not only an important situation in the economic history, but also a principal position in the general history of our civilization.

THE CIVILIZATION OF SAKAI.—When Nobunaga built the castle at Adzuchi, the workmen came chiefly from Kyoto, Nara, and Sakai, and a Chinese tile-burner was engaged, from which we may deduce that in the background of every industry there were Chinese who came first to Sakai, which was the home of new industrial arts. Wealthy Sakai merchants were great devotees of the tea ceremony and spent large sums on the necessary paraphernalia. When Sukezaemon returned from Luzon with fifty pots, the feudal lords under Hideyoshi fell over one another to buy them, and, as a commercial proposition, Sukezaemon put an extraordinary price on his tea utensils. Afterwards Sakai people went to the opposite extreme and hoarded rare utensils, valuing them even above their wealth in coined money. The famous tea-master, Rikyu, so sanctified and emphasized the tea ceremony that the barbarous officers and rough soldiers who despised the ordinary conventions of morality tried to fall in with the rule laid down by Rikyu.

TALENTS OF SAKAI.—There are no historical data to tell us what was the population of Sakai in its prosperity, but it would be over 80,000 or 90,000; and with this population there was great wealth, an advanced civilization, and constant import of new goods and new ideas from China and the South. Hideyoshi liked men who breathed such an atmosphere and were keen to distinguish themselves, and gave employment to many because they ruled the wealth and knowledge of Sakai or had some relation with them. In Sakai there was a family called Konishi who had long been in trade and manufactured a widely known toilet-powder called Konishi powder, the secret of which had been learned from the Chinese. A rich member of the family was Konishi Yajiro, who had trade relations in all directions and was a friend of Ukita Naoie of Bizen. When Hideyoshi was about to attack Mori by the order of Nobunaga, he sent for Yajiro, and bid him tell Ukita that if he would help in the campaign against Mori, he would be rewarded with the province of Mimasaka. Yajiro was successful in this negotiation, and Hideyoshi was greatly pleased and gave him a fief producing 1,000 koku. Yajiro's eldest son, Yukinaga, was attached from his childhood to Hideyoshi and became well known as a gallant soldier and a devout Roman Catholic. Neither was Yukinaga the only Catholic in Sakai, which, on the contrary, contained thousands of believers, Sakai having been the headquarters of the Catholic movement from the age of Ashikaga. When Sakai was a bone of contention amongst various parties, the Catholics fought on both sides, but on holidays they all met together in the church for divine worship. With Catholicism so strong and active, naturally the Portuguese merchants followed in the train of the missionaries.

TRADE BETWEEN SAKAI AND PORTUGAL.—In 1603 a Portuguese ship loaded with a great quantity of white thread entered Nagasaki, but the market for thread being very small the ship was detained at Nagasaki over a year. Not knowing what to do, the captain asked Ichian Ogasawara, the Magistrate of Nagasaki, to consider how his cargo might be disposed of. Tokugawa Iyeyasu, who was then at Fushimi, heard the story from Ogasawara and summoned to the castle ten heads of the merchants of Sakai, i.e. Sogan Takaishiya, Michishio Naraya, Ryokan Iyoya, Muneyori Gusokuya, Munezane Naruoya, Zoji Zaimokuya, Munehisa Achiko, Michichika Itamiya, Soi Shibatsuji, and Ryokan Koyama, and, asking them to be seated, he told them how a Portuguese ship was in trouble over an unsold cargo of white thread which had kept her over a year in Nagasaki. Unless something was done, the Portuguese ships would never come to Japan again, for it was no way to conciliate foreigners. The Sakai merchants, being so wealthy, ought to combine to buy the thread. The merchants replied that of course they would never disobey the order of Iyeyasu, and went down to Nagasaki, where, in combination with the merchants of Kyoto, who had heard of the case, they bought up the thread. But they did not always obey even an order of Iyeyasu without considering their business interest, and never let a chance go by to make money. On returning from Nagasaki they told Iyeyasu what they had done, and at the same time asked him to give them a kind of licence, under which all the white thread arriving at Nagasaki could only be bought by the head merchants selected from the merchants of three cities—Sakai, Kyoto, Nagasaki—who partook in the white thread trade at that time, and other merchants could not buy directly from the foreigners, but only from the licence-holders. Iyeyasu at last granted this request, and the regulations allotted 120 balls to Sakai, 100 balls to Kyoto, and 100 balls to Nagasaki, each ball weighing 50 kin, 1 kin being of 160 momme; but 120 balls did not always mean exactly 6,000 kin, but was merely the ratio of division. The yearly profits of the patent to the merchants of Sakai and Nagasaki being very large, the merchants of various provinces wished to share in them, and asked the Tokugawa Shogunate to divide the privilege and let them have a share, but the

Shogunate would not consent. Eventually, nevertheless, they were compelled to give in to the merchants of Edo, to whom 50 balls were allotted. Hearing of the success of the merchants of Edo, the merchants of Osaka became restive and sent Kawasakiya Sogen and Koan Yodoya to ask for a share in the privilege. The merchants of Sakai were agreeable, and the Shogunate allotted 20 balls to Osaka, and afterwards increased it to 50. The white thread monopoly was thus divided among the merchants of five places, with Sakai as its centre. The monopoly of yellow thread, single twisted thread, and undyed silk goods, such as white figured gauze, white crape, and white figured satin, fell also into the hands of these merchants. In 1614, when Iyeyasu attacked Osaka Castle, he summoned the white thread patentees of Sakai to Shimoryoden, Yahata, and charged them with the transport of military stores and sending him reports from the many provinces they visited, and sometimes they were called upon for gold, silver, rice, and any other necessary goods, besides the above services. In 1637, in the war of Shimabara, they undertook the supply of catapults, gunpowder, shields, bundles of bamboo, fodder, etc., by the order of the magistrate.

It was Sakai People who called Dutchmen to Nagasaki.—In 1609 the Tokugawa Shogunate established in Sakai a cinnabar za, which was given the right to monopolize cinnabar, in return for a yearly payment of 800 sheets of silver, payable in Osaka every September. A sheet of silver means a block of silver of 43 momme in the form of a plate. If the plate was less than 43 momme a small ball of 1 momme was added. One ryo of silver was 4 momme 3 bu. Though the white sand and cinnabar sand were once imported to Nagasaki from China, and a cinnabar za was established in Nagasaki and monopolized these two kinds of sand, the real cinnabar being imported to Sakai directly, the cinnabar za was established there.

In the same year the Dutch came to Hirado and, following the example of the Portuguese, began to trade there. The astute merchants of Sakai, some years later, thought that if they could induce the Dutch merchants in Hirado to remove to Nagasaki, the white thread they had to sell would come within the grip of the monopoly and greatly increase their profits. They talked the matter over with the merchants of Kyoto and Nagasaki, who received the proposition with joy, and in 1641 they sent Norimune Kabei, eighteen years old, and a son of Zaimokuya Doji, merchants of Sakai, to Edo to get the permission of the Shogunate, who hated Hirado for monopolizing the profits of foreign trade. Inouye Chikugo-no-kami, a Shogunate official, was dispatched to Hirado to investigate the circumstances, and at last the trade with the Dutch was removed to Nagasaki.

Thus the white thread to be imported by the Dutch was divided among patentees of five places, and the merchants of Hirado were allotted 10 balls.

The Decline of Sakai.—Though the time from the end of the age of Hideyoshi to the early age of Tokugawa was the most prosperous for Sakai, yet she was at the turn of the wheel. From the time of Nobunaga there were many Portuguese and Spanish coming to Kyushu, and at the same time the Chinese trade was opened. The foreign trade was later restricted to Nagasaki and Hirado, but at first the whole coast of Kyushu was free to trade. The merchants of Sakai were very smart and clever at catching a business opportunity and had many sources of information, so, foreseeing that the foreign trade in the future would become prosperous around Kyushu, some of them removed to Hataka or established a branch there, and then many went to Nagasaki from Hakata. Those who struck out into the new fields were among the most progressive and keenest spirits of Sakai. Deprived of them and left to the tender mercies of the idle and easy-going who were content to maintain the *status quo*, Sakai began to decline. When Hideyoshi constructed Osaka Castle in 1582, he wished to make Osaka the centre of government and commerce, and urged rich men in Sakai and Fushimi to remove to Osaka, building for them streets called Sakai Street and Fushimi Street. Much wealth and talent was drawn to Osaka, and in the time of Iyeyasu Tokugawa he again urged removal to Osaka. This is the second cause of the decline. But at the beginning of the age of Tokugawa, when the East India Company of England opened business relations with Japan, it established itself in Sakai, Osaka, Fushimi, etc., from which it would appear that Sakai had no sudden decline with the prosperity of Osaka, but that its fall was a gradual one. By the accumulated wealth and high spirit of the people, Sakai had already become a free city, and extorted the monopoly of white thread from Tokugawa Iyeyasu; but with increasing riches the citizens lost their strenuous spirit, and formed two parties to scramble for the monopoly rights, Takaishi Chohichi at the head of the old monopolists, and Itami Genzaemon leading a new group. The vain struggle lasted for nineteen years, from 1685 to 1702. At the end of this period the monopoly system of white thread in Nagasaki, which had had a spasmodic existence, was wholly suspended. Sakai's share in the foreign trade was under this system, and with its abolition her share was gone. This is the third cause of the decline of Sakai. In this way, Sakai, which started to become a free city like Hamburg, failed to become a real Hamburg, and remained only an ordinary city.

Hakata in the Past.—In the Ashikaga Age, when Japanese ships left for China and Korea, they used to sail from Sakai in Izumi to Hyogo in Settsu, to Muro-no-tsu in Harima, to Onomichi in Bingo, to Yamaguchi, Kami-no-seki, Akamagaseki of Suo, to Hakata, Shiga Island of Chikuzen, and out to the ocean through Shogo-ura of Oshima, Hizen, and Naru-ura of Goto. When the sailors were about to start on a voyage they offered a big sword to the shrines of Kushida, Hakozaki, Sumiyoshi, Akamagaseki, and Naru in Hakata, praying for safety on the sea. Hakata was most important for those who came from China and Korea, so Hakata had been the first entrance for the foreign trade since the Mediaeval Age, and there was a Chinese quarter sheltering a large number of Chinese. This city went through a very troubled existence. In the wars between Ouchi and Shoni and Otomo it was frequently burnt down. After the fall of Ouchi, in the struggle between Mori and Otomo in 1569, the greater part of Hakata was reduced to ashes. Fourteen years later it suffered the same fate when Kawakami of Satsuma attacked Otomo. Again in 1586, when Shimazu was warring against Hideyoshi, he entered Hakata and burned the place. This was the end of a melancholy chapter, for Hideyoshi crushed Shimazu and entered Hakata in triumph.

SHIMAI.—At this time there was a rich merchant called Shimai in Hikata, heir of an old business house well known in foreign trade. In the struggle between Otomo and Shimazu in Kyushu, Shimai supported the former and often lent money, having at the same time similar dealings with Akizuki, Hyuga, and Matsuura. As his prosperity increased, he got into touch with men in high position in the Government at that time, and also with Riyku, the great tea-master, and with Mitsunari Ishida, who was in the staff office of Hideyoshi. In due course Hideyoshi himself arrived in Hakata, where it is said he was surprised to see that the ships there were not Japanese ones such as were seen in Sakai and Hyogo, but made on the model of Portuguese ships.

HAKATA WAS MADE A FREE PORT.—Shimai welcomed Hideyoshi and, together with Kamiya Sotan, elderman of the city, petitioned for the restoration of Hakata. Hideyoshi was pleased and ordered his secretary to map out the streets, and also publish the following ordinance:—

RULES.

HAKATA-TSU, CHIKUZEN PROVINCE.

1. In this port shall be no monopoly merchants nor za merchants.
2. The citizens shall be rent and tax free.
3. Along the coasts of Japan no man should dare to interfere with the vessels of Hakata when wrecked or in danger.

4. Should a quarrel or a dispute arise, both parties are to be punished, irrespective of the rights and wrongs of the case.
5. In case of a fire or an act of incendiarism only the responsible person is to be punished.
6. The Benevolent Administration (Tokusei), even though carried out in other provinces, shall not hold good in the port.
7. No retainer of a lord shall reside in this port.
8. Pressing of a purchase and violence prohibited.

Those who disobey any of the above rules shall be punished at once.

HIDEYOSHI (Seal).

June 5th Tensho, 15.

The first provision provided that all kinds of business shall be carried on freely. Za does not function, and every merchant is to be given an equal chance of trade. The second provision specified exemption from any taxes and all labour service, and that the whole city of Hakata was made tax free. The third provision was the prohibition of the crime of wrecking at the expense of Hakata ships. As for the sixth provision, what was known as Tokusei had been widely enforced since the end of Ashikaga Age, and was intended to relieve the poor at the expense of the rich. In the result it decreased the amount of loans from the lord to the people, and the rich were sometimes plundered by the poorer classes, incited by cunning people. In Hakata the Tokusei was exempted from being put into effect, even though put into effect in other parts of the country. The seventh laid it down that a soldier supported by the lords should not have a house in Hakata, as a precaution against violence. As there was no custom house, Hakata was a real free port, which was called Rakutsu (pleasant haven) in those days. Such protection was not only limited to Hakata alone; nearly every city was given similar freedom and protection in order to stimulate its growth. In short, it was a policy prevailing in the tendency of the period. In those days the feudal lords were but large estate holders within which existed a few hundred villages. Unless there was a city to serve as an assembling centre for the agricultural products wherein may be attracted gold and silver from other provinces, it would be difficult to build a military power of any significance. Such being the case, every lord contrived various schemes for the growth of cities, and Hideyoshi lavished on Hakata particular care, not only due to its geographic advantages for stimulating foreign trade, but also because it had frequently suffered the misfortunes of war.

IMPORTATION OF PIG-IRON STARTED AN INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION. In 1591 Hideyoshi placed his headquarters at Nagoya, Hizen Province, north-west from Karatsu and at the north end of Higashi-Matsuura district. Though most of the provisions and arms for the troops were bought up by the lords from their own provinces, many of the men were provided for in Kyushu. As Hakata acted the most important part in both their transport and supply, the Korean expedition made suddenly a great new city of Hakata. In the age of Tokugawa the foreign trade was restricted at first to Hirado and Nagasaki, and then to Nagasaki alone, and Hakata's prosperity withered away; but the merchants of Hakata had first imported pig-iron, which caused a revolution in Japanese industry and put a new aspect on history. Japanese iron wares from old times were made of iron-sand, and though as skilled workers the Japanese were unrivalled, the scarcity of material and difficulty of manufacture retarded the advancement of the iron industry; but when the Chinese, Dutch, and Portuguese imported pig-iron from China and the southern islands it made rapid progress. In England iron was so scarce that in the 15th century some farmers used wooden spades at times, but afterwards, with more knowledge of mining and the metallurgy of iron, agriculture and industry made long strides, just as in Japan. At the end of the Ashikaga Age, Japanese iron came from China, Siam, Holland, and Portugal. The northern provinces of Siam produced abundance of iron, much of which was exported at the price of 6 or 7 chical per picul. One ton of iron was said to have cost 36,354 momme of silver. Iron was imported to Japan just as silk, calico and rice were imported from Siam. Who imported it? In reply we may say that at first it was Hakata merchants, and afterwards it was the Portuguese and Dutch who came to Hirado and Nagasaki. Ito Kozaemon, a contemporary of Kamiya Shimoi, and Kyuemon Nishimura, a later Hakata merchant, were endeavouring to import Chinese pig-iron. The importation of pig-iron and the opening of iron-mines made as remarkable a change in daily life and agriculture and commerce as the importation of silk thread and raw cotton did in the national life and industry. This remarkable revolution was not smaller than the work done by Hideyoshi and Iyeyasu, but our history has not preserved the names of those who imported the pig-iron for the first time. The name of Kamiya, who went to China, where he learnt mining and metallurgy, and on returning brought about a remarkable change in Japanese mining, is not so famous as that of some rowdy among Hideyoshi's followers who became a lord. Choan Okuba, who was afterwards appointed the Superintendent-General on Mining Affairs throughout Japan, made great strides in mining by employing a Portuguese, and caused the output of gold and silver suddenly to increase, which made Iyeyasu say that he had got the grace of Heaven and Earth. Yet this man was falsely accused of being a traitor. So ungrateful was Japan to her benefactors in economics!

CHAPTER XXVII

THE APPEARANCE OF THE FREE CITY AND THE FREE PORT, AND THE ORIGIN OF FREE TRADE IN THE END OF THE ASHIKAGA AGE

Nobunaga removed the Barriers.—In dealing with Nobunaga, our historians generally touched upon four points: i.e. destruction of the old sources of authority; establishment of the new feudal lords; the wiping out of the soldier monks; and removal of the barriers of many provinces. At the end of the Ashikaga Age the power of the Central Government had collapsed and each lord asserted his independence, fortifying the borders and establishing barriers at every frontier and boundary, both to keep out hostile spies and to tax travelling merchants. Takeda Shingen in Kai Province set up barriers on land and sea at Furuseki, Kurokoma, Ichinoseki, Komaguchi, Narusawa, Funadzu, etc. Uesugi Kenshin in Echigo did the same at Sekigawa. Then there were Fuwa barrier in Mino Province, Shirakawa barrier in Ou Province, a barrier in Musashi, and also barriers in Ise and Mino Provinces, to mention only the best known out of a large number. The temples imitated the feudal lords. The Tsurugaoka Hachiman Shrine in Kamakura set up the barrier at Iwabuchi, Kodzu; the Enkakuji Temple in Kamakura set up the Hakone barrier; the Enryakuji Temple set up a barrier at Otsu, Omi; the Kofukuji Temple set up Umiseki barrier at Hyogo; the Katori Shrine set up a barrier at Tozaki Gyotoku. By these numerous barriers Japan was divided into many small parts, and communication was very difficult when Nobunaga made his appearance and freed the roads by abolishing barriers. This is, of course, his great exploit, but it was not so simple as it sounds. It was something more than the mere removal of barriers; it made trade free.

Nobunaga abolished the Monopoly of Roads by Za.—The economic system in the Ashikaga Age was founded on monopoly, and no trade could be done except by the merchants who belonged to za—that is, those who held the patent. Almost before people knew, za merchants became a great power and began to administer the barriers on the roads leading from Kyoto to Owari, Mino, Ise, etc. Some of the main roads of Japan were in the grip of the za merchants, and only members of the za were allowed to pass with merchandise. Outsiders had to pay dues to the za. This has been alluded to in the chapter on the za system in the Ashikaga Age, and it brought deep and more lasting evils than the travelling-tax imposed upon passers-by by local magnates. When Nobunaga abolished the barriers he thereby abolished the monopoly of the highway by the merchants of Kyoto, Nara, Omi, under the name of za, which was equivalent to a declaration of the freedom of trade to the public. When he did this he achieved something much greater than the destruction of the monasteries on Mount Hiei or the overthrow of the Ashikaga family. He cannot, of course, be said to have studied the principle of free trade, but he hated to see the za merchants monopolizing traffic and commerce, taking advantage of the meaningless old system, just as he hated the Ashikaga and the priests who sneaked into power without any great exploits, and in consequence he became the founder of the present free trade. When Hideyoshi, who was the political disciple of Nobunaga, conquered Kyushu afterwards and entered Hakata, he at once proclaimed that there should be no za in this city.

THE MERCHANTS OUTSIDE ZA TRIED TO BREAK THEM.—Though the power of za was finally crushed by Nobunaga, he was not the only one to help in the work. It is true there were no professors of economics then, but the advancing common sense of the nation taught the feudal lords and merchants the evils of the privilege principle, as well as the advantages of free trade to both, and Nobunaga only advanced in the direction pointed out by the good sense of the people. Merchants outside the za devised a fairly simple method of evading the tyranny over the roads exercised by the monopolists. Instead of travelling about and paying dues at this barrier and that barrier, they began to take up their stand in a fixed place and invite their customers to come to do business there.

FEUDAL LORDS PROTECTED THE MARKET.—Here appeared a new condition. The feudal lords and temples did not protect the za merchants because they loved them, but because they were tax-payers whom they cherished as the henwife cherishes her hens. Like the henwife, they found that the more care is lavished on the hens, the more eggs they will lay. The market was opened on a fixed day, and business done not only with the merchants of the market, but also with other merchants, and on such a day a trade due was imposed. But on a special market day those who paid taxes to the lord of the district were exempted from dues, which were imposed only on other merchants. Thus the market was encouraged and the source of taxation fostered as soon as the lords found out that the more carefully they protected the markets, the wider would flow the stream of taxation.

THE APPEARANCE OF FREE PORTS AND FREE MARKETS.—In those days no great economist ruled, but only soldiers, and the merchants who had opposing interests found a common ground, from which the system of a market grew naturally. Its principle was protection, but more profit was found in the free and lesser fair, which natural need caused the rise of free ports and free markets, differing from other markets in two points. First, the ordinary market paid market dues to the lord or some other authority, but the free markets and free ports did not, and the distribution of goods was absolutely free. Secondly, to supervise the ordinary market was within the power of the lord, and disputes were judged by the general regulations enforced in the province ; but in the free ports and free markets the general regulations of the lord did not run, and any disputes were settled by the merchants themselves—that is, they originated the real free city. Itsukaichi, under the rule of Minamishuku, Aichikawa, where there never was a za, allowed free trade in salt. Kuwana in Ise Province was allowed to do free trade as one of the ten free ports in 1500. Onomichi, in Bingo Province, was an important port, already famous in the age of Ashikaga, and imposed no harbour dues on any of the many vessels which visited it. Sometimes the imposition of harbour dues came up for discussion, but the common-sense view that the imposition would reduce the number of entering ships triumphed, and it was a free port throughout the age of the Shogunate. As an instance of the regulations of a free city, the following document given to Shinjuku, Setagaya, by Ujitsuna Hojo in 1509 can be quoted :—

RULES.

1. Days of market in month, 1st, 6th, 11th, 16th, 21st, and 26th.
2. Pressing a purchase and violence should be strictly prohibited.
3. Money shall not be advanced on a pledge either to a province or a village.
4. Quarrels and disputes are prohibited.
5. The people shall be free from any kinds of service.

The above shall be the rules in the free city.

UJITSUNA HOJO (Seal).
September 29th, Tensho. YAMAKADO KOZUKE-NO-SUKE.
TO SHINJIKU, SETAGAYA.

Setagaya is the present Setagaya village on the Tamagawa Electric Railway, and in the age of Ashikaga was held by Kira and one of the castle-towns. The system of a free city is much more clear in the following rules running in Matsuyamacho, Musashi Province :—

ABOUT THE RULES.

1. Even though the merchants borrow money or rice, they should never be pressed for it on the market day. Should anyone break this rule, his name should be placarded. Should anyone secure horses from them as security, he shall be punished as a violater of the city rules.

2. Should anyone enter a tavern and act violently, he should be arrested and his name be placarded.

June 10th, Genki 2 (Kanoemi).

According to the regulations, no retainer of a lord should order goods from the market or send his servant to market. In case of pressing a purchase and violence, the offender should be punished, even if he be a retainer of a lord.

Townspeople in Hongo.—Matsuyama is a town near Kumagaya and was ruled by Lord Uyesugi. Afterwards it appears in the biography of Dokan Ota, and was an important city in the Mediaeval Age. The market rules were as follows :—

1. Quarrels, disputes, pressing a purchase, and violence should be strictly prohibited.
2. On the day of the market all goods shall be allowed free egress, except military provisions and arms.
3. All goods on sale in the market shall be free from any service.
4. Those who come to this market should never be pressed for the return of borrowed money and rice. No market goods shall be impounded as security.
5. On the day of the market, whatever dispute the merchants may have, the retainers of the lord should not interfere, and the townspeople should settle it.

The above provisions should strictly be obeyed, and should anyone disobey, the deputy and the townspeople should immediately announce it.

(Signed) So Ken.

According to these regulations no one who came to the market could be pressed for a debt. Unless by a reasonable process, the goods and horses of those who came to the market could not be attached as security for the debts. All sales in the market were free, and on the market day Hojo officials could not interfere in any dispute which was to be settled by the merchants themselves. Every merchant could thus go to the market freely. This example is the most complete among the regulations of a free city. In almost all the provinces of the country there are similar examples, just like the market regulations of Europe in the Middle Ages. Bucher tells us that the merchants could not be pressed in the market for debts contracted previously, and any creditor who laid hands on the body or property of the merchant was considered to have offended against the market rules and was punished. This is, of course, similar to our regulations. Even in the time of war commerce was firmly protected, for at the end of the Ashikaga Age the lords in various provinces were passing from the simple stage of the agricultural society to the more complex stage of agriculture, and commerce and industry and military despotism were unconsciously affected by this tendency.

The Reasons for the Appearance of a Free City.—Why did the feudal lords favour the free port and free city, which did not pay any tax, while they found za and the privileged protected market, which paid dues to them, profitable? The reason was that they had discovered that simple agriculture alone was insufficient to maintain them at the head of a province and felt the necessity of bringing in goods from any other provinces, and at the same time they began to understand that thus to encourage trade and to enrich the people brought them reciprocal benefits.

Rules of the Ordinary Market.—The free port and the free city stood beyond the interference of all the local authorities. Then how were the ordinary markets ruled? In most cases the city governor, appointed by the temple or temple lands and by the lord on baronial domains, fixed the rules according to the opinions of the superiors among the merchants. As an example, we can give the rules in Nara at the end of the 16th century fixed by the Kofukuji after consultation with the traders:—

RULES.

1. Two hundred kwan-mon (copper coin) is to be sold for 10 ryo of gold coin.
2. Two kwan-mon is to be sold for 10 ryo of silver coin.
3. The price of rice is to be 1 to 4 sho for 100 mon for the time being. But with the new crop the price shall be again decided.
4. As to the sale of goods, there shall in no case be any advance on the old prices.
5. The rules shall apply in all cases.

In 1569 Oda Nobunaga proclaimed market regulations for Kyoto. In the first article trade in rice was prohibited. The second article provided that over 10 kin of thread and drugs and over 10 kwan of damask silk should be sold for gold and silver, and we can see from this that other coins had run short and gold and silver were disregarded. The third article required that those who borrowed gold and silver should return the debt in the same form, and those who borrowed other coins should do the same, and provided that if anyone priced articles in his show-window in copper coin, his trade should be suspended. By these articles the circulation of gold and silver was encouraged. Asano Yukinaga was one of the most trusted of Hideyoshi's generals, and when he subdued the north-eastern provinces, he prohibited any za such as in salt or horses in Aizu city, showing himself a disciple of Hideyoshi, who was truly a wise leader of free trade.

The Remains of Za in the North-Eastern Provinces.—From the age of Ashikaga to that of Oda and Toyotomi the centre of the economic system had lain in the za, but Oda and Toyotomi arose and broke it and declared the freedom of trade. Nevertheless, in the north-eastern provinces, where Oda and Toyotomi had no direct influence, the power of the za system was not easily broken; and in 1608, after Tokugawa brought the whole country under his sway, there still remained the za there.

The most astonishing thing was that twenty-three years after the Tokugawa regime began, in 1623, the same system of za as in Kyoto and Omi was existing in Mutsu Province. The following record left in Arai village, Yama district, shows this to be a fact, and from it we can see the za combined with one another and formed a union of fellow-traders:—

RULES OF THE UNION OF FELLOW-TRADERS.

1. Peddling of the merchants of other provinces from village to village shall be prohibited, and if they come, the union shall investigate.
2. Goods on sale from Aizu shall be bought with the consent of the union members, and if anyone buy from another place without consulting with the union he shall be expelled from the union, and if money to buy goods cannot be collected the union shall raise money without fail.
3. Freight rate shall be 30 mon per 32 kwan for 15 ri, and by land and water it shall be 40 mon.
4. Merchants shall put up at a union inn.
5. If anyone who is not a member of the union acts as though he were, he shall be punished as soon as he is found out. Those who infringe the above articles shall be expelled from the union.

(Signed) Kurotani village: Jurozaemon Kamiya.
Kuroishi, Shoemon Kuroishi.
Kankaiya Kuroishi (Seal).
Jiro Kuroishi (Seal).
Rokurozaemon (Seal).
Arai village: Hachirozaemon Araimura (Seal).
Magobei Araimura (Seal).
Sahei Araimura (Seal).
Choemon Araimura (Seal).
Ogawa village: Kyoemon Ogawamura (Seal).
Jurozaemon (Seal).
Jinpachiro and 6 other men.
Tohachi (Seal).
Hachihichiro (Seal).
Narato village: Yazaemon (Seal).
Mokusuke Naratomura (Seal).
Kuemon Naratomura (Seal).
Kanemon Naratomura (Seal).
Monjirushi Shinemon (Seal).
Nagasaki village: Taroemon (Seal).

October 22nd, Genna 9.

To Sakyosuke Yoshiwara.

The expression " union " is simply a trade union as it was regarded in Edo after about ninety years. The Tokugawa at first tried to prohibit the combination of merchants and to suppress the restoration of the Ashikaga za, but, finding it impossible after ninety years' experience to suppress craft-guilds, they gradually began to allow the merchants to combine naturally. This is the origin of trade unions in Edo and Osaka. In Aizu Province the union did not make its first appearance under Tokugawa, for it had lasted continuously from the Ashikaga Age and can be well called the remains of the commercial system of that era. Many cities and many important ports then were made free and the process resembles that of Europe. With the progress of commerce and industry, a part of the city had many privileges as a market, and, as the market grew, not only a part but also the whole city became the market. To keep order in the market, self-government was allowed to the market at first, but when this peace or order became that of the whole city, the whole city or village became a self-governing community. The most advanced markets were Sakai and Muro and villages and towns along the coast of Settsu Province, and even though they did not advance so far as the free cities in Europe, they were inherent with the atmosphere that makes a people free.

Nobunaga is the Forerunner of the Modern Nation.—To repeat, the trade system at the end of the Ashikaga Age was the privileged za system which, in the provinces near Kyoto and other neighbouring provinces, became so powerful as to hold even the barriers and roads. Even in the age when interests of free ports and free cities were respected, each lord was supreme in his own little fief; there was no chance to unify the whole country, and the system of free trade had no scope. When, however, Nobunaga rose into power, absorbed many little lords and extended his boundaries, the free port and free city had a larger field, and the general tendency turned to free trade. Nobunaga, in order to win Kyoto, had to fight in Mino and Omi, where the power of the former za was very strong, holding the barriers, taxing travellers, and displaying all the evils of privilege. The campaign cut their communications, and accordingly their trade privileges ceased and almost the whole of the former commercial system perished with the ruin of the temples and feudal lords, the only remnant still remaining being the private privilege of some merchants in the city. In reality, trade was free everywhere. Therefore the appearance of Nobunaga not only meant the fall of Ashikaga, but was also the bell which rang up the curtain on the modern state.

Who taught Free Trade ?—It must be carefully noted that the progress of the above commercial system and commercial ideas in general was not the result of teaching by economists, but of a growth in the common sense of the nation. Since the Government had been centralized, all affairs of the state were transacted chiefly by soldiers, so the national power flowed into military power; even the cultivation of land was encouraged for the purpose of increasing the military power, and improvements in communication were made with an eye to war. Any budding genius was trained for administration and war, and commerce and trade were almost neglected. The learning of scholars and gentlemen was concerned only with the exegesis of the classics or hymning the beauties of nature, and ignored the practical purpose of economy. There was, therefore, none who could teach the subject. But we can be sure that among the commercial and industrial classes which had long been downtrodden there was great ability when we see that from their experience of life they naturally began to practise the principles of free trade and free commerce which were advocated by the European scholars.

Liberalism in Foreign Trade.—As public opinion began thus to wish for free commerce at home, free trade was practised for foreign countries, and the trade in Nagasaki and Hirado was absolutely free and no duty was imposed. It seems like a contradiction that the Japanese Government which imposed no duty on imports levied one on the export goods of those Japanese and Chinese who had the licence of the Japanese Government, but this due was very small and not worth considering. The Government so gentle and free in its trade policy was also gentle in its treatment of the foreign merchants. When, in 1589, the Portuguese merchants in Nagasaki complained to Hideyoshi of the malpractices of some lower officials, and appealed to him to interfere, he gave immediate orders for their punishments.

A PETITION FROM THE CAPTAIN OF A PORTUGUESE SHIP.

Note.

Trade is free in every country, much more for a properly licensed ship. But this year we have had much trouble.

Many people were bold enough to come on board and search our ships for some purpose.

They made our traders in the ships take off their clothes, like thieves, and searched their bodies.

The supply of food and water was stopped, and those who took water were chastised, and utensils, etc., were broken.

As to gold, though we swore that whenever the Government ordered we sold without concealing any, we were not listened to, and lawless acts were committed.

Though we told those who came aboard that we would present goods to the Government shortly, they would not give way, and we cannot be free in everything.

Japanese merchants, thinking trade impossible on account of the violent actions of the officials, returned to their own provinces.

> Being very much annoyed by the above acts, we wish to send a ship to retaliate, but we write to you before taking action.
>
> We have made several voyages to Japan since last year. Please strictly order the Japanese merchants to make trade with us peacefully in future years by sending an Imperial messenger to this province.

This document shows what efforts the Government of that time made to collect gold and how Japan was gradually beginning to breathe the atmosphere of the mercantile system of Europe.

TRADE PROFITS ON BOTH SIDES.—After Hideyoshi came Iyeyasu, who for some time carried on the gentle and free policy and once instructed the officials of Nagasaki that, as Chinese trusted their lives to Japan far beyond the sea, they should be treated kindly. In October 1618 instructions were given to a merchant ship belonging to Funamoto Yahichiro sailing to Annam in the names of Honda Seijun, minister of Iyeyasu, and Doi Toshikata, Minister of Hidetada. This very remarkable document lays down clearly the principle of trade, and it is indeed surprising to find such sound arguments emanating from a military Government. It also shows what sound opinions on trade were those of the merchants, Shirojiro Chaya, Goto Shozaburo, Kadokura Yoichi, etc., who took part in the affairs of the Shogunate.

RULES FOR THE SHIP SAILING TO ANNAM.

> Trade means an exchange by which both sides win gain, and does not mean gain to the seller and loss to the buyer. For both sides to profit, however little, is the great thing. A one-sided profit is, after all, small, though the amount is great. Gain is nothing but justice. Though in Japan the customs and language differ from those of other countries, natural laws never differ. Good faith and kind treatment must be extended to animals and sea-birds, much more to human beings. Pray Heaven never to be false, so as never to bring shame on Japanese customs. If we meet a man of humanity and high character, we should esteem him as a master, and ask him about the customs and laws of his country.
>
> All the peoples in the world form a universal brotherhood, much more the people of the same country, and in a greater degree the men in the same vessel. In case of sickness or trouble, the sufferer should be helped.
>
> A tempestuous sea is very dangerous, but it is better than those who selfishly neglect human want, and less dangerous than those who have given themselves up to dissipation. Everywhere ships' companies shall instruct one another. An old proverb says that man should live carefully even in the bedchamber and dining-room, as it shows the character. Not even trifles should be forgotten; records should be made and care taken not to repeat the fault.

This document was composed by Hayashi Razan, famous scholar in the service of Iyeyasu.

In spite of so much advance in the national common sense about commerce and trade, it was not long before Japan adopted a policy of restraint for the following causes. First, owing to the risk from the religious propaganda of the Portuguese, their trade was forbidden. Second, the measures of the statesmen of the Tokugawa Government, who did not understand the principle of trade, which is to be always at a level like water, and who were astonished by the abundance of the export of gold and silver, hampered foreign trade. Third, the Tokugawa Government regarded the monopoly of the merchants as a vested interest and prevented the freedom of trade, both because they tried to maintain the *status quo* and to safeguard the revenue. Thus, while Nobunaga and Hideyoshi wished for freedom of commerce and trade and broke down all privileges and old powers, Iyeyasu adopted a quite contrary policy.

CHAPTER XXVIII

GOLD AND SILVER COINS IN THE ODA AGE

First Legal Tender of Gold.—In dealing with Nobunaga's administration historians have been apt to enlarge upon three points—i.e. kindly treatment of orphans and the aged, the abolition of barriers, and exemption from various services—and ignore the economic side altogether. Those who remember how very oppressive the monopoly system called za and the private barriers were must recognize the serious effect upon the economic life of the nation which resulted from Nobunaga breaking up this system. Of equal importance is the fact that Nobunaga had gold and silver coins minted and circulated, by which commerce was very much facilitated. Even though he did not invent gold and silver coins, it cannot be denied that it was one of the achievements of the age of Nobunaga that gold and silver coins were circulated as the standard money of the Central Government.

Gold and Silver Coins before the Coinage of Tensho Gold Coin.—Heretofore, though gold was used in trade, most of it was gold-dust or beaten-out gold or gold bullion cut up as necessity required. Gold-dust was kept in bags, each weighing 10 ryo, but the other form had to be weighed each time. From days of yore gold-dust had been presented by the messengers sent to China, and used as Buddhist offerings or ceremonial gifts on attaining one's majority, but there was no general use for it, for it was scarce. In the Ashikaga Age copper coins were mostly used, and these were not coined by the Central Government, but by the local officials or private people, or even imported from China, just as Korea used Japanese nickel coins when she was still independent in the Meiji era. At the end of the Ashikaga Age the import of coins from China was stopped, but the national life was highly cultivated, and as a large quantity of copper coins was required, something had to be done. In these circumstances the gold-dust, formerly used exclusively by the Government only, gradually came into public use. At the same time, military necessities made gold necessary, and the feudal lords took steps to get it either by mining or washing: gold consequently became more and more common, but still there was not enough to meet the requirements of the times.

Gold gradually comes into Circulation.—Though gold thus became an important medium of exchange, the pinches of gold-dust were exceedingly inconvenient and liable to reduction in circulation.

Therefore, after the middle age of Ashikaga, it became the custom to melt it into a block, from which a piece was cut off and weighed, as there was not yet a fixed method of coinage. As it was not legal tender, every merchant and shop in every place sent to Kyoto gold-dust, base metal, and Hazure gold to exchange into silver, and the Kyoto merchants had to test every piece or bagful that came to them. Silver being grey and not pure, the ratio of exchange between gold and silver was the cause of great inconvenience and trouble. When Nobunaga entered Kyoto, in 1568, he put his finger on this evil and coined a legal tender under strict orders. This was the so-called Tensho Oban (large gold coin) and is the origin of the legal tender of gold. Then was it only Tensho Oban that circulated ? Not altogether. It is more true to say that Tensho Oban and other gold circulated together. Then what was the other gold ? At the end of the Ashikaga Age the power of the Government had so much declined, and public confidence in it so much weakened, that even copper coins could not be coined ; but people had already acquired the habit of using gold and silver, and gold at that time was chiefly gold-dust, carried in a little bag and dribbled out at the mouth when required, and consequently not infrequently spilled and wasted. Such being the case, it naturally became a rule to melt it and mint into a kind of plate-gold and to circulate it by weight. These plates of gold in time were made of a standard size, and thus a sort of gold coin naturally appeared, which is probably the one circulated before Nobunaga made gold coin. Goto Yujo, the ancestor of Goto, who became the head of the gold coin za in the age of Tokugawa, had already served Shogun Yoshinori about 60 years before Nobunaga's entrance to Kyoto, and the gold coin of the Ashikaga family is said to have been stamped in Chinese ink with the head of Goto. Tensho Oban may then have been rather the remains of Ashikaga civilization than the work of Nobunaga. In 1586 Hideyoshi distributed among his feudal lords a large quantity of gold and silver, in all 365,000 ryo, of which gold was 5,000 pieces and silver 30,000 pieces. Since he did not himself mint gold Oban and Koban until 1588, the above gold and silver coins must be the remains of the ages of Ashikaga and Oda. Most of them, no doubt, were Ashikaga coins, because it is impossible for Nobunaga to have coined such a great quantity of gold and silver in his short period of power, and the gold hoarded by the feudal lords was the gold coins of Ashikaga and not all Nobunaga's Oban. Later on, in Hideyoshi's Age, a few merchants of Sakai were selected and ordered to coin money under the direction of a jozé, or manager, whose duty was to test the purity of the gold and silver and set up a uniform standard. We may assume from this that minting had been in force among the za merchants of Kyoto and Sakai, just as the pound sterling of England was made use of by the guild merchants of the Hanseatic League. Nobunaga then coined Oban, but his real achievement lies in the fact that he made them legal tender and rendered unnecessary the old cumbrous method of weighing out gold, thus bringing about a great economic improvement.

Gold Coins were prized most Highly.—It is needless to say that in the age of Nobunaga, though Oban were coined, they could not yet be used for every kind of payment in all trades. Gold-dust, too, ran short and disappeared from circulation, and cut pieces of plate-gold were still in use. This amount, however, was very small from the standpoint of everyday transactions and in no way compares with the large amount of copper coin circulated. There is a story told about Chosokabe, a great feudal lord, which throws a strong light on the rarity of gold coins and the high value he set upon them. This baron visited Hideyoshi in Osaka, who presented him with 100 pieces of gold. When he returned to his native place he summoned all his chief retainers in order that they might for the first time in their lives see gold coins. Wherever Hideyoshi himself travelled he displayed his greatness by showing his newly coined gold and silver, and used them largely to stimulate the ambition of his soldiers.

Koshu Gold.—We have dealt with the circulation of gold coin where Nobunaga himself held power, but, as a result of the age of wars, there was no one centre of power and the regulations of each province differed from one another, as well as their monetary system. In the age of Nobunaga in many provinces varieties of Koban were minted, for wherever a lord was supreme, he coined money for the use of his province, so there were many kinds of gold and silver coins. Of these provincial gold coins, Koshu-kin, which circulated only in Kai Province, is the most famous. The amount of gold obtained from the mines in Kai Province is not accurately known, but it is estimated at something like 3,500 ryo a year. In 1582, when Tokugawa Iyeyasu entered the province, he collected the Koshu-kin, and ordered Matsuki to mint 300,000 ryo. Shingen, the lord of Kai, had always paid great attention to the accumulation of war funds, and was a clever administrator and financier. Besides land-taxes he collected woods-tax, service-tax, house-tax, market-duty, barrier-duty, cloth-tax, key-service, window-service, tree-service, and a tax on Buddhist laymen acting as priests—all of which were paid half in money and half in rice. Many offences, too, were punishable by a money fine. We see here a point of likeness with the doctrine of mercantilism in Europe at the beginning of the Modern Age. It was no accident that Iyeyasu studied what was left of the regulations of Shingen.

Silver Coins.—There is no record that Nobunaga dealt with silver coins as he did with gold. Silver-plates called Kirizukai (cut and use) circulated, but there was no fixed weight, because all payments in silver were made by weight. When silver was used for rewards and presents, it was necessary to have a nearly fixed weight, so by the end of the Ashikaga Age there was a kind of silver coin in use. The weight of it was 43 momme, but only approximately, and it corresponded to 1 ryo of gold. Ten pieces of silver against one gold Oban was an exchange that lasted until the early age of Tokugawa, so we can assume that although silver was not legal tender, it was a recognized form.

CHAPTER XXIX

UNIFICATION BY HIDEYOSHI

Hideyoshi's Boyhood and Youth.—Toyotomi Hideyoshi was born at Nakamura, Aichi-gori, Owari Province, in 1535. His father, Kinoshita Taemon, a musketeer of low rank in the service of Lord Nobuhide, the father of famous Nobunaga, was wounded in battle and retired to till the soil in his native place, dying eight years after Hideyoshi was born. When a boy, Hideyoshi was called Tokichiro, but because his features so much resembled those of a monkey, folks nicknamed him Saru (monkey). This boy Saru, in his 16th year, took some ten or twenty copper coins called Eiraku-sen, which his father had left for his family, and went to Kiyosu, a large city in the province. There he bought sewing materials, which he peddled as he walked in order to buy food and straw sandals, and continued his journey until he came to Hamamatsu in Totomi Province. Matsushita Kahei, the lord of Kuno Castle, saw Saru wandering about in dirty white cotton clothes and, learning by inquiry that he had come from Owari Province to find a position, took him home with him and gave him a job, but later, finding that the lad did not get on well with his comrades, Matsushita pitied him, gave him some money for travelling expenses, and discharged him. Saru then went to Kiyosu, and through the recommendation of Ganmaku and Ichiwaka, who were both old neighbours at his native place and overseers at that time under Lord Nobunaga, served Nobunaga as a sandal-bearer. In a short time Saru was promoted overseer, and after that, winning more and more the confidence of Nobunaga and distinguishing himself very often in battle, his rise was so startling that finally he became a daimyo (provincial lord), with the name of Hashiba Hideyoshi, and, more than that, was looked upon as " Nobunaga's Right Hand."

Characteristics of Hideyoshi.—For 700 or 800 years after the time of the regency of Fujiwara family upstarts arose one after the other, and until the political power was secured by Oda Nobunaga, the smaller lords continuously usurped the political power of their overlords or Shoguns, but such men as Yoritomo, Kiyomori, Yoshitoki, or Takauji were all men of noble descent, or the heads of powerful clans whose family tree could be traced back to the ancient nobles, and who had had numerous loyal followers for several hundred years. Hideyoshi is the only example in the history of Japan of a man who raised himself from obscurity and finally ruled the whole country at his own will. He was brought up till his 16th year under his mother and stepfather, and as he served, first, Matsushita Kahei for three years, and then Nobunaga, it was natural that he had little or no education; and if he owed his rise in life to anything more than his own talents, it was his early, forlorn life of hardship. The turning-point in his life was when he was taken into Nobunaga's Board of Council, which was the most likely place to cultivate his genius. There he learned how a great man chooses his servants, defeats the enemy, extends and enriches his territories; and, mixing among the elder generals, he observed their strong and weak points. By the time he was appointed the commander-in-chief to subdue the Chugoku Provinces, he himself was a great general, in whom such virtues as valour, strategic courage, wisdom, sincerity, broad-mindedness, and open-heartedness were all combined. Men felt in consequence that, after the death of Nobunaga, he would be the master of the country, and the brave men of the time were willing to do him homage. When he conquered Mitsuhide, and then Katsuiye, the gallant soldiers who served Nobunaga rejoiced in the idea that they had found in him a true master for the first time, and all joined his banner. Hideyoshi saw that the time was ripe for him to unify the whole country, but the sons and grandsons of his old master, Nobunaga, were an obstacle in his path. Among the sons of Nobunaga, Nobutaka was the most courageous and the best strategist. He resided at Gifu as the lord of Mino Province, and there he secretly plotted with Shibata Katsuiye and Takigawa Kazumasa to destroy Hideyoshi. Hideyoshi allied himself with Nobuo, the third son of Nobunaga, who, at his request, attacked and defeated Nobutaka, who killed himself. Hideyoshi rewarded Nobuo with three large provinces—Owari, Ise, and Omi—with his castle at Kiyosu; but crediting afterwards a rumour that Hideyoshi was about to attack him, and having gained a promise of support from Tokugawa Ieyasu, Nobuo broke off with Hideyoshi, and a struggle began between Hideyoshi on the one side and Nobuo and Ieyasu on the other. Hideyoshi's sole object was to unify the country and not, like Nobunaga, to destroy his enemies; and having no feelings for or against Ieyasu, he was anxious to come to a friendly agreement with him for submission, and thus unify the whole country by peaceable means. Reflecting, however, that Ieyasu would not be likely to yield except to a show of force, he entered Owari in 1584 at the head of a large army. The result of a war between these great captains was doubtful, but the chances were in favour of Hideyoshi; and thus when Hideyoshi intimated his willingness to treat with Ieyasu for submission, the latter sent his son to Hideyoshi as hostage, and peace was settled among these two great men and Nobuo.

Hideyoshi's Large-Mindedness.—At the time the Emperor Ogimachi was already old and desirous to abdicate in favour of the Crown Prince, but the palace whither he would retire was in a state of great decay, and he intimated to Hideyoshi his desire that he should repair it. Hideyoshi at once did so, and the Emperor was highly pleased and raised him to the rank of Udaijin (the Minister of the Right), one of the highest ranks in the Imperial Court. Fortune seemed to smile upon Hideyoshi, and yet he was a trifle uneasy in his mind, because his former associates and seniors, the elder generals of Nobunaga, still survived and watched his career of aggrandizement, which left them in the cold with anything but satisfaction.

Especially was Hideyoshi anxious regarding Niwa Nagahide, a great lord ruling over two provinces and half of Kaga, who, on the plea of sickness, had never been to visit Hideyoshi. He accordingly dispatched one of his most faithful adherents, Hachisuka Hikoemon, to Nagahide, to say how he remembered with undying gratitude the help Nagahide had lent him in the past, thanks to which he had been able to extricate himself from imminent peril, and begged Nagahide to come and give him the benefit of his advice on the scheme to subdue the rebellious monks in Kii Province. The messenger was to add, further, that Hideyoshi attributed his success of to-day to Nagahide's assistance in the past, and that the fact that he was master of the country was the happy result of their combined efforts. To prevent this power falling into the hands of other men, he would be content for Nagahide and himself to rule the country by turns. Nagahide was touched by Hideyoshi's frankness, and answered him that he would immediately come to Osaka and see him. Hideyoshi in his turn, when he heard Nagahide's answer, set his visitor's mind at ease by telling him in a dispatch to bring a large army in order to garrison Osaka Castle while he himself was away to subdue the rebellious monks of the Buddhist Temples in Kii Province. Finally, when Nagahide had arrived at Kyoto and was about to proceed to Osaka, Hideyoshi, taking only some 20 men under him, went down to Makikata to welcome him there, and the old friendship between the two was thus completely restored. Again, when Hideyoshi made peace with Ieyasu and returned to Osaka, Mori Terumoto, the great lord of the middle provinces, sent his three generals—Kikkawa Motoharu, Kobayakawa Takakage, and Shishido Bizen-no-kami—to congratulate him upon his success in the peace. In greeting the generals, Hideyoshi said: "There are certain rumours concerning you three, but my object is peaceably to unify the whole country as soon as possible, and as I see no necessity to detain you, I hope you will return home immediately and tell Terumoto to come to Osaka next year." When the three generals safely returned home, the people of the Chugoku Provinces were at ease for the first time. Such was Hideyoshi's way of conveying his own sincerity to other men's hearts, and there was nothing ostentatious or forced in his actions which emanated from his open-heartedness and self-confidence and never failed to inspire men who came into touch with him.

One-Half of the Country under Hideyoshi's Rule.—Soon after, Hideyoshi began to besiege the Negoro Temple in Kii Province. Relying on their armed power, the monks of the Negoro Temple were wanton and violent and had long oppressed the people of the province. Finally, taking advantage of the fact that Hideyoshi was busily occupied with his works in Central Japan, they formed an alliance with the Saiga clans and pushed their lawless violence so far as to siege the three forts, Sengokubori—about one mile off Kishiwada, Izumo Province—Sekizenji, and Hamanoshiro, and garrisoned themselves there. Hideyoshi's army of 100,000 at once captured these three forts, and, in a long pursuit, pressed on to Negoro, burning down all the temples and pagodas there. A message was sent to the Koya Temple to tell the monks that if they did not surrender they would suffer the same fate as Negoro, and the scared monks submitted to the mandates of Hideyoshi, who abolished the Kumano barrier and other private barriers the monks had set up for their defence, and restored the ways of transportation and communication. It was May 21st when the monks at Negoro and Koyo were subdued, and no sooner had Hideyoshi triumphantly returned to Osaka than he dispatched his younger brother Hidenaga and his nephew Hidetsugu to the Shikoku Provinces (four provinces) to attack Chosokabe Motochika, the great local lord of the Shikoku, from the three entrances to Iyo, Sanuki, and Awa. Senjoku Hidehisa was instructed to reinforce Hidenaga and Hidetsugu. By July Motochika was exhausted, gave a hostage and surrendered, and Hideyoshi took from him the three provinces of Iyo, Sanuki, and Awa, which territories he distributed among his generals who had distinguished themselves in this expedition.

Hideyoshi's Regency as the Kampaku.—Now that Hideyoshi had subdued the Kinki (provinces around Kyoto) and Shikoku Provinces, he was anxious to follow the precedents of the Minamoto and Ashikaga families and become the Shogun, but Imadegawa Harusui, one of the High Court nobles and a good friend of Hideyoshi's, told him that according to fixed precedent only a scion of the Minamoto family could be invested with the office of the Shogun, and as he did not belong to the Minamoto family, but to the Fujiwara family, it would be proper for him rather to assume the office of Kampaku. Hideyoshi inquired of Harusui what Kampaku was, and was told that it was the highest rank a subject could attain, and its glory was far above that of the Shogun. Hideyoshi was enchanted, and made up his mind to do as Harusui told him. Nijo Akizane then held the office of Kampaku, and when Harusui and Konoe Sakihisa, one of the five highest Court nobles by hereditary right, hinted that Nijo resign his office and give it up to Hideyoshi, he was willing to do so, but he was powerless, and also had not the courage to resist the opposition both from inside and outside. Hideyoshi, however, was about to gain his wish when Kujo Tanemichi, who was one of the five highest Court nobles, the same as Konoe Sakihisa, courageously protested against Hideyoshi being recommended for Kampaku on the ground that though the five regency families ranked equally, yet in his family was vested the headship of all the Fujiwara families, and even the Konoe family had no right to recommend a new man to the office of Kampaku without the agreement of the Kujo family. Hideyoshi, taking with him Maeda Gen-i, who was well versed in literature and history, invited Princes Konoe and Kujo to the Daitokuji Temple to hear their discussions in regard to the history of the Fujiwara family. The two nobles brought each their precious heirlooms, and set about discussing the distinction between the main and branch families, neither one nor the other yielding, and Hideyoshi was for a long time attentive to their discussions. At last he got bored and told them that their discussions did not touch the point after all, and that he would rather have a new family name and become its founder than be a branch of such a confused house as the Fujiwara family. He was backed in his opinion by Lord Kikutei, who was present, and being given by the Emperor the new family name of Toyotomi, he took the office of Kampaku. However, the Princes Nijo and Kujo remained unfriendly with Hideyoshi, and when Tokugawa Ieyasu later gained ascendancy, these two Court nobles secretly allied themselves with Ieyasu, and managed things in the Court in favour of the Tokugawa family.

HIDEYOSHI'S GOVERNMENT COMPLETED.—Now Hideyoshi asked Imperial permission to give office and rank to his generals and their staffs, and establishing in Kyoto the supreme Council appointed five Bugyo (Councillors) to administer the civil affairs. Maeda Gen-i (called Tokuzen-in), one of the five Bugyo, was called Soko. As a boy he entered the great Buddhist Temple on Mount Hiei and afterwards became a priest, so that he had a good literary foundation; and Hideyoshi picked him out and raised him to the position of Bugyo, because he was the only one among his uncultivated and grizzled warriors who was versed in classical precedents and examples. Nagatsuka Masaie, an Owari man formerly called Rihei, was very clever from his boyhood, with a mathematical bent, and while in the service of Niwa Nagahide, he was entrusted with the affairs of accounting and taxation and made the general financial condition very flourishing. Hideyoshi, hearing of his talent, summoned him to his service, giving him a fief of 10,000 koku of rice (1 koku corresponding to about 5 bushels), and being confirmed in his opinion of his talent for taxation and accounting, he now appointed him the Bugyo in charge of the affairs of public finance, giving him a fief of 50,000 koku, and future reforms in taxation, weights and measures, surveying, and coining of gold were all conceived and executed by him. Besides these two men, Ishida Mitsunari, on account of his sagacity and talent, was appointed general secretary, and Asano Nagamasa, because of his marriage with the younger sister of Hideyoshi's wife, represented the Toyotomi family among the five Bugyo. Finally, Masuda Nagamori, by virtue of his profound knowledge of finance and taxation, and also of his upright character, was appointed a Bugyo. When the form of the government was thus completed, in order to give Ieyasu confidence Hideyoshi sent him a message in 1586, telling him that he would give him his younger sister to be his wife, and then when Tokugawa accepted the proposal, Hideyoshi took back his half-sister from her husband, Saji Hyuga, and married her to Ieyasu, as the result of which Saji Hyuga killed himself in extreme anger and sorrow. It was in April 1586 that the marriage took place between Ieyasu and Hideyoshi's sister, but Ieyasu's mind was not yet easy enough to allow him to come to the capital to visit Hideyoshi, so, in September, Hideyoshi sent his mother to Ieyasu in the nature of a hostage. In possession of so valuable a pledge, Ieyasu felt emboldened to make up his mind to come to the capital and pay a call on Hideyoshi; and when all the feudal lords were called by Hideyoshi to the Shuraku Mansion, Ieyasu's manner toward Hideyoshi was most humble and reverential.

SUBJUGATION OF THE KYUSHU PROVINCES.—Now that Ieyasu, who had been his most formidable opponent, had fallen under his spell, Hideyoshi felt free from all cares and determined to subdue Kyushu. It was in October that Ieyasu came to the capital to visit Hideyoshi, and in December the latter announced his intention of chastising Shimazu Yoshihisa, the great feudal lord of Kyushu, which shows how immediate was the effect of the conclusion of peace in a real sense between Hideyoshi and Ieyasu. The fact that Hideyoshi made announcement of the expedition in December, but started, in fact, in May of the following year, proves what large and elaborate preparations he made for it. And now for a description of the expedition. It was of such a gigantic nature that he gave orders to the five Kinai Provinces, the five Hokuroku-do Provinces, the provinces of Omi, Mino, Owari, Ise, and Iga, the six provinces of the Nankai-do, and the sixteen middle provinces—that is to say the thirty-seven provinces west of Owari—to bring an army each in proportion to their strength and wealth, the total to be 300,000 men. The field of operations was far distant, and Hideyoshi determined to bear the expense himself for the necessary provisions and fodder after the forces entered Kyushu. He accordingly instructed Konishi Takasuke, Tatebe Toshinori, Yoshida Seiemonno-jo, and Miyake Nagatsugu to accumulate at Hyogo and Amagasaki provisions and fodder to feed 300,000 men and 20,000 horses for one year, committing all affairs relating to money and cereals to Ishida Mitsunari, Otani Yoshitaka, and Nagatsuka Masaei. Against such a large and highly disciplined army, and, moreover, so completely prepared and equipped, Shimazu Yoshihisa, who had been swollen with pride in his own bravery, had no chance of success, and when the invading armies entered Kagoshima in the month of May, Yoshihisa, already driven to his last resources, shaved his head, assumed the priestly robe, and surrendered. Hideyoshi pardoned him, and, giving him back his original territories, stripped him of the provinces he had raided; but, though thus generous, he thought it better not to trust too implicitly to this cunning western rustic, so he ordered Yoshihisa to send to him his three younger brothers and four chief retainers as hostages, and took them back with him to Osaka in July.

SASA NARIMASA IN TROUBLE WITH INSURRECTIONS.—When Hideyoshi subdued Kyushu and distributed the territories among his generals, he gave Higo Province to Sasa Narimasa, who had been one of Nobunaga's bravest generals and lord of Etchu Province a little before Nobunaga's death. After Hideyoshi took Nobunaga's place and became so powerful as to rule the whole country, Narimasa was discontented and plotted several times against him, but was defeated in the battles that ensued, whereupon he shaved is head and surrendered. At the time Hideyoshi deprived him of his territories, leaving him only the Niikawa-gori (county). However, recollecting Narimasa's bravery, and thinking it might be a useful quality in ruling the cunning and unyielding Higo people, Hideyoshi appointed him the lord of Higo Province. At the same time all the arms and weapons he had confiscated when Narimasa surrendered Etchu Province, and which had been put in charge of Lord Maeda of Kaga Province, were returned, in addition to which 20,000 koku of rice, 1,000 large silver coins, and 50 horses with trappings were given. He ordered him to start from Osaka, where he gave him his instructions in the five items which follow:—

1. To give as before to the fifty-two local magnates the land they held hereditarily or had been in possession of for many years.
2. To be careful not to overtax the agricultural people
3. To be cautious not to provoke insurrection.

4. To discontinue land surveying for three or four years.
5. He would be exempted from the exaction of services for the public works to be commenced in Osaka.

It was the custom at that time that when a newly appointed feudal lord arrived in his country, he at once ordered the farmers and landowners to tender the Sashidashi containing a list of the farms, fields, and so on in a man's possession, and signifying that he agreed to pay the taxes on them, so it was an inventory and at the same time a sort of written consent to pay the taxes. Narimasa very soon ordered the people to tender the Sashidashi, and was obeyed by all except the people under the sway of the Kawabe family of the Kikuchi-gori (county), who alone declined. And more than that, a little later Narimasa entertained the local magnates of the province with a dance, and all accepted the invitation and came to enjoy the feast but Kawabe. Narimasa was exasperated, and immediately besieged Kawabe's Castle at the head of 3,000 men. This proved the spark which kindled insurrections here and there, and Narimasa killed over 3,000 men in all before he had suppressed them. There was yet another massacre committed by Narimasa, of which the cause was as follows. There was an open agreement between the feudal lord and his farmers that when the farmers paid their tax in rice to the lord they had to transport it at their own expense to a certain fixed place, and beyond that place the feudal lord would bear the charge of transportation. The agreement was called Tsudashi, but Narimasa suddenly changed the old regime, and extended the distance of the Tsudashi from 3 ri (ri is about 2½ miles) to 5 ri, and 5 ri to 8 ri, and then when the farmers clamorously complained of such a sudden change, he arrested them and executed them all. When Hideyoshi heard of Narimasa's misgovernment, he was bitterly angry, and calling Narimasa to Osaka, ordered him to kill himself at Amagasaki. His fate shows pretty clearly that even at the time of the military despotism of the old feudal ages the feudal lord, however powerful, could not maintain his position if he was hated by the people. After the death of Narimasa, Hideyoshi issued to all the feudal lords letters detailing Narimasa's misgovernment in order to prove that he had not punished him to serve his own private interest. Since even Hideyoshi, with all his mighty despotic power, so duly considered the weight of public opinion, we can assume that the only difference in the public opinions of the democratic ages and the feudal times is that in the former the opinion of the general public has the weight, while in the latter the opinions of the feudal lords were given importance.

Construction of Osaka Castle.—During the Ocho Age (Monarchical Age) the Kyushu Provinces were out of the influence of the

Imperial rule, and even as late as the Gempei Age (the Minamoto and Taira Age) the Shoguns or other Regents of the Emperor did not thoroughly subdue the local magnates there, but were content with patching up a temporary peace. Since the opening, therefore, of the so-called War Age, such local magnates were all independent, and did not obey the mandates of the central ruler; it was only in the age of Hideyoshi that the provinces were subjugated entirely by a military power, and as this was his own and sole work, Hideyoshi was rightly entitled to be proud of his unparalleled achievement. Full of content, he desired to display his dignity and provide methods of public amusements such as symbolize and embellish a peaceful age. Many years before, soon after Hideyoshi conquered Mitsuhide in 1583, he commenced a great earthwork at Osaka to construct Osaka Castle; but, first, a few words on the history of that city. In old time it was called Naniwa; and when the Emperor Nintoku established the capital at Takatsu, the port of Naniwa was long, the centre of civilization and much of the historical drama was played around this place, such as the struggles between the Soga and Moriya parties at the Court of the Emperor Kimmei, when Buddhism was for the first time brought in from Korea. There is a tradition that when Konanks, the messenger from the Korean Court, arrived, he came to the river-mouth of Naniwa, and it may fairly be inferred that ocean-going ships could at that time navigate the rivers Yodo and Kanzaki and their branches. After the capital was removed to Nara, in the Fujiwara Age, the name of Naniwa was long forgotten until the construction of the Hongwanji Temple, in 1490, by the Saint Rennyo restored to Osaka its ancient fame. When Hideyoshi, then under Nobunaga, had besieged the Hongwanji Temple in Osaka, he found it a place strategically very strong, and observing numberless towns and villages scattered about with the Hongwanji Temple as their centre, he was struck with its prosperity and induced to set up his headquarters there. Later, when he began to break ground for the construction of the castle, imposing the service of 1,000 men upon Miyabe Hyobu-no-shoyu, 450 men on Kinoshita Bitchu-no-kami, 270 men on Kamei Musashi-no-kami, and 200 men on Tsuneya Hitachi-no-kami, the plan was merely to repair the old form of the Hongwanji Temple, but it was afterwards extended, and three years and a huge sum of money were spent in completing the castle.

Grandeur of Osaka Castle.—According to the *Nippon Saikyoshi* (*The Christian History in Japan*), Hideyoshi's intention was to make Osaka the largest and most beautiful castle city, far surpassing Adzuchi, Nobunaga's Castle, in point of beauty, and he employed 60,000 workmen, laying stones in the daytime and digging the moat and drawing water at night.

> The stones [it continues] were all contributed by the feudal lords, who brought them from places 20 to 30 ri away, so that 200 transport ships swarmed every month in the port of Sakae alone, and the new city was so large as to extend 1 ri in the directions both of Sakae and Kyoto, with the houses closely built. Wonderful, indeed, was it that this great castle city, which is surrounded by a wall of cut stones as thick as they were high and has a river that floats large ships plying between Kyoto and Osaka, and which has in it many forts of wonderfully perfect construction, and numberless courts and mansions fancifully beautiful, the tiles of which were all so richly gilded that it was said that the sun of the earth (the castle) eclipsed the sun of the heaven, was completely constructed in the short interval of a few months.

There are, however, other descriptions of the construction of this grand castle city. According to the report of a Catholic Father, then in Japan for his mission work, it is said that, at first, 30,000 coolies and workmen were employed day and night, and when the works were advanced the number was doubled, and it took more than three years for the completion of the works. The *Kaizuka-Gosho-Nikki* (Diary at the Kaizuka Palace) says that the works were commenced in February 1586, and there were 70,000 to 100,000 coolies and workmen in Osaka, all employed by the feudal lords of the middle provinces. Collating these descriptions, and drawing a conclusion, it seems to be most probable that 60,000 men were employed for three years from start to finish of this great work, and it is reasonable to infer that these 60,000 men were not wholly workmen, but partly the daimyo's ashigaru (foot-soldiers of low rank under the feudal lords) and the rest coolies and workmen temporarily hired.

EXPENDITURE FOR THE CONSTRUCTION OF OSAKA CASTLE.—In answer to the question what was at that time the daily wage for a coolie, we can assume from the records given below that the cheapest coolie-hire was 10 mon (1 mon is about equal to a farthing) :—

1. It is written in the Diary of Lord Nobutane, in the 14th year of Eisho (1517), that 10 hiki was given to a lad hired for the segaki (mass for the dead).
2. In the Matsutake Chumoncho (Mushroom Order Book), in the 2nd year of Daiei (1523), we find an item " 20 mon for the hire of two coolies."
3. Daikoshi Sanyojo (Account-Book of the Court called Daikosho), of the 1st year of Meio (1492), mentions 10 mon for the hire of one coolie.
4. In the Bonshin Diary of the 1st year of Keicho (1596) is an item 10 hiki for a coolie-hire.

As to the ashigaru employed on the work, they or their families were always supported by their lords, and they were not specially paid for their labour. Nevertheless, when the amount of their salary is reckoned, their pay would not, of course, be smaller than that of a coolie, and so reckoning and counting the wages of one man 10 mon a day, an idea of the whole amount of the wages will be obtained. Furthermore, when so many coolies were employed, it was customary to feed them all, so the expense for these foodstuffs must be included, and to that added the cost of quarrying stones and sending them to a port, which makes it almost impossible to obtain the exact total amount of the expenses. Some years later, when Hideyoshi constructed a great image of Buddha in Kyoto, it was said that he employed daily 5,000 coolies for 2,000 days, and hearing that a huge tree suitable for the main beam was to be found on Mount Fuji, he ordered Ieyasu to get it, using the labour of 50,000 men and spending 1,000 ryo of the Oban gold. And now, considering all these facts combined, we can merely imagine how stupendous was the expenditure for the construction of Osaka Castle, and cannot put our imagination into exact figures.

Ornaments of the Inside of Osaka Castle.—We have said something of the construction of Osaka Castle and the expenditure upon it, but the ornamental work within was pushed to such extremity of beauty and sublimity that its cost is even beyond imagination. The nine-storied castle tower commanded a view over one hundred miles, and the outer walls were bound by the Yamato River on the east, the Okawa River on the north, the Yokobori River on the west, and by a moat on the south, the entire circuit of the castle being about ten miles. There were within the castle a grand hall called Senjojiki (room of 1,000 mats—one mat measured 3 feet by 6 feet), Ogon-no-ma (Golden Hall), Kusari-no-ma (Chain Hall), and Tenyaku-no-ma (Mediciner's Hall). It is recorded that when Otomo Sorin, the feudal lord of the Bungo Province, was entertained by Hideyoshi in the Golden Hall, he was struck dumb with the consummate beauty of the room, the furniture and utensils, the pillars, wall, ceiling, lintel-joists, nail blinds and frames of the sliding-doors being all plated with gold, and twenty or more utensils used in the tea ceremony being of solid gold. In the Hosatsu Year Book is preserved Sorin's own narration of his impression when he came out of the Golden Hall and ascended the castle tower. It reads as follows:—

"The castle tower rearing aloft is near the heaven and distant from the earth, and the thousand miles of unknown country which lie unrolled under the eyes form a grand and striking view. In the third story were about fifteen chests, each containing clothes of different colours; the rooms under the first story are being used for the godowns, containing different supplies and articles of service, and in the fifth and sixth stories are kept long swords. All this His Highness showed me, and also, pointing on every side, he told me the names of the provinces lying extended below us. On descending from the tower we were given a cup of tea, and then His Highness told me that he felt himself so much my friend as to be willing to show me and the lords in attendance his bedroom. Therefore he led us into the inner-court, where is his bed 8 feet long and 5 feet wide, and with poppy-coloured bedding and golden ornaments at the head of the bed. The dimensions of the bedroom are 9 ken (ken = 6 feet) square, and in it was a black-lacquered armour trunk, with his sword upon it. Adjoining this chamber there was the second bedroom of 6 ken square, with the bed almost the same as the other, and the quilts piled up as high as a hill. All the famous chatsubo (tea-caddies) are kept in these two bedrooms, and when His Highness said to me, 'I will show you my precious tea-caddies,' his expert tea-makers, Masters Soeki, Sokyu, Sokun, and Shoan, took out by his order such rare and valued tea-caddies as Shijuseki, Sahohime, Nadeshiko, and Momoshima, and showed us them all. Master Sokyu and the lords in attendance all said that never had they seen His Highness in such good humour."

Thus the great Osaka Castle, fully representing Hideyoshi's nature, which always aimed at largeness, came into existence as a symbol of the new era.

THE CITY OF OSAKA.—Osaka was formerly a city with more or less of a settlement or markets around the Hongwanji Temple, and its sudden change into such a great flourishing city is wholly due to Hideyoshi's enterprise. We hear now of the Awaza, one of the most bustling business centres, where merchants from Awa Province collected; the Tosaza along the Tosa-bori (Tosa Moat), a gathering place of the Tosa people; Kubodera Street, where Yasui Doton, the digger of the Doton Moat, invited the people from his native place, Kubodera, in Kawachi Province; Fushimi Street, the place where the rich merchants of Fushimi migrated by Hideyoshi's order; and the Sakae-dori, the place where the merchants of Sakae city were transplanted. The main part of the city then was founded by Hideyoshi's authority, in addition to which the feudal lords who contributed their share to the construction of Osaka Castle were stationed with their soldiers and coolies in Osaka, namely, Lords Hosokawa Ukita, Hachisuka, Maeda, Nabeshima, and Katagiri stationed at Tamatsuko, Lord Ishida at Bizenshima, Lords Kuroda and Oda at Temmon. Finally, the Ryuzoji Street is the site of Lord Ryuzoji's mansion; the slope Ankokuji, the site of Lord Ankokuji's mansion; and the Junkei Street, that of Lord Tsutsue Junkei.

THE SHURAKU MANSION IN KYOTO.—Hideyoshi's liking for sumptuousness and size was not yet satisfied. Simultaneously with the construction of Osaka Castle he built at Uchino in Kyoto the Shuraku Mansion, which measured a half-mile from south to north, a quarter-mile from east to west, and extended from Oiya eastward to Shijaku westward, from Kasuga southward to Ichijo northward, the whole surrounded by a high stone wall. On his arrival there from Osaka in 1587 several hundred ships with burdens of gold, silver, supplies and articles of service arrived at Yodo, whence the packages were carried by 500 large wagons and 5,000 coolies into the new mansion. In April 1588 the Emperor was pleased to come to the mansion, and Hideyoshi followed Ashikaga Yoshimitsu's precedent in hundreds of solemn ceremonies. The financial dealings with the Court are as follows. He allotted the Kyoto land-tax amounting to 5,530 ryo as income to the Imperial Court, and of 800 koku (koku = 5 bushels) of rice, the other tax, from Kyoto, he took 300 koku for the Emperor's own income and divided the remaining 500 koku among six Imperial Princes and the Kampaku as their yearly income. The land-tax of 8,000 koku of rice from Takashima county in Omi Province was to go to the general expenses of all the Imperial Princes and Court nobles; and he further ordered all the feudal lords to give an oath that they would never hereafter encroach upon the lands of the Imperial Court and Court nobles, so that not only did the manor of Tottori in the province of Inaba, which was an Imperial estate, but had neglected to pay the yearly tax of ten large silver coins for three years, now pay all the arrears at once, but also it gave an example to the others, and all paid their arrears. As the feudal lords strictly observed Hideyoshi's orders regarding the Imperial estate, the Court was raised above the poverty so long suffered. The Emperor was highly pleased with Hideyoshi, and the Court nobles were all grateful; but, in fact, the land-tax of Kyoto had originally been released by Akechi Mitsuhide, and Hideyoshi having done no more than follow Mitsuhide's example, he had no loss, and gained reputation.

HIDEYOSHI'S POPULARITY AT THE IMPERIAL COURT.—The deep respect Hideyoshi paid to the Imperial Court and Court nobles was not, of course, based on ostentatious loyalty alone, for his rich political wisdom enabled him to see the necessity and benefit of compromising with and making a good use of the old elements of political power which Nobunaga had disregarded or ignored. Following the same line of consideration as he did when he concluded the peace with the Buddhists of the Hongwanji and other temples, he found in the Imperial Court and Court nobles the greatest element of political power, and believed that the payment of respect to them was a good policy in order to stabilize the country for the time being. He knew that gold or land would satisfy men, but both were limited, and that the only thing that could be given lavishly and keep people contented was office and rank at the Court. This idea just hit the nail on the head. To many of the powerful local magnates, whose pedigree, being not so high as that of the Court nobles, kept them from office at the Imperial Court, such office and rank were as valuable and acceptable as gold or territory. It may be of interest to give some instances showing how delighted were the powerful local magnates when Hideyoshi recommended them for office and rank at the Imperial Court. The Lord Satake was a great man in the north-eastern part of Japan, who possessed so wide a territory and had amassed so much gold and cereals that a new grant of land could not give him much satisfaction, and so when Hideyoshi recommended him to be admitted into the Imperial Court in 1581, Satake's satisfaction was beyond expression, and he remained heartily grateful toward Hideyoshi. When Hideyoshi recommended Uesugi Kagekatsu the great lord of Echigo Province, and the latter was given a high office and rank and thus admitted into the Imperial Court, even such a proud and ambitious man as Kagekatsu was greatly uplifted, and was so excited that he could not sleep all night when expecting Fujiwara Harutoyo, a Court noble, to come and show him, on the second day of the New Year, how to put on his Court robe. Kagekatsu and his chief retainer, Naoe Kanetsugu, were always in the company of the Court nobles and thought it a high honour to invite them to banquets and present them with gold, silver, clothes, etc. A still more remarkable example is that of Lord Mori, of the middle provinces, who was so infatuated with the Court nobles that not only did he himself very often offer money to the Emperor, and present the Court nobles with money and valuable things, but even the ladies of the Mori family sent from time to time gold and clothes to the Court and the ladies of Court nobles in Kyoto. This generosity on the part of the Mori family was, in later ages, often taken for loyalty to the Emperor, but it was in fact nothing more than a material expression of the full satisfaction of the warrior of the middle provinces who was newly admitted into the ranks of Court nobles, and in no way different from the mental state of upstart millionaires of to-day with their new-won wealth, who glory in thus being enabled to keep company with the men of noble birth. Among the men thus elated with the glory newly opened to them, it was Tokugawa Ieyasu alone who, with an eye to the future, approached the Imperial Court with due consideration and precaution, and offered money and services to the Emperor and Court nobles through an agent, Chaya Shirojiro, his purveyor. In Lord Harutoyo's Diary, under the date April 4th, 1591, we find it noted that "Ieyasu, sending Chaya Shirojiro as his messenger, offered in secret to His Majesty two white birds and ten large gold coins: he has made such offerings every year, and this year is the twenty-second time. He arrived in Kyoto to-day at the head of over 1,000 men." This is clear proof of how Ieyasu endeavoured to gain popularity in the

Imperial Court. The increasingly lavish gifts of the daimyos to the Imperial Court and Court nobles changed the lives of the latter altogether, affording a great contrast to their solitary, dull existence during the Ashikaga Age, as pictured in the Diary of Lord Harusuke written in the later years of that period. Lord Harutoyo tells us in his Diary how the Court nobles of his day had plenty of money and were busy every day with feasts and entertainments. The Toyotomi Age was, indeed, a golden one to the Court nobles.

CONSTRUCTION OF THE GREAT IMAGE OF BUDDHA AND ITS TEMPLE.—In addition to the stupendous expenditure of money and labour for the construction of the great Osaka Castle, the Shuraku Mansion was built, both of which imposed upon the feudal lords a severe burden of expense. But in 1586 Hideyoshi planned to raise in Kyoto a great image of Buddha and a temple to house it, and ordered Maeda Gen-i to take charge of all the affairs concerning the project. Therefore, Gen-i, after calling from Nara Hoin Sotei (Hoin is a high priest rank) and his younger brother, Hogan Soin (Hogan is a priest rank next to Hoin), both makers of Buddhist images, and some master-carpenters, and hearing their opinions, requisitioned from Tosa Province, the Kyushu Provinces, the Kiso district in Shinano Province, and the Kumano district in Kii Province, and ordered the feudal lords in the five provinces around Kyoto and the middle provinces to contribute the stones for the foundation of the image, stone walls, and artificial hills. After the work was commenced, the question as to the material of the image was raised, as it was felt that, if cast in bronze, it would take too long. It was decided, in accordance with the opinion of a Chinese maker of Buddhist images summoned from Bungo Province, that a wooden image should be made and blackened with lacquer and glue, and 10,000 hyo of oyster shells (hyo = 2 bushels) were requisitioned from the provinces of Ise and Owari. The services of 62,720 men were imposed upon the feudal lords; these were divided into thirteen gangs to work in turn every month, and the great work employing daily about 5,000 men for 2,000 days was thus completed. Below is given the Hideyoshi Mandate to show details of number of men, and so forth :—

SCHEDULE FOR THE WORK OF CONSTRUCTION OF THE BUDDHA'S IMAGE AND ITS TEMPLE.

The First Gang to commence work on October 1st, 1588.
The Second Gang to commence work on November 1st, 1588.

Number of Men.	*Supplied by.*
6,000	Lord Chamberlain Hashiba of Kita-no-sho.
2,000	Lord Murakami of Suwo Province.
1,400	Lord Mizuguchi of Hoki Province.
9,400	

The Third Gang to commence work on December 1st, 1588.

Number of Men.	*Supplied by.*
2,500	Lord Chamberlain of Tango Province.
1,670	Lord Maeno of Tajima Province.
770	Lord Tokimura Sahyoe.
330	Lord Bessho Mondo.
5,270	

The Fourth Gang to commence work on January 1st, 1589.

3,000	Lord Chamberlain Hashiba of Gifu.
1,500	Lord Chamberlain Hashiba of Sone.
4,500	

The Fifth Gang to commence work on February 1st, 1589.

4,000	Lord Chamberlain of Tsu.
400	Lord Okamoto of Shimotsuke Province.
4,400	

The Sixth Gang to commence work on March 1st, 1589.

3,800	Lord Chamberlain Hashiba of Togo.
680	Lord Aoyama of Iga Province.
4,480	

The Seventh Gang to commence work on April 1st, 1589.

2,600	Lord Kimura of Hitachi Province.
220	Lord Ota Kogento.
270	Lord Yamada Kizaemon.
500	Lord Chamberlain Hashiba of Matsuto.
1,200	Lord Chamberlain Hashida of Tsuruga.
4,790	

The Eighth Gang to commence work on May 1st, 1589.

5,000	Lord Chamberlain Hashibe of Matsugashima.

The Ninth Gang to commence work on June 1st, 1589.

3,000	St. Rev. Lord Miyabe Nakatsukasa.
	Lord Kinoshita of Bitchu Province.
	Lord Kamei of Musashi Province.
	Lord Tsuneya of Harima Province.
500	Lord Nanjo of Hoki Province.
770	Lord Akashi Sakon.
4,270	

The Tenth Gang to commence work on July 1st, 1589.

The Eleventh Gang to commence work on August 1st, 1589.

Number of Men.	*Supplied by.*
10,000	Lord Major-General Hashiba of Kaga Province. Lord Chamberlain Hashiba of Etchu Province.

The Twelfth Gang to commence work on September 1st, 1589.

The Thirteenth Gang to commence work on October 1st, 1589.

10,000	Lord Chamberlain Hashiba of Bizen Province.

The lords are requested to supply men for the services allotted as above.

Seal of the Kampaku.

GRAND TEA-PARTY.—It is easy enough to understand why Hideyoshi constructed the Buddha Temple in Kyoto, and some say it was because he wished to make Kyoto temporarily prosperous, but when we consider it in conjunction with the fact that he held at Kitano a tea-party on a huge and unprecedented scale, and also distributed among all the feudal lords gold and silver money, we may very well assume that his real purpose was to induce the people to forget the bloodstained past and enjoy the present of civil enlightenment. In August 1859 Hideyoshi ordered the local authorities of Kyoto, Nara, and Sakae to set up notices high in the streets of those cities, announcing that a tea-party would be held in the pine-grove of Kitano for ten days from the 1st day of October, and that all the people, irrespective of rank and age, would be admitted. Foreigners, too, would be welcome, and all those who thought themselves too high and mighty and would not attend the party would be forbidden thereafter to indulge in the tea ceremony. The following ordinance issued by Hideyoshi with regard to this grand tea-party shows how ambitious he was to become sole arbiter of taste and elegance :—

1. The tea-party is to be held by His Highness's desire in the pine-grove of Kitano for ten days from the 1st day of October, as the weather permits, to show to the men or women of artistic taste all the famous articles in His Highness's possession.
2. Men or women who are devotees of the tea ceremony, no matter whether they are daimyos' retainers, high or low, merchants, farmers, or what not, are to bring one tea-urn, well-bucket, and cup, and in case the guest has no proper tea, he or she is allowed to bring even fired tea.
3. The rooms for the tea-party being in the pine-grove, all the tea-makers are to bring two ordinary mats to sit upon, and strangers may be allowed to bring some kind of thin straw mat.
4. It goes without saying that all Japanese are admitted, but foreigners, if they be men or women of artistic taste or devoted to the tea ceremony, are admitted too.
5. There shall be no order of precedence, etc., in coming or going.
6. It is due to His Highness's desire to show his precious articles and the tea ceremony to the people from distant countries that the party will last from the 1st day to the 10th day of October.

7. The above instructions are based on His Highness's sympathy with strangers and solitaries, so if they do not attend they will be forbidden hereafter to make tea or even burnt tea according to the ceremony, and even those who visit them shall be equally forbidden.
8. All the strangers, irrespective of their coming from a distant or a neighbouring country, will be served tea by His Highness himself.

At this grand tea-party, first, Hideyoshi showed all his precious articles for use in the tea ceremony, and then, in order, Masters Senno-Rikyu, Sokyu of Sakae, and Naya Sokyu of Sakae all did the same. Then tea was served and the company entertained with dances and plays here and there. This tea-party was highly successful in instilling into the minds of the feudal lords, familiar only with the sanguinary art of battle, the idea that there were such precious and valuable articles as could be set against land or castles, and in arousing in them the desire for classical enlightenment. At this time Hideyoshi's total annual income was 2,000,000 koku of rice, and, besides bar gold and silver presented by the feudal lords, was piled up high in his treasuries. Out of this he coined large and small Koban (gold coin) of gold, and summoning the feudal lords to the spacious garden of the Shuraku Mansion, he ordered his Minbuhoin (Lord Priest in attendance and in charge of civil affairs) to announce the list of presents, and distributed the gold and silver among the feudal lords in order of rank: first, Tokugawa Ieyasu; second, Maeda Toshiie; third, Ukita Hideie; fourth, Mori Terumoto; fifth, Uesugi Kagekatsu; and ten other feudal lords. The number of the gold and silver coins so distributed was 5,000 Oban (large gold coin) and 30,000 Ginsu (silver coin). At the same time nails were needed for the construction of the Great Image of Buddha in Kyoto, so Hideyoshi ordered the priests in the Koyasan temples and other large temples to deliver up all the swords they possessed, and bid the feudal lords confiscate the swords in the houses of farmers, artisans, and merchants in order to make nails of them. It is true that nails were necessary for the construction, yet the real cause for the confiscation was on the ground that all the weapons in the hands of farmers, artisans, and merchants were dangerous, and was to check insurrection at its source. Consequently, people called this policy Hideyoshi's sword-hunting. Below is the ordinance relating to it:—

1. Farmers are forbidden hereafter to own swords, bows, guns, or any other arms for the reason that storing up such unnecessary arms causes neglect in the payment of taxes and dues, and naturally gives rise to disturbances against their lords and administrators; when such disturbances or insurrections are to be punished the agricultural fields will be left uncultivated and barren. All the provincial lords and His Highness's local agents are, therefore, ordered to confiscate all such arms, and deliver them up to the central authority.

2. Such confiscated arms will not be used except as material to make the nails and hinges for use in the construction of the Great Image of Buddha in Kyoto now proceeding, so that farmers, artisans, and merchants will be saved not only in this world but also in the Future World.
3. As for farmers, the source of wealth and happiness for their families and posterity lies in their devotion to their farming for which they need only farming tools, and therefore this ordinance of His Highness is really the foundation of peace in the country and happiness to the whole people of which another example is not to be found in this country, but only in Ancient China in the age of the Emperor Iyo, when the whole country enjoyed peace and all the swords were melted down for agricultural tools. So the farmers must understand this intention of His Highness, who deeply sympathizes with their situation, and devote themselves solely to their farming.

The lords are requested to confiscate the arms mentioned above and deliver them up to the central authority.

(Signed) THE KAMPAKU.

The 8th of July, 1588.

The feudal lords were all by this time tired of wars and public services and longed for peace and ease, and as Hideyoshi commenced at this juncture his great works for the embellishment of a peaceful age, encouraged the ways of taste and elegance, showed the means of pleasure and enjoyment, and thus stirring men's minds, endeavoured to dispel the atmosphere of war and battle, the phenomenon of a peaceful age displayed itself at once everywhere in the country.

GREATNESS OF HIDEYOSHI ATTRIBUTED TO THE GREATNESS OF THE AGE.—A natural question in connection with the study of Hideyoshi's administration is what was the living condition of the people at that time. For 120 years after the era of Onin till the time of Hideyoshi's sovereignty, the country was in a state of general war, and the east fought with the west, the south against the north, provinces and even smaller units attacking one another. Truly the Dark Ages. What, then, was the reason of the sudden dawn of such a golden age as the Momoyama Age—brilliant, sublime, and beautiful? The answer is very simple. It was simply nothing but the result of the development of national resources in general. We have seen from the preceding chapters that the laws and regulations of the Central Government had been utterly ignored since the middle of the Ashikaga Age, and though in all appearance the whole country nearly collapsed, it was in fact nothing more than the rotting of the Ashikaga cord of control; and while the Ashikaga Shoguns lost thus their administrative authority, a division of power took place throughout the whole country, and Japan was divided into hundreds of small states, all the feudal lords taking the form of independent monarchs. The relation between these independent monarchs was not generally friendly, and they were mostly in a state of war, so they had nothing to depend upon but their own actual strength, even if they were to maintain their independence, much less extend their territory and increase their power. This actual strength was, of course, a strong military force, which, in turn, necessitates abundant stores of gold and supplies, and all the feudal lords were eager to protect farmers and merchants, so that the former could devote themselves to their farming, and the latter to building up towns. They endeavoured, too, to open mines and to entice merchants to their ports from other states. This protective policy of the feudal lords bore good fruit, and robbers and disturbers of the peace were put down, life and property secured on the land, and pirates exiled. Water transportation and communications by sea were safe; and any lord who was successful in this protective policy became a great feudal lord, predominating over all the countries around. Although, then, it may be said that Japan, viewed as a whole, had been in a state of constant war ever since the civil war of the Onin era, yet robbers were put down, farmers diligent at their work in the provinces of the feudal lords, and everything was in far better order than in the old times of the Monarchical or the Minamoto and Taira Ages, when the land system was so chaotic that there were manors of many descriptions, and the authorities were so confused and mixed up that there might be a guardian lord appointed by the Imperial Court, or a local lord, and officials appointed by the Imperial Court or by the local lords, so that there was no central authority in the province. For this reason Japan, under the cover of unceasing internal wars for 120 years after the civil war of the Onin era, saw her national wealth and strength filled up by degrees. If we compare the yearly incomes of the Ashikaga Shogun and of Toyotomi Hideyoshi, we find that the former, including the Imperial Household expense, was 309,487 koku of rice, while the latter was over 2,000,000 koku from his private properties only, without mentioning all the gold and silver mines in the whole country which were under Hideyoshi's direct control. Neither must we forget the usage, fixed as law, that he received from the feudal lords presents of gold and silver on the 1st days of January and August. Such power and wealth as Hideyoshi's were unparalleled in the history of Japan before. Men admiring the greatness in every line of administration and enterprise in the Momoyama Age attribute it to the action of one great mind, Hideyoshi. Yet they must reflect that such greatness had at its back the largely increased national wealth accumulated during the long interval of 120 years. It is true that however great the age may be, if the ruler's mind is small all the schemes and enterprises are small too; but it is also true that even the greatest of men cannot envisage a work too great for a declining age. Hideyoshi, with all his enormous force of frank heart and large intellect, was fortunate enough to be born in a great age, when the sea-faring people of Japan were as brave as the adventurers of the Elizabethan Age, and so he was free and unshackled to accomplish whatever he might dare. At the same time, it is interesting to observe that such an age of national wealth and strength owes its origin to the feudal system in the true sense, which took deep root when the Central Government of the Ashikaga Shogun collapsed, and giving a good opportunity of independence to the local magnates, created the great feudal lords.

War giving Unique Chance to Production.—An interval of over 120 years after the era of Onin is generally called the age of civil war, but it is an error to think that there were unceasing battles and that production necessarily declined ; on the contrary, war was a stimulus to production. There were at that time in Japan about thirty to forty independent states, not politically, but geographically, just as there are now in Europe independent countries facing one another ; and though, because of the clashes between them, the period has been called the age of civil war, in order to provide the wherewithal for campaigning, in the intervals it was essential that the state organization should be improved and strengthened, arms be made, life and property be secured, so that people could devote themselves safely to agriculture, industry, and commerce. In this sense it may be said that war paved the way for production. Similarly, when the European War broke out in 1914 the commerce and industries developed in times of peace were wholly checked or destroyed, but the new industries, the so-called War Industries, flourished in their place with the works manufacturing the machines necessary for moving armies and transporting provisions, guns, shells, clothes, implements, and tools necessary for soldiers in the field. And more, because of the blockade both by land and sea, even the countries industrially great for generations felt the necessity of resuming the long-neglected cultivation of the land to provide requisite foodstuffs, and agriculture was suddenly changed into one of the war industries. It is then easy to understand how the war was in a sense production itself during the age of civil war after the Onin era just as it was in Europe in 1914.

Movement from Farm-Villages to Towns.—The words "feudal lord" connotes in the minds of most people a man in armour with a long sword, but in fact he was just a large land-owner. Ever since mankind advanced to the stage of economic life, human effort has been concentrated upon the methods of acquiring wealth ; and as flocks and herds represented the greater part of wealth in the Nomadic Age, men used their power to acquire, protect, and increase these flocks and herds, for which reason they wandered about after water and grass. Long after, when they had advanced to the agricultural stage, they found in land the treasury of wealth, and began to struggle to acquire it. At first they could occupy hills and fields at pleasure, but complications ensued, and there sprang up a new class of men who schemed to plunder from other men land already well cultivated, and they became the great land-owners, whom people called the feudal lords, while their arms, strategic plans, followers, castles, and forts were only the instruments used to defend their extended possessions of land. But, because the land must be cultivated in order to yield wealth, it was the duty and interest of the feudal lords to encourage agriculture and protect the farmers. One difficulty the feudal lords met with was how to keep the farmers in their province, for the farmers, realizing by this time the benefit of moving to towns and engaging in commercial or industrial pursuits, were inclined to leave their native farm-villages, which tendency was chiefly due to the visits of the merchant ships from Portugal and China to the towns along the whole coast of the Kyushu Provinces, arousing among the farmers a feeling that commerce and industry were more important than simple agriculture. A second reason may be found in the gay and prosperous life at such towns as Sakae, Amagasaki, Hyogo, Kitsu, and Osaka, all on the sea-coast or river mouths, which dazzled the eyes of the surrounding farmers, who found very agreeable the life of the town people gathered there, with the castles of the feudal lords as the centre. Of course, the more the farmers left their native places, the more the land fell out of cultivation, so the lords protected the farmers from maltreatment by villains and extended other encouragements in order to check the peasants from leaving their farm-villages.

Among the feudal lords at the time Ishida Mitsunari was the most careful of his civil administration, and prided himself on strict justice always for farmers. Adopting a wide open-door policy, he announced : " If ever farmers are maltreated, let them come to me direct and complain of it " ; but, on the other hand, he issued this edict : " After the Odawara battles, farmers seem to be desirous to leave their native place and become apprentices to merchants or artisans. If there be such a case heard of, tell me through my Daikwan (deputy), for such movements of farmers are forbidden by His Highness's ordinance, and I shall have the men returned to their native places." In short, he forbade the farmers in his province to leave their farmwork and enjoy the more agreeable life of townspeople. But however strict were the regulations set up to stop the migrating movement of farmers, it was not possible to stem the current entirely, and there were many who fled from the farming-villages and migrated to the towns, proving that it was a transition age from the simple farming community to the new community in which agriculture, commerce, and industry are well balanced.

Desire for Gold and Silver Coins.—The sole object, then, of all the wars and battles was to gain possession of the most powerful instrument to make wealth, namely, land ; but after the middle of the Ashikaga Age the feudal lords found that wealth is crystallized in the form of gold and silver coins that are far more convenient and handy than piles of rices and other commodities, and with which rice and other cereals can be abundantly purchased, besides being useful as prize-money to encourage soldiers. The efforts, therefore, of the feudal lords were doubled, not only to acquire the land, but also obtain gold and silver. As to the means to acquire gold and silver there were many, the first was to mine gold, silver, and copper, which was done by Takeda Shingen in the province of Kai, by Uesugi Kenshin in Sado Province, Lords Ouchi and Mori in Iwami Province, and Oda Nobunaga in the provinces of Suruga and Idzu. All the great feudal lords endeavoured to open up mines in their provinces, some controlling them directly, and others renting them on shares to the people in their province. The second method was to give full protection to the commerce and industry of their provinces and make them flourish so as to acquire gold and silver from the neighbouring provinces. A third method was for the lord himself to control a certain industry and acquire gold and silver from adjacent countries. For instance, the feudal lords of the provinces rich in large forests such as Kii and Mino Provinces directly controlled the forests and made a large profit by exporting timber. Lord Shimazu of Satsuma Province always made a large profit in the trade, first with China through the Loochoo Islands, and then with Portugal and Spain ; and even after the Tokugawa Shogunate forbade foreign trade except at the port of Nagasaki, the Shimazu family continued in secret their foreign trade and kept in their hands a source of profit. As for Oda Nobunaga, he selected out of the porcelain manufacturers of Seto, Owari Province, the six best men, and, giving them the name " Six Great Masters," brought them under the direct control of his household : the porcelain wares they made sold at a high price, and he raked in a large quantity of the precious metals from other provinces. Lord Ouchi of Suwo Province, seeing the Chinese attracted by the smooth and tough nature of our paper, and desirous to obtain it, instructed all his people in the provinces of Iwami, Nagato, and Suwo to cultivate the kozu plant, and manufacturing paper of it, and exporting it to China, he added yearly to his resources a large sum of so-called Eiraku copper coins. The fourth way to acquire gold and silver was to attack the neighbouring countries and plunder them of their precious metals.

Rewards made in Gold and Silver.—The feudal lords then, as the great land-owners, were not only good patrons of agriculture, but they were equally so of commerce and industry. When, however, they changed from mere large land-owners to gold and silver hunters, it became a new custom to reward with gifts of gold and silver men who distinguished themselves on the battle-field. It was Nobunaga's way, after a battle was over, slowly and thoroughly to recompense his soldiers, but Hideyoshi began to give gold and silver to his soldiers on the battle-field, and attached to it more definitely the nature of a prize. When Hideyoshi went down to Kyushu to subdue the Shimazu family and invaded Bungo Province, he found Ganjaku, the castle of Akitsuki Nagato-no-kami, a hard nut to crack, for it was desperately defended. Hideyoshi watched the progress of the battle from the summit of a hill, where, surrounded by boxes full of coins, he awaited reports. When some of the leading assailants of the castle returned with a number of enemy heads, he gave gold and silver coins to twenty or thirty men, and then stirring up and handling the gold coins in the boxes and looking around, he said that in the boxes none of the coins was untouched by his hand, and ordered his pages to distribute them among those who deserved them, which all goes to prove that doughty deeds on the field of battle took the nature of a prize competition. In this age, when a general was besieging an enemy's castle, it was a common practice to stir up the courage of the captains by promising to give them land yielding several thousand koku (a koku is about 5 bushels) of rice when the castle and forts fell, as if it was purely an undertaking carried out by contract; but a little later, when gold and silver coins were beginning to circulate, the general not only promised the captains land, but also gave gold and silver on the spot to the soldiers fighting under the captains in order to spur them on. When Hideyoshi was campaigning against Mori Terumoto in the middle provinces in 1582, but started in a great hurry back to Kyoto at the news of Nobunaga's death, he took out 750 kwan (kwan = 8·28 lb.) of silver and 800 large gold coins that were hoarded in the castle tower of Himeji, and distributed them among his soldiers. He also took back to Kyoto 10 kwan of silver and 460 large gold coins, the remainder of the gold and silver, which he brought to the middle provinces, so that he might give them to the soldiers who distinguished themselves in the battles with Akechi Mitsuhide. At first both gold and silver were taken to the battle-field, but soon the price of silver was depressed and men did not value it so highly as gold. In spite of the fact that Hideyoshi took both metals on to the battle-fields in his Kyushu campaign of 1587, he took gold only to the siege of Ganjaku Castle, the reason being that because the fall of the castle would resound all over Kyushu, dishearten the enemy, and elate the spirit of his own army, he deemed it best to spur on his men with a prize of gold and take the castle at a single stroke. Thirteen years after, when the campaign of Sekigahara was going on in 1600, Kuroda Josui, then at Nakatsu in Buzen Province, intending to capture the castles and forts around his provinces, set up a notice high at the corners of streets in the towns and villages inviting the ronin (masterless samurai) into his service, offering prizes of gold and silver, and he successfully enlisted numberless ronin under his banner, of which incident Kawakado's *Life of Hideyoshi* gives the following anecdotes :—

> When the retainers told their lord that the ronins were all assembled, the lord, Kuroda Josui, instructed them to deliver the silver and gold coins to all, and he himself coming down to see how the business was carried on, and observing that his Bugyo (commissioners) were very carefully weighing the coins with two steel yards, told them that at that rate and with such care in weighing the distribution would take much too long. He bid them open the gate under the castle tower and take the ronins into the courtyard of white sand, which should be matted so that they could sit down. Then, using twenty to fifty steel yards, they were to weigh all the gold and silver brought there, and not to give themselves concern over a little overweight. In addition, Kuroda instructed his officers to wink at those, if any, who slipped into their pockets a few stolen pieces of gold. "It is all very well," said he, "when dealing with merchants, to be scrupulous about weighing, but here the best policy is liberality, which will make me famous and attract many ronins."

The above shows how the gathering and dispersion of an army became dependent upon the rewards of gold and silver, and though it seems to be a miracle in history that the relation between a lord and his men was restored under Hideyoshi to its old sacred form after it had been defunct for a long interval of 120 years since the era of Onin, yet, when we observe the new phenomenon that even in battle-fields such economic relations as above reigned, it is not very difficult to solve the question how such a miracle was performed.

COMMERCE AMONG ARMIES.—When Hideyoshi moved a large army to subdue the Kyushu Provinces, he appointed his younger brother Hidenaga the commander-in-chief while his army was fighting with the Shimazu forces in Hyuga Province. For four days they were without provisions, so Hideyoshi's men were obliged to maintain themselves on plants, roots, and wild vegetables in the mountains. When Hidenaga's provision of 10,000 koku of rice arrived at a port in Hyuga Province, all the feudal lords fighting under Hideyoshi expected that the rice would be distributed among them free, but, contrary to their expectation, Hidenaga demanded a high price for it, showing how a tradesman's spirit was infecting the minds of feudal lords at the time. Again, before the campaign of Sekigahara took place the feudal lords of keen foresight expected it to come, and among them was

Lord Nabeshima of Hizen Province. When Tokugawa Ieyasu went to the east to chastise Uesugi Kagekatsu in June 1600, many feudal lords came to his assistance; but Nabeshima was doubtful whether to put his money on Ieyasu or the Osaka party, and deliberately thinking out a way to enable him to extricate himself out of danger whichever party won, and feigning to be a friend to both, sent his men secretly to the eastern provinces and bought a considerable amount of rice with silver coins amounting to 500 kwan at the towns and villages along the main road. This he entrusted to the head-men of the said towns and villages to keep until he wanted it, and when the Osaka party, taking advantage of Ieyasu's absence, arose against him, Nabeshima sent the following message secretly to Ieyasu:—

> In order to fight under your Grace's banner in the eastern provinces, I stored up a large amount of rice along the main road, but as the Osaka party so suddenly arose against your Grace, all the roads are blocked, preventing me from coming up, so all I can do for your Grace is to offer to you the rice I have stored up along the main road, which I put at your Grace's disposal.

In this way Nabeshima retained the confidence of both the sides and could keep his province safely. We can learn from this incident that there were at that time towns and villages connected like links along the main road, and an economic system was fairly well developed with a proper rice market, which shows that a simple agricultural community was gradually advancing toward a new community of agriculture, commerce and industry working on parallel lines.

ODAWARA AND ITS OLD-FASHIONED MANNERS AND CUSTOMS.—Hideyoshi had now subdued Kyushu, been honoured with an Imperial visit to his Shuraku Mansion in Kyoto, held his grand tea-party at Kitano, made large and small coins and surveyed all the agricultural land in the country so that his great work of unification was nearly completed, but the Lord Hojo of Sagami Province was not yet entirely submissive. It was 140 years since Nagauji, the ancestor of the Hojo family, raised himself from the hopeless position of a mere wanderer and founded the base of his power at Nirayama in Idzu Province, and Ujimasa was the fourth lord. Nagauji's son, Ujitsuna, and his grandson, Ujiyasu, were both able rulers of bravery and wisdom, and, following the principle and tradition of their forerunner who set much importance upon the management of civil affairs, they continued to practise his thirty maxims, and their power and strength grew year after year. When the three great men, Oda Nobunaga, Toyotomi Hideyoshi, and Tokugawa Ieyasu, were, in turn, settling themselves at one place or another in the Tokaido (main road along the south-eastern coast) provinces and were busy conquering other feudal lords, they had no time to look after the state of affairs in the eastern provinces. The Hojos took advantage of this, captured the castles and forts in the neighbouring provinces, and finally brought under their rule all the eight Kwanto provinces, setting up their capital at Odawara. By now, however, the power of the family was a little declining, while Hideyoshi, having conquered the Chugoku Provinces (middle provinces), the Shikoku Provinces (four provinces), and Kyushu Provinces (nine provinces), was at the height of his strength, and his power and glory were not, of course, to be compared with those of the Ashikaga Shogun, whose compromising policy had somehow or other temporarily unified the whole country. The Hojo family stuck too long and too much in the eastern provinces, and keeping themselves far distant from the main current of politics were obsessed with their own power and strength and did not realize the might of Hideyoshi, fancying he had been successful in the west only by chance. They fondly thought that if they held the Hakone Pass and faced him with the military strength of the eight Kwanto provinces, they had nothing to fear. But the civilization of our country owes much to the foreign civilization that was first introduced along the coast of the Kyushu Provinces, and the centre of politics always remained in the Kinki Provinces (provinces around Kyoto); the Kwanto Provinces, on the other hand, were too distant from the political centre and the preparations of the military lords there and the spirit of their men were too backward. Hojo Ujiyasu was one of the first to know the use of the gun, after the Portuguese brought it to Tanegashima Island; but while all the military lords under Hideyoshi and in the provinces of the Kinki, Tokai, Kyushu, and Chugoku were fighting chiefly with guns and long spears, and abandoning bows and arrows, Hojo Ujiyasu was even then satisfied to set more importance upon bows and arrows than guns and to drill his soldiers by making them chase dogs. Not only were he and his men so backward in the use of arms, but also in their general traits. The Odawara people were simple and stuck too closely to the old fashions. For instance, retainers and soldiers of high rank at Odawara blackened their teeth, in imitation of the Court nobles of the Monarchical Age; and while the custom of blackening the teeth in the Monarchical Age had an historical tradition behind it, the Odawara people made it a symbol of the principle that wise retainers will never change their master, just as the black colour is never changed. It was a custom at Odawara for the retainers to pull out with wooden tweezers much of their beards and moustaches, until the hair was so scanty that the skin could be seen through. Young men parted their long hair and wore the collar of the coat so low that the upper part of the backbone was exposed. Their hakama (divided skirt) they wore so high that the back stay was only 5 or 6 inches below the crest on the back of the coat. The Odawara people stoutly believed their ways to be the finest style and most laudable customs in the whole country. Never did they omit honorifics in mentioning the names of the lords or other men of equally high rank, even though they were enemies; and when they met on the street high retainers, high priests, or the ladies belonging to the families of high rank, they never failed to alight from their horses and bow, whether they were acquainted or not. This they called the Odawara manner, similar to that of the old Kamakura samurai and took much pride in it.

The Hojo defy Hideyoshi.—Hideyoshi, sending Tomita Sakon-shogen and Tsuda Hayatonosuke to Hojo Ujimasa in 1589, ordered him to come to Kyoto and do him homage, but Hojo could not make up his mind to do so, and sent a substitute. Hideyoshi was angry, but pardoned Ujimasa on the intervention of Tokugawa Ieyasu; but soon an event took place that finally brought about the fall of the Hojo family, and in this a part was played by Sanada Masayuki, who held, as his fief, Numata in Kozuke Province, and was often at loggerheads with the Hojo family. Ujimasa asked Hideyoshi, through Tokugawa, for an extension of territory, promising that if it were granted he would come to Kyoto and do Hideyoshi homage. Hideyoshi begged Masayuki to give up Numata to Ujimasa, and Masayuki agreed, provided Kurumi, where were the tombs of the ancestors of the Sanada family, was excluded. Ujimasa was greatly delighted, but he took possession not only of Numata, but also Kurumi, besides breaking his promise to come to Kyoto and do Hideyoshi homage. Hideyoshi in high anger ordered all the feudal lords in October 1589 to prepare for an expedition to chastise the Hojo in the coming spring. By his orders it was fixed that the military lords of the five Kinai provinces should muster for the campaign 50 per cent. of all their soldiers, the lords of the Chugoku and Shikoku Provinces 40 per cent., the lords of the provinces between Osaka and Owari Provinces 60 per cent., the lords of the northern provinces 60 per cent., the lords of the provinces of Totomi, Mikawa, Suruga, and Shinano 70 per cent. The grand total reached about 130,000 men after some small change in the allotment, and in addition were the armies of Lord Mori and others acting as rear-guards and garrisoning strategically important places between Osaka and Okazaki in order to maintain communication between Osaka and Odawara. Hideyoshi appointed Nagatsuka Masaei chief commissary, with ten deputies under him, to take charge of all the affairs regarding ammunition and provisions. Two hundred thousand koku of rice were taken from Osaka Castle and transported to the ports of Ejiri and Shimizu, near Odawara, in Suruga Province, where granaries were built to store it. And more than that, 10,000 large gold coins were spent on buying rice in the provinces of Ise, Owari, Mikawa, Totomi, and Suruga, which was forwarded to the ports near Odawara for the food of the besieging armies, so that it is true to say that Hideyoshi supplied all the provisions to the feudal lords of the besieging armies who brought only their men and arms. Of course, the feudal lords took them some emergency provisions, and also the armies from the provinces of the Hokurokudo and Shinano Province brought their own supplies because they could not share in the distribution of food brought by the sea route and stored in the eastern provinces ; but when we know that the supplies for Hideyoshi's main army were not used up, but that some remained, the whole expenditure for the Odawara expedition may be reckoned at the above amount of rice and gold. Thus outnumbered and outwitted, Hojo Ujimasa was, of course, no match for Hideyoshi, who, starting from Kyoto March 19th, and from Numazu March 29th, passed the mountain range of Ashigara April 1st, and entered Odawara on April 3rd, when his fleet was already in Odawara Bay, giving assistance to the army on land. Detachments were sent out to besiege over 70 castles and forts, beginning with the Hachigata Castle of Musashi Province, the Shimoda and Nirayama castles of Izu Province, the Matsuda castles of Kozuke Province, and the Hachioji and Oshi castles of the Musashi Province, all of which fell one after another. Then, when Hideyoshi besieged Odawara with his main force, he was careful not to sacrifice his men, but exhausted the enemy by cutting off their supplies, and laid his plans for a long siege, so that by the month of July Ujimasa was at the end of his resources and surrendered through Ieyasu. Hideyoshi ordered Ujimasa and his younger brother Ujiteru to commit suicide on July 8th, expelled Ujinao to Mount Koya, and set free the other generals and soldiers, the Hojo family being thus destroyed in five months after Hideyoshi moved out of Kyoto for the expedition. Their territory was divided among the feudal lords, Ieyasu getting the seven provinces of Izu, Sagami, Kozuke, Shimotsuke, Musashi, Kazusa, and Shimosa, his old territory of Suruga and Mikawa falling to the share of others. At this time Daté Masamuné was at Yonezawa and conquering the surrounding provinces. He had been summoned by Hideyoshi to come to his assistance, yet he was only watchful to see which side would win, and secretly sent spies to observe how the contest was going on at Odawara. When he learnt by the intelligence of these spies that Odawara was about to fall, he set out with only one hundred men from Yonezawa to Odawara, to see Hideyoshi, and beg his pardon for joining his banner too late. He travelled by a by-road from Echigo because the road from Shimotsuke to Odawara was already blockaded and he could not pass, reached Odawara, presented himself before Hideyoshi, and did him homage. Hideyoshi accepted his excuses, but stripped him of the provinces he had acquired by force and the territory around Yonezawa yielding 300,000 koku of rice. He appointed Gamo Ujisato to rule the seventeen gun (county) of the Ou Provinces. The unification of the whole country was now thoroughly complete, and no one dared to oppose Hideyoshi. A striking proof of this was given once when Hideyoshi was about to return home after being entertained with a farcical play by Lord Ukita Hide-ie. All the great feudal lords who had been invited as guests came to the front door to see him off, even Tokugawa Ieyasu, till recently Hideyoshi's only formidable opponent, condescending with the others. One could ask no better proof that Hideyoshi was now undisputed ruler of the whole country.

CHAPTER XXX

DISTRIBUTION OF LAND IN THE TOYOTOMI AGE

Total Amount of Rice paid as Land-Tax in Japan.—Japan unified by Hideyoshi became now a New Japan without precedent in our history. Old Japan with independent feudal lords scattered throughout the whole country was now changed to New Japan with a strongly centralized Government. Old Japan with laws and regulations differing in every province, district, and city was now Japan ruled by laws and ordinances all issued by the Central Government. Japan unified by Hideyoshi became now New Japan, where farmers paid as land-tax about 18,000,000 koku of rice to their feudal lords.

After the land system of Taika and Taiho had been destroyed by arrogant priests and greedy manorial lords, there was no land system in Japan. The farmer paid a land-tax to his lord, but it was the same as what his predecessor three or four generations before paid. There was no register of population, and consequently no record of the land of a village. In some places the farmer paid land-tax for only 1 cho, but, in fact, he cultivated more than ten times as much. These lands were called inden, that is to say " a hidden land." Besides, there was no general standard of tax. In some provinces a lord took seven-tenths of the whole produce of the land and the farmer got only three-tenths. In others the proportion was lord four-tenths and farmer six-tenths. To systematize this confusion Hideyoshi issued an ordinance in 1590 for a land survey in every province, and made it a general rule through all Japan that the division should be two-thirds for lord and one-third for farmer. This is a greater work than his victories on the battle-field.

Hideyoshi's Revenue.—Hideyoshi's method of taxation was based on the principle, two shares to the authorities and one to the farmer, and the yield of rice in the whole country was at this time about 54,000,000 koku. His own revenue in rice and gold and silver was as follows :—

RECORD OF THE YEAR 1597.

Rice..	koku 2,005,719
Large gold coins ..	33,978¼
Large silver coins ..	79,415.70

and large gold coins 1,002, large silver coins 13,950 (paid in as miscellaneous taxes including toll-tax).

Details of the Above.

Koku.	*From the Province of*	*Koku.*	*From the Province of*
84,868.60	Yamashiro	100,461.70	Yamato
210,031	Settsu	156,535.40	Kawachi
231,061.80	Omi	97,463.60	Idzumi
112,203.40	Harima	10,000	Kai
38,494.40	Mino	28,959	Awaji
55,417.90	Kii	2,194.30	Iga
102,514.20	Ise	55,173.50	Tamba
13,250	Sanuki	144,674	Owari
55,265	Shinano	5,000	Tajima
10,000	Hitachi	131,636.60	Echizen
3,000	Wakasa	43,480.40	Totomi
6,549	Mikawa	1,850.60	Shimotsuke
10,000	Mutsu	10,012	Kaga
2,003	Hida	10,000	Hizen
2,000	Idzumo	1,205	Nagato
300	Higo	70,978.30	Iyo
168,210.80	Bungo	1,500	Bingo
500	Hoki		

The above is the income in rice.

Large Gold Coins.

221.730	Produced in the gold-mines of Lord Satake in Hitachi Province, and paid yearly as rent by Lord Satake Yoshinobu.
163.841	Produced in the gold-mines of Lord Mogami in Dewa Province, and paid yearly as rent by Lord Yamagata Dewanokami.
700	Produced in the gold-mines of Lord Daté in Mutsu Province, and paid yearly as rent by Lord Daté Masamuné.
1,424.412	Produced in the gold-mines of Lord Uyesugi in Echigo Province, and paid yearly as rent by Lord Uyesugi Kagekatsu.
799.516	Produced in the gold-mines of Lord Uyesugi in Sado Island, and paid yearly as rent by Lord Uyesugi Kagekatsu.
97.885	Produced in the gold-mines of Lord Uyesugi in Dewa Province, and paid yearly as rent by Lord Uyesugi Kagekatsu.
22	Produced in the gold-mines of Lord Soma in Mutsu Province, and paid yearly as rent by Lord Soma Nagato.
10	Produced in the gold-mines of Lord Tokugawa in Sagami Province, and paid yearly as rent by Lord Tokugawa Iyeyasu.
40.550	Produced in the gold-mines of Lord Nanbu in Mutsu Province, and paid yearly as rent by Lord Nanbu Nobunao.
8.921	Produced in the gold-mines of Magoti in Shinano Province, and paid yearly as rent by Lord Kyogokushuri.
12.600	Produced in the gold-mines of Saku-gori in Shinano Province, and paid yearly as rent by Lord Sengoku Echizen.
6.620	Produced in a gold-mine in Shinano Province, and paid yearly as rent by Lord Ishikawa Genba.
5.526	Produced in the Imasho Gold-Mine in Echizen Province, and paid yearly as rent by Lord Asano Nagamasa.
0.716	Produced in the Yashimawaki Gold-Mine in Dewa Province, and paid yearly as rent by Lord Asano Nagamasa.

Large Gold Coins.

18.430	Produced in the Utsunomiya Gold-Mine in Shimotsuke Province, and paid yearly as rent by Lord Nagamasa.
0.313	Produced in a gold-mine in Shinano Province, and paid yearly as rent by Lord Asano Nagamasa.
127	Produced in the Nagaseyama Gold-Mine in Tajima Province, and paid yearly as rent by Lord Besho Bungo, Ito Iwami, and Okamoto Gonbei.
9	Produced in the gold-mine in Suruga Province, and paid yearly as rent by Lord Nakamura Kaquiji.
1	Produced in the Hirose Gold-Mine in Mino Province, and paid yearly as rent by Lord Hirose Kahei.
2.171	Produced in the gold-mine in Mikawa Province, and paid yearly as rent by Lord Tanaka Hyobu-shoyu.

The above is the income in gold coin.

Large Silver Coins.

22.732	Produced in the Kitafukuro Silver-Mine in Echizen Province, and paid yearly as rent by Lord Asano Nagamasa.
360	Produced in the Makiya Silver-Mine, Fuchu, in Echizen Province, and paid yearly as rent by Kyosanjoguchi Mataemon.
4.869	Produced in a number of silver-mines in Chugoku Provinces, and paid yearly as rent by Lord Yanagisawa Kenmotsu.
(Number unknown)	Produced in the silver-mines in Hida Provinces, and paid yearly as rent by Rt. Rev. Lord Kanamori.
298.900	Produced in the silver-mine in the Ono-gori in Echizen Province, and paid yearly as rent by Hayashi Den-emon.
928.236	Produced in the silver-mine in Inaba Province, and paid yearly as rent by Rt. Rev. Lord Miyabe.
62.267	Produced in the silver-mine of Tajima Province, and paid yearly as rent by Lord Ito Iwami.
476	Produced in the silver-mine at the Tada-sho in Settsu Province, and paid yearly as rent by a person named Tada.
350	Produced in the Nakase Silver-Mine in Tajima Province, and paid yearly as rent by Zengoro.
1.490	Produced in the silver-mine in Etchu Province, and paid yearly as rent by Lord Maeda Hizen-no-kami.

The above is the income in large silver coin.

1,000 gold coins, revenue from the Goto mint; from the theatre-tax, 10,000 silver coins; 1 gold coin, as the toll-tax at Miyakawa, Ise; 1 gold coin, as the charcoal-tax in the Koyo district, Kii; 700 silver coins, as the transhipment-tax at Otsu, Omi; 300 silver coins, as the tax on the cargo and passenger ships passing Osaka; 250 silver coins, as the tax on the theatres at Sakai; 700 silver coins, as the tax on the new cargo and passenger ships passing Osaka; 100 silver coins, as the tax on the ships in Omi; 100 silver coins, as the land-tax at Sakai.

The above is the miscellaneous income.

To give a little explanation of the income of the Toyotomi family, one large gold coin was worth 10 ryo, 1 ryo weighing 4.15 momme of gold, and one large silver coin weighed 39 momme (a momme = ·1325 ounces). The income in rice being collected as unhulled rice must be reduced by one-half when hulled, so that it is equal to 1,002,600 koku of rice. It will be seen thus that Hideyoshi took for himself one-ninth of the rice and the greater part of the gold and silver produced in the whole country. He distributed among the feudal lords the remaining part of the land as shown below :—

LIST OF THE FEUDAL LORDS AND THEIR POSSESSION OF LAND IN THE ERA OF TENSHO (1572-91).

Land yielding unhulled rice of :—

Koku.	
2,402,000	In the provinces Musashi, Sagami, Idzu, Kazusa, Shimoosa, Kodzuke, and Shimodzuke. Lord Tokugawa Iyeyasu.
1,205,000	In the provinces Aki, Bingo, Suwo, Nagato, Idzumo, and Iwami. Lord Mori Terumoto.
919,000	Territories of Shirakawa, Aidzu, Mihomnatsu, Miharu, Taira, and Fukushima in Mutsu Province. Lord Uesugi Kagekatsu.
800,000	Territories of Mito, Kasama, and Tsuchiura in Hitachi Province. Lord Satake Yoshinobu.
630,000	In the provinces Osumi, Satsuma, and Hyuga. Lord Shimatsu Yoshihiro.
609,100	In Mutsu Province. Lord Daté Masamuné.
550,000	Echigo Province. Lord Hori Hidemasa.
474,000	In the provinces Bizen, Memasaka, and Bitchu. Lord Ukita Hideii.
336,140	The Chikuzen Provinces. Lord Kobayagawa Hideaki.
330,000	Etchu Province. Lord Maeda Toshinaga.
310,000	At Sagami in Hizen Province. Lord Nabeshima Naoshige.
240,000	Territories Mogami, Shonai, Yamagata, Shinjo, Honjo, and Kaminoyama in Dewa Province. Lord Mogami Yoshimitsu.
230,000	At Kanazawa, Kaga Province. Lord Maeda Toshiie.
215,000	Noto Province. Lord Maeda Toshimasa.
215,000	Kai Province. Lord Asano Nagamasa.
200,000	At Kiyosu, Owari Province. Lord Fukushima Masanori.
200,000	At Koriyama, Yamato Province. Lord Masuda Nagamori.
195,000	Territories Kumamoto and Yatsushiro, Higo Province. Lord Kato Kiyomasa.
194,000	At Sawayama, Omi Province. Lord Ishida Mitsunari.
180,000	At Utsunomiya, Shimotsuke Province. Lord Gamo Hide-no-kami.
180,000	At Utsunomiya. Lord Soma Moritane.
173,000	Awa Province. Lord Hachisuka Iimasa.
152,000	At Udo, Higo Province. Lord Ikeda Terumasa.
146,300	At Udo, Higo Province. Lord Konishi Yukinaga.
145,000	Suruga Province. Lord Nakamura Kazuuji.
132,000	At Yanagawa, Chikugo Province. Lord Tachibana Muneshige.
131,000	At Gifu, Mino Province. Lord Oda, Hidenobu.
130,000	At Komatsu, Kage Province. Lord Niwa Nagashige.
130,000	At Nakatsu, Buzen Province. Lord Kuroda Nagamasa.

Koku.	
112,000	At Hamamatsu, Totomi Province. Lord Horio Yoshiharu.
110,000	Tango Province. Lord Hosokawa Tadaoki.
110,000	At Nanbu, Mutsu Province. Lord Nanbu Daizen-no-Taifu.
110,000	Kitaye Province. Lord Hosogawa Hidekazu.
101,000	At Yuki, Shimoosa Province. Lord Yuhi Hideyasu.
98,000	Tosa Province. Lord Chosokabe Motochika.
80,000	At Fukui, Echizen Province. Lord Soki Kii-no-kami.
80,000	At Tottori, Inaba Province. Lord Miyabe Zenshobo.
80,000	At Ina, Shinano Province. Lord Kyogoku Takayasu.
70,000	At Kawanakajima, Shinano Province. Lord Kanayama Tadamasa.
70,000	Lord Todo Takatora.
70,000	At Oto, Iyo Province. Lord Ogawa Sama-no-kami.
66,000	At Oka, Bungo Province. Lord Nakagawa Hideshige.
62,000	Wakasa Province. Lord Kinoshita Wakasa-no-jiju.
62,000	At Michisaki, Iyo Province. Lord Kato Yoshiaki.
61,500	At Nâsu, Shimotsuke Province. Lord Nasu Hakusa.
61,000	At Takamatsu, Sanuki Province. Lord Ikoma Chikayo.
60,000	At Hirato, Bizen Province. Lord Matsuura Minbu-no-Shoyu.
60,000	At Otsu, Omi Province. Lord Kyogoku Takayoshi.
60,000	At Kokura, Buzen Province. Lord Mori Iki-no-kami.
58,000	At Matsumoto, Shinano Province. Lord Ishikawa Yasunaga.
57,000	At Komoro, Shinano Province. Lord Sengoku Hidehisa.
53,000	At Kishiwada, Idzumi Province. Lord Koide Yoshimasa.
51,000	At Kakogawa, Totomi Province. Lord Yamanouchi Kazutoyo.
50,000	At Tsuguga, Echizen Province. Lord Otani Yoshitake.
50,000	At Ueno, Iga Province. Lord Tsutsui Sadamasa.
50,000	At Kameyama, Tanbe Province. Rt. Rev. Lord Maeda Gen-i.
50,000	At Onoka, Ise Province. Lord Tomita Sakon-shogen.
50,000	At Minakuchi, Omi Province. Lord Nagatsuka Masaii.
50,000	At Aketa, Dewa Province. Lord Akita Tosaburo.
50,000	At Kotosaki, Hyuge Province. Lord Takahashi Kuro.
45,000	Awa Province. Lord Satomi Awano-jiju.
45,000	At Ono, Echizen Province. Lord Ono Nagahide.
40,000	At Gunjo, Mino Province. Lord Gunjo Naofusa.
40,000	Lord Kato Naoharu.
40,000	At Shimabara, Hizen Province. Lord Arima Shuri-no-taifu.
40,000	In Dewa Province. Lord Tozawa Mitsumori.
39,000	Lord Sano Shuri-no-taifu.
38,000	At Uyeda, Shinano Province. Lord Sanada Masayuki.
35,000	At Yokosuka, Totomi Province. Lord Arima Genba.
35,000	At Kurume, Chikugo Province. Lord Kohayagawa Hidekane.
35,000	At Toba, Shima Province. Lord Kuki Osumi-no-kami.
34,000	At Tsugaru, Mutsu Province. Lord Tsugaru Ukyo-no-taifu.
34,000	At Ogaki, Mino Province. Lord Ito, Nagato-no-kami.
33,000	Lord Furuta Hyobu-no-shoyu.
33,000	Hida Province. Rt. Rev. Lord Kanamori Hoin.
31,300	In Hizen Province. Lord Terasawa Shima-no-kami.
31,000	At Fukuchiyama, Tanba Province. Lord Onoki Nui.
30,000	At Matsumoto, Mino Matsumoto. Rt. Rev. Tokunaga Hion.
30,000	In Dewa Province. Lord Onoki Nagoshichiro.

Koku.	
30,000	Lord Kinoshita Higo-no-kami.
30,000	In Ide Province. Lord Hata Oki-no-kami.
30,000	At Sunomoto, Awaji Province. Lord Wakisaka Yasuharu.
30,000	Lord Koide Harima-no-kami.
28,650	At Satohara, Hyuga Province. Lord Shimatsu Matashichiro.
28,000	Lord Shirano Oribe-no-sho.
27,000	Lord Sanada Genzaburo.
27,000	At Shugu, Kii Province. Lord Horiuchi Awa-no-kami.
25,000	At Iwate, Ise Province. Lord Inaba Kurando.
25,000	Lord Hashiba Menasaka-no-kami.
22,500	At Kuwana, Ise Province. Lord Ujiii Naisen-no-sho.
22,000	Lord Tokimura Sayyoe.
22,000	In Ise Province. Lord Okamoto Shimotsuke-no-kami.
20,200	Lord Hijikata Janbei.
20,000	At Omura, Mizen Province. Lord Omura Shinpachiro.
20,000	Lord Toga Idzumo-no-kami.
20,000	At Mita, Settsu Province. Lord Yamasaki Sama-no-suke.
20,000	At Kanbe, Ise Province. Lord Hashiba Shimoosa-no-kami.
20,000	At Kariya, Mikawa Province. Lord Midzuno Idzumi-no-kami.
20,000	At Himeji, Harima Province. Lord Kinoshita Suwo-no-kami.
20,000	At Hinode, Bungo Province. Lord Kinoshita Uemon-no-taifu.
20,000	Lord Kinoshita Kunai-no-shoyu.
20,000	At Funai, Bungo Province. Lord Fukuwara Uma-no-suke.
20,000	Lord Nisho Echizen-no-kami.
19,000	At Tanabe, Kii Province. Lord Suguwoka Echigo-no-kami.
18,000	Lord Takahashi Shuzen-no-sho.
18,000	At Sagara, Higo Province. Lord Sagara Kunai-no-shoyu.
18,000	In Bungo Province. Lord Tsukushi Kodzuke.
18,000	At Takada, Bungo Province. Lord Takanaka Gensuke.
17,000	Lord Tokohashi Minbu-no-shoyu.
16,000	At Wakayama, Kii Province. Lord Kuwayama Igano-kami.
16,000	In Yamato Province. Lord Kuwayama Shiri-no-shin.
16,000	In Tanba Province. Lord Tani Dewano-kami.
16,000	At Usuki, Bungo Province. Lord Ota Hida-no-kami.
16,000	In Hizen Province. Lord Goto Magoemon.
15,000	Lord Ishida Mokuno-kami.
15,000	Lord Ishikawa Higo-no-kami.
15,000	In Settsu Province. Lord Katagiri Katsumoto.
15,000	Lord Terada Harima-no-kami.
15,000	Lord Ujiie Shima-no-kami.
14,300	In Hyuga Province. Lord Ito Minbu (afterwards Shuri).
14,000	Lord Murakami Idzumo-no-kami.
14,000	Lord Kimura Ise-no-kami.
13,000	Lord Todo Shimotsuke-no-kami.
13,000	In Inaba Province. Lord Kamei Buzen-no-kami.
13,000	Lord Tsuda Nagato-no-kami.
13,000	The two Endo Families and the Gunjo Clan, no province in the Mii.
12,000	Lord Matsushita Uhyoe.
12,000	Lord Shinjo Echizen-no-kami.
12,000	Lord Inaba Hyogo-no-kami.

Koku.	
12,000	At Inuyama, Owari Province. Lord Ishikawa Bizen-no-kami.
12,000	Lord Kasuga Naizen-no-sho.
12,000	Lord Iheda Magosaburo.
12,000	Lord Bessho Bunjo-no-kami.
11,000	Lord Ono Shuri-no-shin.
10,100	At Okazaki, Mikawa Province. Lord Tanaka Yoshimasa.
10,000	Lord Tsushima Jiju.
10,000	At Nagashima, Ise Province. Lord Fukushima Kamon-no-kami.
10,000	Lord Yamasaki Ukyo.
10,000	Lord Ikeda Bitchu-no-kami.
10,000	Lord Toda, Bungo-no-kami.
10,000	Lord Teranishi Bitchu-no-kami.
10,000	Lord Teranishi Shimotsu-no-kami.
10,000	Lord Masuo Oki-no-kami.
10,000	Lord Kishida Hoki-no-kami.
10,000	In Harima Province. Lord Akamatsu Kadzusa-no-suke.
10,000	Lord Hasegawa Uhyoe.
10,000	Lord Matsuura Iyo-no-kami.
10,000	Lord Kusakawa Mondo.
10,000	Lord Ito Tango-no-kami.
10,000	Lord Hotta Dzusho-no-suke.
10,000	Lord Aoki Minbu-no-shoyu.
10,000	Lord Oda Sanguro.
10,000	In Hyuga Province. Lord Akita Saburo.
10,000	Lord Makita Gonnosuke.
10,000	Rev. Lord Arima Hoin.
10,000	Lord Togibe.
10,000	At Shibata in Echigo Province. Lord Mizoguchi Hoki-no-kami.
10,000	Lord Okuyama Utano-kami.
10,000	At Takatasuki, Settsu Province. Lord Kawajiri Hizen-no-kami.

Tsushima Jiju should probably be called Lord So Yoshitomo.

Total number of lords	61
Total of unhulled rice granted	koku 15,820,690

Division of Land among Farmers.—This table shows how the ownership of the whole land in Japan was divided among Hideyoshi and 160 others, but this ownership was, in fact, a mere right of tax collection, the true owners being, in spite of several restrictions, the cultivators. In what proportion the territorial domain of a feudal lord was divided among the farmers who were the real owners of the land is a very interesting problem in the economic history of Japan, for in this age wealth came mostly from the soil. If we know how the land was divided, we shall know much about the distribution of wealth. This knowledge is very hard to obtain, for we need an accurate land register giving the names of cultivators over a wide district, and since the collapse of the Taiho system the land possessed and cultivated by a farmer was scattered in several places and not round his dwelling as formerly. Unless, therefore, a careful study is made of the land register of a wide district there is a danger of mistaking a part for the whole possessed and cultivated by a given farmer. Fortunately we have an old register with the title " Account-Book of the Cultivators at Nokada, Shimosaka, and other places, in Sakata-gori Omi Province, in which is given the figures as to the division of land in the first year of the Tensho era (1572), and the areas and number of cultivated plots in the farmer's possession are shown in tables on pages 423–6.

Most farmers possessed a very small acreage. The above " Account-Book " has the following statistics with regard to the acreage of rice-fields cultivated by farmers :—

43 farmers cultivating an area below 1 tan.
52 farmers (including 40 farmers cultivating 1 tan) cultivating an area below 2 tan.
15 farmers (including 6 farmers cultivating 2 tan) cultivating an area below 3 tan.
13 farmers (including 3 farmers cultivating 3 tan) cultivating an area below 4 tan.
6 farmers cultivating an area below 5 tan.
3 farmers cultivating an area below 6 tan.
3 farmers cultivating an area below 7 tan.
1 farmer cultivating an area below 11 tan.

It will be seen thus that most of the farmers were cultivating a small area of 1 to 2 tan, the cultivators of 3 to 4 tan came next, and those cultivating above 6 tan were exceedingly few. The scattered state of the rice-fields cultivated by a farmer is shown in the following statistics :—

74 farmers possessing the rice-field in 1 place.
26 farmers possessing the rice-field in 2 places.
15 farmers possessing the rice-field in 3 places.
7 farmers possessing the rice-field in 4 places.
5 farmers possessing the rice-field in 5 places.
2 farmers possessing the rice-field in 7 places.
2 farmers possessing the rice-field in 8 places.
1 farmer possessing the rice-field in 9 places.
1 farmer possessing the rice-field in 11 places.
1 farmer possessing the rice-field in 14 places.

Sakata-gori being a most busy travel centre, the cultivated area was not much when compared with other parts of the country, and so though the above statistics cannot be boldly applied as the standard, yet as the " Account-Book " was made in the beginning of the Tensho era, when the economic condition of this district was not yet so advanced as to reach the monetary economic stage, it may represent fairly the state of division in the whole country.

ACCOUNT-BOOK OF THE CULTIVATORS.

Name of Farmer.	Area of Rice-Field.	Special Remarks.	Newly Cultivated Area.	Number of Cultivated Places.
	Tan.			
Tarosuke	4.5.00	—	—	6
Sakotaro	4.5.10	—	—	6
Saemontaro	3.3.00	—	—	3
Matataro	0.1.00	—	—	1
Taroshiro	0.9.18	—	—	3
Tarojiro	0.5.20	—	—	3
Totaro	1.1.8	—	1.0.18	2
Yotaro	3.5.00	—	—	4
Hikotaro	2.2.00	Tea and vegetable garden	1.0.00	3 (except tea garden)
Hyoetaro	3.7.18	—	1.6.18	6
Taroyemon	1.0.00	—	1.0.00	1
Kotaro	1.0.00	—	1.0.00	1
Hikojiro	0.2.00	—	—	1
Jirotayu	1.5.00	—	1.0.00	2
Jirotaro	1.7.00	—	—	2
Heijiro	1.0.00	—	—	1
Kenjiro	0.0.18	—	—	1
Jirosaburo	3.6.18	—	—	8
Sukejiro	1.0.00	—	1.0.00	1
Tojiro	1.0.00	—	1.0.00	1
Matajiro	1.5.00	—	—	?
Genjiro	10.5.00	Including premises	7.9.00	14 (except premises)
Saemonjiro	2.2.00	—	1.0.00	4
Yojiro	1.0.00	—	—	1
Jiroshiro	1.0.00	—	—	1
Makojiro	6.5.00	—	—	9
Umajiro	2.0.00	—	—	2
Saburojiro	1.2.00	—	—	2
Sakayamura Saburojiro	1.0.00	—	—	1
Sakusaburo	2.0.00	—	—	2
Sakonsaburo	5.2.00	—	—	9
Kyosaburo	1.6.00	—	—	2
Sukisaburo	2.0.00	—	1.0.00	2
Sozaburo	0.7.18	—	—	3
Emonsaburo	2.0.00	—	—	2

ACCOUNT-BOOK OF THE CULTIVATORS—*continued.*

Name of Farmer.	Area of Rice-Field.	Special Remarks.	Newly Cultivated Area.	Number of Cultivated Places.
	Tan.			
Saburotaro	0.1.24	—	—	1
Shinzaburo	1.0.00	—	—	1
Saburotayu	1.5.00	—	—	2
Hyoesabuto	4.7.00	—	1.9.00	11
Saburogoro	1.0.18	—	—	2
Tozaburo	1.0.00	—	—	1
Hikosaburo	0.5.18	—	—	2
Saburoemon	1.0.00	—	—	1
Yosaburo	1.0.00	—	—	1
Shoshiro	1.0.00	—	—	1
Shirosaburo	3.9.00	—	—	2
Henshiro	0.2.00	—	—	1
Matashiro	3.3.00	—	—	6
Yoshiro	1.0.00	—	—	1
Kishiro	1.0.00	—	—	1
Sukeshiro	1.0.00	—	—	1
Sakonshiro	1.0.00	—	0.10.00	1
Emonshiro	1.0.00	—	—	1
Sakoshiro	0.5.00	—	—	1
Togoro	0.4.00	4 sho of rice in addition[1]	0.2.00	4
Matagoro	0.6.00	—	—	2
Gorojiro	1.0.00	—	—	1
Sogoro	0.2.18	—	—	2
Goroshiro	0.2.00	—	—	1
Gengoro	0.30.00	—	—	3
Emongoro	1.0.00	—	—	1
Gorosaburo	2.1.00	—	1.0.00	8
Mufugoro	2.0.00	—	—	3
Hyoegoro	2.2.00	—	—	4
Yagoro	1.0.00	—	—	1
Gotoji	1.0.00	—	—	1
Shinroku	1.0.00	—	—	1
Mataroku	1.5.00	—	—	2
Matashichi	0.5.00	—	—	1
Hikoroku	4.2.27	5 sho of rice in addition	2.8.18 5 sho of rice in addition	8
Heita	1.7.00	—	—	2
Magohachi	1.0.00	—	—	1

---

[1] One sho is about one-twentieth of a bushel.

ACCOUNT-BOOK OF THE CULTIVATORS—*continued.*

Name of Farmer.	Area of Rice-Field.	Special Remarks.	Newly Cultivated Area.	Number of Cultivated Places.
	Tan.			
Sukegoro	0.5.00	—	—	1
Genshichi	0.9.00	—	—	1
Makoroku	1.0.00	—	—	1
Nakamura Genji	2.0.00	—	2.0.00	2
Ichizaemon	2.0.00	—	2.0.00	2
Hikokuro-Nyudo	2.1.00	—	1.1.00	3
Yoshichiro	1.0.00	—	1.0.00	1
Toshichi	3.2.00	—	—	4
Jinkuro	5.2.00	With premises together	—	5 (except premises)
Saemonkuro	6.1.00	With premises	—	7 (except premises)
Kuroemon	0.5.00	—	—	1
Yohachi's widow	0.4.00	—	—	1
Togo	0.5.00	—	—	1
Kyoyu	0.1.27	—	—	1
Sakotayu	1.0.00	—	—	1
Hosen	0.30.18	—	—	1
Koji	0.1.00	—	—	1
Ukosako	0.4.00	—	—	1
Sakon-uchi	1.0.00	—	—	1
So-chu	0.0.18	—	—	1
Makotayu	1.0.00	—	—	1
Sakohyoe	2.0.00	—	—	2
Saiho	0.8.00	—	—	1
Kyosai	4.2.00	—	3.0.00	5
Nakamura Tokiku	3.0.00	—	3.0.00	3
Kentayu	0.5.00	—	—	1
Makosuke	1.0.00	—	—	1
Suketayu	—	—	—	1
Shosen	—	—	—	2
Sukeyemon	—	—	—	1
Hikoemon	—	—	—	1

ACCOUNT-BOOK OF THE CULTIVATORS—*continued.*

Name of Farmer.	Area of Rice-Field.	Special Remarks.	Newly Cultivated Area.	Number of Cultivated Places.
	Tan.			
Hikozoemon	3.4.00	—	2.2.00	7
Hikosuke	—	Tea garden	—	1
Heiemon	1.0.00	—	—	1
Heizamon's widow	0.1.00	—	0.1.00	1
Heikebu	0.7.00	—	—	1
Mataemon	0.2.00	—	0.1.00	2
Katasensuke	0.2.00	—	—	2
Mataemonsasuke	1.0.00	—	—	1
Kata Iga	1.0.00	—	—	1
Kata Hokoim	0.2.00	—	—	1
Kata Makozaemon	0.5.18	—	—	2
Kata Shurinoshin	0.5.00	—	—	1
Kata Tobei	3.0.00	—	—	3
Kata Shinbei	4.0.00	—	—	4
Emonosuke	0.7.00	—	—	1
Toemon	0.3.00	—	—	1
Senshoan Temple	0.1.00	15 sho of rice in addition	—	1
Toemon (Fujiemon)	1.0.00	—	—	3
Echigo	2.5.00	—	—	1
Hanbei	0.1.00	—	—	1
Sosuke	0.1.00	—	—	2
Unryuan Temple	1.2.00	—	—	1
Gasuke	0.1.00	—	—	1
Tsujibei	1.0.00	—	—	1
Motoyaemon	0.0.18	—	—	1
Toemon	3.0.00	—	—	3
Hyoekuro	2.1.00	—	—	3
Sekizenan Temple	6.5.00	—	5.5.00	4
Geishoan Temple	0.4.00	—	0.4.00	6
Shikakuemon[1]	3.0.00	—	3.0.00	1
Chiesuke	1.0.00	—	1.0.00	1
Tosuke	1.0.00	—	1.0.00	1
Sasei	1.1.00	—	1.1.00	2
Tosen	0.1.00	—	—	1
Sakonemon	1.0.00	—	—	1
Yasuke	1.0.00	—	—	1

---

[1] Being a temple (Buddhist), or rather hermitage, it hired perhaps a man to cultivate the field.

What was Hideyoshi's Chief Object in Land-Surveying ?—Hideyoshi accomplished three great deeds: the first was his victory over Akechi Mitsuhide and other opponents, and the unification of the whole country; the second, the Korean Expedition; and the third was his survey of the rice-fields and its consequent result in the clearing up of the question of acreage and the settlement of taxation methods. As to what was his chief object in making this survey opinions are divided. Some say his object was to increase his revenue, or to equalize the incomes from lands distributable among feudal lords; others attribute it to his desire to investigate barren and desolate land and restore it to its former state of agricultural prosperity, or to perfect the fief system and thus to strengthen the finances of the feudal lords. But when one realizes how the land system of Japan had been complicated and deranged since the Ashikaga Age, and that Hideyoshi in succession to Nobunaga was about to renovate the whole country and administer it under a centralized Government, it is clear that there was no other way but to reform the system and strengthen the financial basis. Hideyoshi was different from Yoritomo, the Hojo, and Takauji, and was not satisfied with merely compromising with feudal lords and local magnates. He was a ruler, inspired with the spirit of national expansion that prevailed the world over from the beginning of the 16th century, who desired to establish a powerful Central Government under which to unify the whole of Japan and keep all the feudal lords under control. A great and sincere ruler of men on the one hand; on the other, he had a nature which craved glory and loved splendour. With this object and such propensity he was not likely to be satisfied with a Government of easy-going *laissez-faire*, but unless the finances of the state were taken in hand, there was no hope to establish a Government at all satisfactory to him, and so the land-survey was the natural outcome of his programme to increase the income of the Government, make it strong and powerful and administer gorgeously. A parallel to Hideyoshi's policy is found in Western history at the beginning of modern times, when Spain and Portugal became states in the modern sense ahead of England and France, and adopted Mercantilism with the object of gaining gold and silver wherewith to defray the expenditure of the state.

Hideyoshi's Financial System.—There are many sides to a modern state, but the most important are its system and its centralization of power. Hideyoshi's form of government, when viewed from the standpoint of to-day, was loose and confused, but it had a pervading system, and Hideyoshi's statesmanship is shown in the fact that he gave a system to the Government after the easy-going and chaotic Governments of the Ashikaga lasting for several hundred years, and that where his government was systematic, his finance was equally so. The population in Hideyoshi's time was about equal to that in Ashikaga Yoshimasa's time, and so the national wealth was probably about the same, and that Hideyoshi was able to carry out great enterprises both at home and abroad is simply due to the power of the system that he gave to his Government. There were two sides to it: the first to give a system to a loose and chaotic Government and make it work effectively, and the second to absorb the provincial wealth of localities and use it to further the activities of the Central Government so that order and peace could be maintained and commerce and industries developed. Hideyoshi's financial policy was not altogether a happy one, because it absorbed too great a proportion of the provincial wealth for the use of the Central Government.

CHAPTER XXXI

LAND SURVEYING BY HIDEYOSHI

Hideyoshi's Land Surveying increased the Area of Arable Land by 10 per Cent.—Hideyoshi's land-survey was commenced in 1589 and ended in 1595. Since the Hojo Age the value unit of land had been the kwan, but Hideyoshi changed it to koku and also reduced the tan previously of 360 bu to 300 bu (a bu is equal to a tsubo), 10 tan making 1 cho. The survey was made with a standard tsubo of 6 feet 3 inches square, and the area of his new tan was consequently reduced about 30 per cent. in comparison with the old tan surveyed with a standard tsubo of 6 feet 5 inches square. When reckoned by tan and cho there was an increase of about 20 per cent. in the rice-fields of Japan, and as the tax upon each cho and tan remained unchanged, Hideyoshi's Government and the feudal lords had their income increased about 20 per cent. Furthermore, the survey was a means of divulging some concealed rice-field here and there, which meant a greater income to the feudal lords. It will be seen thus that the koku alteration at this time was in a sense a method of increasing taxes, and this crafty method was devised by Nagatsuka Masaie. We do not know where this man was born, but, while serving Niwa Nagahide, his skill in mathematical calculation and his financial talent made him very useful; and Hideyoshi, hearing that Nagahide's wealth was largely due to Masaie's work, took him into his employ, promoting him to the rank of Lord and giving him a fief of 10,000 koku, afterwards increased to 50,000. Land surveys had been conducted before, and Masaie's improvements were threefold. He surveyed the actual area of the land and brought to light hidden fields; he changed the tan from 360 bu to 300 bu, and where the value of the fief had formerly been calculated in kwan, he changed it to koku. Then the question is what was the old kwan value of the fief?

Origin of Kwan Valuation of Fief.—After the Taiho Ordinance the land was taxed on the estimate of the number of bundles of rice plants yielded by one tan of rice-field, the land being more or less classified in degree of fertility or sterility, and the productive power of the land and its proportion of tax were represented by a certain number of bundles of rice plants. From the latter part of the Monarchical Age, people were not satisfied with such a vague calculation, and they began to measure the quantity of rice obtained from a bundle. At that time the nobles, both Court and provincial, were granted manors, which sprang up everywhere, and yet, singularly enough, these manor holders were quite ignorant of the actual yield of cereals on their manors or what income they might expect; they were satisfied with the method of calculating the amount of rice by the measure, when the farmer paid their tax in kind. It was towards the middle of the Hojo Age that people began to talk about the valuation of land by kwan, saying, "Lord So-and-So's fief is land worth so many kwan," which meant that the land was valued by the kwan-weight of money payable as yearly tax.

The Origin of the Kwan.—Then the question arises as to the origin of the kwan, and what it means. It originated as the denomination of a currency. From the Monarchical Age downward the payment of taxes was made both in rice and money, and especially the feudal lords in remote provinces, finding it very difficult to send a large amount of rice to Kyoto to pay the tax to the Imperial Court, used to sell it at the current prices in the provincial market, and send the money thus obtained to Kyoto. Later, when the manors were scattered all over the country, and the lords themselves lived in Kyoto, it was found insupportably inconvenient to have their income of rice sent to Kyoto, so the method of paying taxes, or rather of paying the lords their share of the proceeds of the land, was changed to cash payment, though there were, of course, many who sent the rice itself as before. Thus was brought about a usage to value the rice-fields in money throughout the country districts. However, gold was not the standard of currency then because it was of too great intrinsic value and represented too big a sum for common use. Copper coin was the only circulating currency, and the largest unit of copper coinage being kwan, it became common to value each rice-field by this kwan and attach to it the kwan valuation, calling it bunsen, by which is meant the amount of tax imposed upon it. All the lands then came thus to be labelled with their kwan valuation, but it does not necessarily mean that all the land-taxes were paid in money; they were, in fact, paid in money or rice as was convenient. In describing the economic development of Europe, Hildebrand says that the economic development of all the nations did not follow a similar path, but it holds good everywhere that when taxes begin to be paid in money instead of in kind, it marks decided progress. We are justified, then, in saying that the establishment of the kwan denomination, showing, on the one hand, the advent of the age of monetary economics, and, on the other, that the time was ripe for the money payment of taxes, is surely a turning-point in the economic history of Japan. This way of paying was probably commenced in the

Minamoto and Taira Age, about 700 years ago, and completed towards the beginning of the Hojo Age.

Though it is generally called the kwantaka, it does not necessarily mean that the tax was to be paid by money, and is nothing more than the valuation of land, resembling the assessed value of land in the modern times. Nevertheless, the following direction of Lord Hojo to the farmers of Nishio village, Musashi, shows that this valuation of land was the standard by which all sorts of tax were reckoned and imposed :—

CHARGES FIXED FOR THE YEAR.

THE HOUSEHOLD RATES OF TERAO VILLAGE.
THE LAND-TAX OF THE SAME VILLAGE.

9,638 Kwan
16,000 Kwan

Total 25,638 (fixed) Kwan

The above is to be paid every year, at the rate of 16 sho of rice for every 100 mon (equal to $\frac{1}{10}$ kwan) of money, and the village is to send the horses loaded with rice to Tamanawa and deliver the rice to the commissioner there. Measurers of rice are appointed as before, and they must measure it in a just and equitable manner; and if the commissioner treats the farmers unfairly they may make a direct complaint to the lord. Household rates are to be paid by the 10th of September, and the land-tax by the end of the same month, and in case of non-payment or arrears of the above taxes a commissioner is to be sent to the village and to hold the wives, children, and cattle of such delinquent payers. Commissioners are ordered to announce to the farmers the import of this ordinance.

CHIEF COMMISSIONER.

The 26th day of August.

TO THE FARMERS.

The year of the above document is not given, but from the fact that there are found documents of the 1st year of Genki and the 8th year of Eiraku of the same import, we can infer that it was issued in 1370, and though, according to this document, it is fixed for Nishio village to pay 25,638 kwan for both household rates and land-tax it was not necessary to pay it in money. It could be paid at the rate of 14 sho of rice for 100 mon of money, with the addition that in case of arrears the farmers should pay a fine at the rate of 3 sho for every 36 sho of rice, and until such arrears were fully paid off, the wives, children, and cattle of the delinquents could be held. It is clear that kwantaka was a kind of assessed value of land, and the payment of taxes was not limited to money only.

THERE WAS NO FIXED RATIO BETWEEN THE KWANTAKA AND THE KOKU AMOUNT.—The institution of valuation of land by kwan sprang, then, from the change in the method of tax payment from rice payment to money payment, and when we come to inquire whether there was a fixed rate in the exchange of rice to money adopted throughout the whole country, the answer is decidedly in the negative. Every locality had its own market price of rice different from that of other localities, and each had its own rate of exchange between the kwan (representing the amount of money) and the koku (representing the amount of rice). Students may ask the question here, why did Hideyoshi change the kwan institution to the koku system. But before entering on this discussion it is necessary to decide whether the land survey was considered for the first time by Hideyoshi. It is a fact that beyond that no ruling policy could be so suddenly thought out and abruptly put into practice, and especially when it deals with such a great problem closely wrapped up with the interests of millions of farmers and their lords, it is next to impossible to believe that a land survey was thought of for the first time in the era of Hideyoshi, and also put into practice for the first time. There are reasons to believe that the necessity of land surveying was already felt here and there, and even in some places the survey had been partly made.

We have an old document which proves that the land was surveyed in 1574, before Hideyoshi's time in Fukawa village, Iruma-gori, in Musashi Province. In 1574, when Hideyoshi was as yet a general under Nobunaga and conquering the middle provinces, Musashi was ruled by Hojo Ujiyasu, who, on a report that there were concealed rice-fields in the Fukawa district, sent his officials to investigate, and then, finding that it was really so, he ordered a survey of the land in the above district and increased the land-tax from 17,246 kwan to 46,353 kwan, at the same time rewarding his informants, appointing them to the position of deputy-tribune and giving them 5 kwan of money out of the increased land-tax.

LAND SURVEY WAS IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE SPIRIT OF THE AGE.—The Handen system established by the Statute of Taiho was afterwards replaced by the manor system, but the latter was reduced to confusion when Yoritomo instituted the offices of Shugo and Jito, which, too, lost their original form in the Ashikaga Age, when there were three or four claimants to one division of land, and there was no perfect ownership to any one man. This unique state of affairs lasted until the Onin War, when things began to improve and ownership of land was secured to one man, or at least to fewer men, but there being no land register in existence, holders, whether they had been lawfully granted the ownership of land by Imperial order or stolen it of others, merely succeeded to the title that handed down for several hundred years and did not know the area of the land they owned. Such a state of affairs was, of course, unsatisfactory to thoughtful provincial lords, and it was still more so when it became indispensably necessary for them to survey the land and strengthen their finances in order to defend and maintain their domains in the unceasing state of war and battle. Among the great feudal lords at the time the Hojo of Odawara had been, generation after generation, most eager to enrich their provinces and careful of civil administration, and it was not by chance that they were the first to survey the land, though they cannot claim to have discovered the method or principle. Hideyoshi simply applied to national affairs what others had done in their provinces and in part, and in doing so he followed the spirit of the age in the ruling class. The only difference of his land survey from that of others lies in the fact that while he obtained the actual knowledge of the area of land by his survey, he made it in connection with the change of the kwantaka into the kokutaka, but neither was the kokutaka system originated by him. As we have seen, kwantaka dates back to the Hojo Age, but being established on the basis of the prices at the time it could not remain unchanged for several hundred years, and not a few feudal lords, seeing that they were losing under this system, abolished it and adopted the new system of kokutaka. The following document is one showing that in 1542, when Hideyoshi was yet a child, there was an example of giving a fief by kokutaka in Omi Province :—

15*th September*, 11*th year of Temmon* (1542).

To SHIMOSAKA SAMANOSUKE.

SIR,—We have the honour to transmit to you the lord's order that you are given a fief of 400 koku in Higashi Hanzumi, Kato district, and you must so manage your fief as to obtain this income, besides the fixed amount of land-tax to be paid to the lord.

(Signed) KIYOYORI AND HIDENOBU.

There are many examples similar to the above, and the men serving under Hideyoshi, taking note of all these examples, evolved the new regulation, showing how necessary it was to satisfy the needs of the time by changing the kwantaka to the kokutaka, and also by acquiring a true knowledge of the area of rice-fields by a land survey.

LAND-SURVEY REGULATION.—Thus Hideyoshi, summing up the old land laws, issued the new regulations for land survey, of which the first principle was the change of the tan unit from the old tan of 360 bu 60 ken by 6 ken, to the new tan of 300 bu 60 ken by 5 ken, and though the regulations with regard to this land survey were equally applied throughout the country some divergence was allowed according to the different conditions of each locality.

Land Survey brought about an Increase of Area.—The ordinance by Hideyoshi shows that a $6\frac{3}{10}$-foot measuring pole was used for the land survey, and while it is said that Yamaguchi Gemba used a 6-foot pole in Bungo Province, it is also handed down that Lord Miyabe used a $6\frac{1}{2}$-foot pole in the same province; and though there are thus different reports as to the length of the pole used, yet it is beyond doubt that in the generality of cases a $6\frac{3}{10}$-foot pole was used for the land survey throughout the country. Formerly the area of 1 tan was of 360 tsubo, and 1 tsubo was an area of $6\frac{1}{2}$ feet square, but Hideyoshi changed it so as to make 1 tan of 300 tsubo of $6\frac{3}{10}$ feet square, which was equal to an increase of 30 per cent. on every 1 tan of rice-fields. As the tax on 1 new tan was the same as on 1 old tan, and also a large area of concealed rice-fields was discovered, the land survey increased the income from 30 to 50 per cent.

Farmers of Aidzu protested against Their Lord.—Hideyoshi was very desirous to obtain more income from the land-tax, and his land survey was a means to attain this end; but this was so only with regard to the land-tax, and of the other taxes many were wholly abolished or greatly lightened. Formerly, besides land-tax there were many miscellaneous taxes imposed upon farmers, such as yamanari (tax on the produce of hills and mountains) and uminari (tax on the marine products), and when we consider that Hideyoshi abolished such miscellaneous taxes while taxing the rice-fields and farms more heavily than before as a means of adjustment, it was not necessarily an increase of tax, and there were many provinces in which taxes were much lightened. But on the farmers who paid the tax on their rice-fields alone Hideyoshi's system was more exacting. Since the Middle Ages, while the farmers suffered oppression under the confused and chaotic land system, yet the loose and disorderly administration gave them a chance to escape their burdens and enjoy the usufruct of concealed rice-fields. With the enforcement by Hideyoshi of the land survey all over the country, the feudal lords, feeling very much the loss of the income from concealed rice-fields, found means to make it up by exacting much heavier taxes from the farmers, who in consequence were burdened with the heaviest taxes in the history of taxation in Japan. Besides, the farmers from the latter part of the Ashikaga Age had not been pure agriculturists, but, owing to the exigencies of the times, peasant soldiers as well. It is true they worked in their fields and farms, but when stragglers from some defeated army appeared, the villagers armed themselves, attacked the refugees, and took their arms and weapons, which they turned into money. When, therefore, Hideyoshi confiscated all arms in the possession of farmers, and the feudal lords imposed upon them much heavier taxes than before, they found their position unbearable, and even in this age, when a protest against the feudal lord was regarded to be of as grave and fatal a nature as *lèse-majesté* to-day, the farmers in Aidzu Province presented a petition to their lord in which they bitterly complained of the heavy taxes and personal services imposed upon them. Such was the real situation of the farmers who were groaning under the severe burden of heavy taxes and services; and though those in Aidzu so resolutely protested against their lord, Gamo Ujisato, for his oppressive exactions, yet it was not Lord Gamo alone whose methods of taxation were so oppressive. All other feudal lords resembled him in their eagerness to make up the loss of the benefits from concealed rice-fields and farms by shifting to the farmers' shoulders the severe burden of taxes and services.

RATE OF CONVERSION OF THE KWANTAKA INTO THE KOKUTAKA.—By the standard mentioned above, the kwantaka was changed to the kokutaka in the time of Hideyoshi, but, each locality having its own special condition, it was impossible to apply the same fixed rate for the conversion of kwantaka into kokutaka all over the country; and though such a fixed rate was not therefore published, if the following records—one of the kwantaka age, and the other after the land survey—are compared, a sufficient idea will be obtained about the rate of the conversion:—

AMOUNT OF LAND-TAX PAID IN MONEY.

IGARA MANOR, SHINANO PROVINCE.

(Kwantaka before the land survey.)

Amount of Money Tax. *Kwan.*	*Name of Village.*
301.620	Satake (lower)
165.000	Hanyuno (lower)
131.000	Oseki (lower
248.500	Kitakata (middle)
656.900	Yamamura (middle)
59.400	Kamitonooka (lower)
482.483	Nakamura (middle)
303.102	Kume (upper)

(Rest omitted)

Total, 7674.551 Kwan.

(Signed) TSUNEHA ROKUROZAEMON.

September, 15th year of Tensho.

AMOUNT OF LAND-TAX PAID IN RICE.

IGARA MANOR, SHINANO PROVINCE.

(Kokutaka after the land survey.)

Amount of Rice Tax. *Koku.*	*Name of Village.*
600.3242	Satake (lower)
329.9082	Hanyuno (lower)
262.9000	Oseki (lower)
497.0190	Kitakata (lower)
1313.9603	Yamamura (middle)
159.8960	Isshiki (middle)
118.8213	Kamitonooka (lower)
964.9650	Nakamura (middle)
517.1568	Kume (upper)

(Rest omitted)

Total, 12441.9463 Koku,

(Signed) LORD KYOGOKU SHURINOTAIFU } The Survey Commis-
ASAIKUHEI HAZUE KOEMON } sioners under the lord.

September, 19*th year of Tensho.*

According to this, we find that 1 kwan corresponds to about 2 koku, but, of course, the rates cannot be applied generally, and there are such differences that in some parts of the provinces of Mutsu Uzen, and Ugo, 1 kwan corresponded to $\frac{7}{10}$ koku. The variation is due to the difference in the price of rice and its quality in every different locality.

YOUNG MEN CONSCRIPTED AS SOLDIERS.—Notwithstanding that Hideyoshi's object in the land survey was to increase income, it is rather strange to find that in some localities income was decreased and the question remains how such a state of things was brought about. When we trace back the cause that brought about such decrease of income we find it in the neglect of cultivation, which is again a question demanding explanation. After the rise of the first Ashikaga Shogun, with his strongholds in the three provinces of Kozuke, Mikawa, and Owari, there was no peace in Japan for hundreds of years, and amidst never-ceasing wars and battles the two great military geniuses and statesmen, Oda Nobunaga and Toyotomi Hideyoshi, both from the Owari and Mikawa Provinces, were successive masters of the country, and pressed the agricultural people hard with taxes and services. Nevertheless, the greater cause of the ruin of agricultural land was not heavy taxes and services exacted by the great feudal lords, and there arises still another question demanding some explanation. In this age the distinction between soldiers and peasants was already sharp, but while, on the one hand, the feudal lords, facing one another in offence or defence, had to supplement their own hereditary retainers by recruiting the peasants to serve in their campaigns, there were, on the other, so-called "field soldiers" everywhere in the country who were not feudal lords, and yet not followers only. Sometimes these men lived as large farmers, but at others they fought under great feudal lords, and the circumstances being such it was natural that the number of purely agricultural people was greatly decreased in and around the Owari and Mikawa Provinces. The best example is Hideyoshi himself, who was originally merely a peasant boy and became a great leader employing as his obedient generals men who were equally village ragamuffins in their origin. Such were the circumstances in which agricultural youths left their native places and caused cultivation to be neglected. Among the great feudal lords at the time, Hojo Ujiyasu, once Nobunaga's opponent, was the most notorious for raising soldiers from among his peasants, and it is worth while to mention here how and in what manner he did so. The foundation of the second Hojo family was made much later than that of other great feudal families, just as with Russia in Europe, and the Hojo had to hold their position by constant readiness in offence and defence, which they did by recruiting the peasants in their provinces. The following document is the ordinance issued to the farmers of Komabayashi, Tachibana-gori, Sagami Province, calling the men from seventeen to seventy years of age to come to the battle-fields all armed, and was perhaps issued by Ujiyasu at the time when he was in arms against Uesugi Kenshin :—

1. All the men, including those of the samurai class, in this country district are ordered to come and be registered on the 20th day of this month. They are to bring with them a gun, spear, or any kind of weapon, if they happen to possess one, without fearing to get into trouble.

2. If it is known afterwards that even one man in this district concealed himself and did not respond to the call, such man, no matter whether he is a district commissioner or a peasant, is to be beheaded.

3. All the men, from fifteen to seventy years of age, are ordered to come ; not even a monkey tamer will be let off.

4. Men to be permitted to remain in the village are those whose ages are above seventy years, or under fifteen years and too young to be used as messengers, but the others are all ordered to come.

5. It will be good for the men to prepare for the call by polishing their spears and preparing little paper flags to be taken with them. Those who are fitted to be messengers, and desire to do that service, will be so permitted.

6. All the men covered by this ordinance are to come to Katsukui on the 4th day and get registered before the lord's deputy and then return home. District commissioners and farmers are to come in companies, but if the appointed day happens to be rainy, they are to come the first day the weather is settled. Men must arrive at the appointed place properly armed with anything they happen to possess, and those who do not possess a bow, a spear, or any sort of regular weapon are to bring even hoes or sickles.

7. This regulation is generally applicable, and even the Buddhist priests who desire to do duty for their own native province are invited to come.

It is ordered to pay strict attention to the purport of the above seven articles, and if there be anyone who disregards this ordinance and neglects his duty, such a one is to be severely punished; while the man who is careful and eager to be loyal to his lord will be rewarded with the grant that is reasonable and suitable to him.

To the District Commissioners and Farmers of
Komabayashi, Tachibana-gori,
On the 26th day of July.

Note.—Because of the absence of the lord on the campaign, the old lord signed and sealed.

(*Second part.*)

We see how eager the feudal lord was to adopt the principle that all men are soldiers, and that the farmers were amply supplied with weapons; neither was Hojo Ujiyasu the only man to adopt this principle, for all other great feudal lords resembled him in their desire to increase their military force as much as they could. Historians write of this age that battles and dissensions continued for hundreds of years so that agricultural people were unsettled and farmer and fields were all ruined, but such generalizing is quite insufficient to explain the real situation, and only such a document as Ujiyasu's just quoted gives a panoramic view of the state of farmers hastening from the fields of agriculture to fields of battle.

Warning to Feudal Lords.—Arms were thus common among the people and agricultural youths well accustomed to serve as soldiers, and for this reason the farmers could suddenly arise in insurrection and even gave anxiety to such great generals and statesmen as Nobunaga and Iyeyasu. Especially when their rights were infringed they never hesitated to make themselves heard. Therefore, Hideyoshi gave Sasa Narimasa the following warning instructions when he appointed him lord of Higo Province:—

1. To the fifty-three local magnates the same fief as hithertofore is to be given.
2. No land survey shall be made for three years.
3. Due precaution is to be taken never to embarrass farmers.
4. Due precaution is always to be taken that no insurrection shall take place.
5. No charge shall be made upon farmers for the contribution to the public works to be carried out at Osaka.

The above are strictly and carefully to be observed.

(Signed) Hideyoshi.

The 15th year of Tensho.

The hot and hasty temper of Sasa Narimasa made him unable to observe these instructions; insurrections broke out against him in Higo Province, and he was dismissed and committed suicide.

EFFECT OF HIDEYOSHI'S LAND SURVEY.—Hideyoshi's land survey was commenced in 1590 and continued until about 1596, the long period of seven years showing what an unprecedentedly great work it was. Yet, while he accomplished such a vast work at home, he undertook the great Korean Expedition, and his genius is clearly shown by the fact that amid such entanglements of plans and schemes he was always cool and even leisurely in manner. Thus Hideyoshi's land survey was ended, but we must repeat that its result was painful to the farmers. Formerly 1 tan of rice-field was 360 tsubo of $6\frac{1}{2}$ feet square each, but this was reduced to 300 tsubo of $6\frac{3}{10}$ feet square each. In previous days concealed rice-fields and the use of a longer measuring pole were overlooked, and gave to the farmers more or less concealed profits, but now not only were such concealed profits revealed and put an end to, but the land-tax on the curtailed area of 1 tan as described above was the same as on the former larger area. The tax thus to be paid to the feudal lord was called kokumori, which is a fixed amount of rice and other cereals. The following rate of tax of Hinode district, Hayami-gori, Bungo Province, fixed in accordance with the land-survey book of that district, is only a local standard, but it will serve as a guide for us to infer what was the general rate covering the whole country:—

TAX ON THE RICE-FIELDS.

Name of Village.	Tax on the First-Class Rice-Field.	Tax on the Second-Class Rice-Field.	Tax on the Third-Class Rice-Field.
	Per Tan.	Per Tan.	Per Tan.
Uemura	1.600 koku	1.400 koku	1.200 koku
Nakamura	1.500 koku	1.300 koku	1.100 koku
Shimomura	1.400 koku	1.200 koku	1.100 koku

TAX ON THE FARMS.

Name of Village.	Tax on the First-Class Farm.	Tax on the Second-Class Farms.	Tax on the Third-Class Farm.
	Per Tan.	Per Tan.	Per Tan.
Uemura	1.400 koku	1.200 koku	1.000 koku
Nakamura	1.300 koku	1.100 koku	0.900 koku
Shimomura	1.200 koku	1.000 koku	0.800 koku

The masudai, or tax of koku, 1,600 per tan, is based on the estimate that the amount of rice produced from 1 tan is 4,800 koku, and dividing that amount into three parts, two-thirds is taken by the feudal lord and one-third by the farmer. This principle of taxation was called the " two to the Lord and one to the farmer " principle, and was fixed by Hideyoshi, but it must always be kept in mind that rice was unhulled and when cleaned would be reduced to half.

In the Ashikaga Age, in some localities, the produce of the land was divided into ten parts, of which the feudal lords took four-tenths and the farmers six-tenths, and that was called the " four to the lord and six to the farmer " principle. In other places, three-tenths went to the feudal lord and seven-tenths to the farmer. Thus, then, though it appears at first sight as if the land-tax was lightened in Hideyoshi's time, yet when we remember that at the same time the tan was decreased in size, we realize that the farmers were, after all, more heavily burdened than before.

A Farmer's Son oppressed Farmers.—Hideyoshi put upon the farmers' shoulders all the burdens to meet the expenditure necessary for his administration, but he did not stop there, and went on to confiscate, by the so-called Sword-hunting Ordinance of 1588, all the arms possessed by farmers, and made them quite defenceless, the object of which was to make farmers exclusively devote themselves to agricultural works, as will be seen in the following ordinance :—

REGULATIONS.

> It is a source of safety and happiness for farmers and their posterity that they should possess only agricultural implements and tools, and devote themselves exclusively to farming work, and this is ordered by His Highness out of his deep sympathy with the situation of farmers, and also of his desire for peace in the country and happiness for farmers, such as was found in the age of the Emperor Gyo in China, when peace reigned over the country and swords were melted down into ploughshares. Japan has no such precedent, so all the farmers are to consider well of the purport of this ordinance, and be diligent in their work on the farms.

Hideyoshi was originally a farmer's son, but when the farmer's son was raised to high position, he put upon the shoulders of his kith and kin all the social duties, imposing upon them the heaviest taxes in our history. By disarming the farmers he made them quite defenceless, so that the distinction between farmers and soldiers was sharply drawn. Although it is true that because of farmers entirely devoting themselves to agriculture, the ruin of farm villages was stopped, yet the disarmed farmers had no means of contending against the tyranny of feudal lords, and this class which had been somehow enjoying more or less freedom during these 300 years again sank into a state of serfdom, doomed to groan under the policy of the farmer's son, innocently attributing it to Providence.

CHAPTER XXXII

BEGINNING OF THE PERSECUTION OF THE CATHOLICS

Number of Catholics reached Two Millions.—Catholicism was at first protected by Nobunaga and the feudal lords of Kyushu, and rapidly expanded all over that part of the country, many of the great generals under Nobunaga and Hideyoshi being christened. From its first introduction into Satsuma in 1549 up to the death of Hideyoshi in 1598 more than 500,000 people were baptized; in 1605, when Tokugawa Iyeyasu constructed Edo Castle, the number of believers reached 750,000, and it will be not too much to say that towards the year 1613, when Iyeyasu was besieging Osaka Castle, there were about 1,000,000. If the children of converts be taken into account, the faithful may have numbered 2,000,000, so that if this development had not been checked, Japan would have become a Christian country. In 1581, the year after Lord Otomo Sorin's envoy was dispatched to the Pope at Rome, Nobunaga, the great protector of the Roman Catholics in Japan, was killed by Akechi Mitsuhide, and succeeded as ruler by Hideyoshi, which event proved detrimental to the development of the alien faith in the country. Hideyoshi differed from Nobunaga in his political views, and thinking his predecessor's destructive policy to be too drastic, he leaned towards conciliation, not only in his administration, but in his dealings with the Buddhists, to placate whom he lavished money and labour on the construction of the temple of the Great Buddha's Image in Kyoto. So careful of details was he that he visited the workshop where the Great Image was being constructed and placed his hands upon the timbers, in accordance with the Buddhist rite. It is true that Hideyoshi raised the great Buddha in Kyoto in emulation of the one at Nara, thinking thus to leave a lasting relic of his age, just as he built Osaka Castle, the Shuraku Mansion and Fushimi Castle, but there was a further reason, namely, desire to keep peace with the Buddhists. Nobunaga had razed the temples on Mount Hiei to the ground, and the priests were scattered far and wide; but after his death these scattered monks began to collect here and there, and discuss plans for reconstructing the temples and restoring them to their former state of prosperity. Zenso, lord of the Medical Department of the Government, and Senbu and Gosei of the Kwannonji Temple, asked a prince of the blood, Prince Takatomo, to accept the headship of the rebuilt monastery, and begged

Hideyoshi to grant permission for the work. He met their wishes and gave them a licence to solicit contributions for that religious purpose, and thus the great monastery was gradually reconstructed, largely by the help of the great man's sympathy, though he did not live to see the place restored to its former prosperity.

HIDEYOSHI'S GOOD WILL TOWARDS THE CATHOLICS.—Hideyoshi thus showed good will towards the Buddhists, but he was no true believer, and his aim was purely political; if it served his purpose, he was just as willing to persecute as not. Precisely similar was his attitude towards Christianity. He had for Christians neither good will nor dislike, but we are told how in one instance he showed favour to them. Takayama Ukon, the lord of Takatsuki Castle, was a stout helper of Hideyoshi in the campaign against Akechi Mitsuhide, and when the former became the master of the country and constructed Osaka Castle, he made Takatsuki Castle a branch of Osaka, and gave Takayama a new fief in Mino. When Takayama Ukon was still at Takatsuki he had energetically propagated Christianity among the people under his rule, and gave about 30,000 people, who were still obstinate, the alternative of conforming or leaving his fief. It is recorded that these 30,000 people, placed in this dilemma, invited a Portuguese missionary from Kyoto in order to hear him explain the doctrine. So eager was Takayama Ukon that, taking advantage of his having a mansion in Osaka, he instructed a Japanese Christian missionary to work among the Osaka people, and many feudal lords and samurai were converted, among whom were Konishi Yukinaga, who was baptized as Dom Augustan, and his mother. These two were as zealous propagandists as Takayama Ukon, and equally successful in converting other feudal lords and samurai, including Kuroda Yoshitaka, who was baptized as Simon. When, therefore, Takayama Ukon was removed to Mino Province, he felt himself the forerunner to preach the Gospel among the people under his rule, and used all his power as the local ruler to convert his subjects to Christianity. Among his new subjects were many staunch Buddhists, who, taking the image of Buddha with them, left their homes and journeyed to Osaka, where they found means to approach Hideyoshi's wife, and through her medium told how they were persecuted at home and begged for help. Hideyoshi was quite impartial towards both Buddhists and Christians, and, being an admirer of Takayama Ukon, refused to interfere, and rejected the petition of the Buddhists. In 1585, the year after the battle at Nagakude between Hideyoshi and Iyeyasu, the Catholic Bishop Gaspar Quello visited Osaka, and Takayama Ukon united with Konishi Yukinaga and Kuroda Yoshitaka in giving him a hearty welcome, in the course of which they asked Hideyoshi to favour the bishop with an interview. Hideyoshi consented, and when the bishop came to the Osaka Castle, accompanied by eight foreign and fifteen Japanese priests and six Japanese Christians, he went so far as to give a dinner in his honour, and told him that since the country was now peacefully settled, and he had nothing to do at home, he was intending to conquer China. For this purpose he would have to build about 2,000 ships to transport his army, and he was eager to buy two stout ships from the Portuguese, for which he would pay a proper price. Would the bishop help him to get them? So anxious was Hideyoshi to have the help of his visitors that he told them that while he was preparing for the great expedition about half of the Japanese people would be converted to Christianity, and after he had conquered China and made it a dependency, " he would build temples and churches all over the countries under his sway, dedicating them all to God, and order all his people to believe in Christianity." Hideyoshi was at heart indifferent to religion, and he thus courted the favour of the Portuguese Bishop simply to make use of his knowledge of European civilization for his own benefit, and through the mediation of the priests to obtain the Portuguese ships he had set his heart upon for his expedition.

HIDEYOSHI BEGINNING TO ALIENATE THE CATHOLICS.—Hideyoshi was both open-hearted and enterprising to a degree to entitle him to very high rank among the world's great men, but a great man is not necessarily a perfect gentleman and a model of good conduct, and Hideyoshi, surrounded by 300 Court ladies, led a highly immoral life. The Catholics held very strict views about sexual immorality, and their sermons often seemed to reflect on Hideyoshi's personal conduct, so that he used to say jokingly : " If Catholicism scanned my morals with more indulgence I would become a Catholic." The missionaries on their part, not realizing that Hideyoshi was not really to be moved, used every means of exhortation and flattery to convert him to the Catholic faith. He showed the missionaries good will because many of his bravest and cleverest generals, such as Konishi Yukinaga, Kuroda Yoshitaka, and Takayama Ukon, were staunch Catholics, and it was his interest to placate them, yet the time now arrived when he resolutely interdicted the Christian faith in the country. As we have seen, Hideyoshi was very anxious to buy the ships from the Portuguese through the mediation of the missionaries, but he was baulked in his desire, and the ships were not to be obtained. It was, of course, no easy task for the Portuguese to build the ships at Macao or some other place, yet even had they been able to do so, they did not want to sell them to Japanese, and used all kinds of deceit to get out of it. When the Spaniards were later asked by Tokugawa Iyeyasu to buy for him large ships, they followed just the same path as the Portuguese did with Hideyoshi. The missionaries flattered themselves that they had deceived Hideyoshi, but they were deceived themselves, and Hideyoshi's penetrating eyes read their mind clearly, and knowing that they were disobedient, and that there was some reason for their disobedience, he felt his dignity hurt, and could hardly suppress his anger. While he was thus dissatisfied with the Catholic missionaries, fresh fuel was piled on the flames. The year after his request to the missionaries to buy the Portuguese ships for him, he went down to Kyushu to conquer the Shimazu family, and there he found a state of things which bitterly outraged the dignity of the man who was now preparing to trample on Korea and subdue China. In Nagasaki, a corner of his own land, he found that the Portuguese possessed the land, ruled the people, collected the taxes, and, excluding the Buddhists and burning their temples and images, were usurping the power and form of a monarch. His anger was hot at witnessing such an unimaginable state of things just while he was very dissatisfied with the Portuguese missionaries for disobeying his orders, and he at once deprived the Portuguese of all the privileges they had long enjoyed at Nagasaki, and his attitude towards the Catholics was utterly changed.

Origin of the Interdiction against the Catholics.—Hideyoshi's mind was thus changed against the Catholics in Japan, and so predisposed, everything the Portuguese and the Catholic missionaries did added fresh fuel to his indignation. We are told, too, that the Portuguese merchants took Japanese girls by force into the ships and indulged every kind of debauchery, arousing the strong resentment of those who had to witness it. When rebuked by the missionaries, these merchants sailed to other places where there were no missionaries, and as the people knew nothing of the relations between the Portuguese missionaries and the merchants, the wantonness of the latter brought all foreigners into ill repute. It was very unfortunate for the Catholic missionaries and believers that at this momentous juncture a huge Portuguese merchantman entered the harbour of Hirado. The arrival was at once reported to Hideyoshi, who was full of anxiety to see the ship and send a message to the captain, through Quello, the Portuguese bishop, ordering him to come round to Hakata because it was just the ship he wanted for his forthcoming Chinese expedition. The Bishop brought answer from the captain that though he was very eager to obey the order of His Highness, the voyage to Hakata would be a risky one both for ship and cargo, and besides the entry being very narrow, it was almost impossible to sail into Hakata port. Of course, this answer was given because the captain saw very clearly that Hideyoshi wanted to buy the ship even by force. This was the last straw, and the very night Hideyoshi got the answer he issued the ordinance of

Catholic Interdiction, telling the missionaries to withdraw from the land. It fell as a thunderbolt upon the missionaries and their home and foreign followers, and they recorded that the blow to their religion was the result of the immorality of the Portuguese merchants, the pride of Hideyoshi, and slander of the Buddhist priests combined.

BANISHMENT OF TAKAYAMA UKON AND OTHER CATHOLIC BELIEVERS. Hideyoshi's anger against the Catholics thus burst out, and feeling very uneasy about the bravery and firmness of Takayama Ukon, he sent a message to say that one who had deserted the religion of his forefathers, burnt Shinto shrines and Buddhist temples, and forced his people to become Christians, could never be loyal to a non-Christian sovereign. He then put before him the alternative of recanting or losing his fief and property and going into exile. Fearing resistance, Hideyoshi sent a sufficient force with his envoy, but to his great surprise Takayama meekly surrendered his fief and property with the words that not for a thousand times greater fief or wealth a thousandfold greater would he betray his God, and in a single day descended with his family from his high estate to be a penniless wanderer, Hideyoshi divided his fief and possessions among other feudal lords. The persecution of the Roman Catholics in Japan was thus commenced, but the Portuguese merchants were permitted to stay and continue their business as usual, on the condition that they did not try to propagate the Catholic religion on penalty of confiscation of their ships and cargoes. The Bishop and other Portuguese missionaries, judging from Hideyoshi's character that his mandate was irresistible, resigned themselves to the fate of being exiled from Japan in a company, but begged for a delay of six months, as there was no ship to take them to Portuguese India. Hideyoshi consented, and all the foreign missionaries were ordered to assemble at Hirato, and there wait for ships. Occasionally Hideyoshi issued other ordinances ; for example, that the Japanese missionaries, too, should be exiled or suffer death, that no Japanese should possess a cross, that no Christian cathedral or church should be permitted anywhere in the country, and that no one should keep any articles connected with Christianity. When these regulations were posted high at the street corners in Hakata and other large towns, all the Catholic believers trembled, and, meeting here and there, discussed possible remedies ; while the Buddhists and adventurers, in high feather, made every effort to spread evil reports against the Catholic missionaries, both native and foreign. At a Christian assembly at Hirado, in August 1587, methods of meeting the situation were discussed, and four points decided upon : One, as there was hope of their being able to get an audience with Hideyoshi and persuade him to change his mind, all the missionaries and believers should pray fervently that their request might be granted. Two, that all the missionaries should rather face death and stay in Japan than leave about half a million of the believers unprotected and without priests. Third, that all the missionaries thus determined to stay in Japan should be most discreet in all they did, and keep their movements secret, so as not to invoke Hideyoshi's anger. Fourth, that as they must expect death when it was known that, notwithstanding the Portuguese ships were ready, the missionaries would not withdraw out of the country, they should all pray to God, bear torture, and die martyrs to their religion.

HIDEYOSHI'S GENERALS SECRETLY SHELTERING THE CATHOLICS.—When the above decision of the Catholics was communicated to the feudal lords who had embraced the Christian faith, they were not daunted by the impending danger, and all vied in sheltering in their territories the Catholic missionaries. Omura Kizen, the lord of Omura in Hizen Province, gave shelter to twelve missionaries; Lord Otomo Yoshimune to five; the Lord Tribune of Hirado to four; a female lord in Chikugo Province to two; the Lord of Amakusa Island, who had the Christian name of Jandark, to nine; and besides the Lord of Arima took in 70 missionaries and over 60 theological students who escaped from Kyoto and came down there. As we have seen, all Takayama's fief and properties were confiscated, but he was utterly indifferent to the change of his life, and left his castle, where he was never to return, as if on a picnic, singing hymns with his family and followers. Christians or not, other lords could not help admiring him and out of sympathy with him in his vicissitude, privately sent him money. More than that, Konishi Yukinaga secretly inviting him to Juno Island in his territory, gave him a shelter there, where he was later joined by the Portuguese missionary Walgantan, and then Konishi Yukinaga, appointing one of his most faithful adherents, who was also a staunch Catholic, magistrate of the island, gave strict orders that no one who was not a Christian should be allowed there. The mother of Konishi Yukinaga, who had the Christian name of Magdalene, served Hideyoshi's wife as her maid and secretary, but when the ordinance of Interdiction was promulgated she expressly told her mistress that she would never abandon her religion, even though threatened with death, and begged to be allowed to leave her. The great lady consoled her and told her that it would be all right if she made no public profession of her faith, to which Yukinaga's mother answered that falsehood was never tolerated in Catholicism, and, apologizing for her obstinacy, took leave of her lady and retired into private life among the citizens, where she awaited the sentence of death. At this juncture a Portuguese ship arrived, and Hideyoshi bade the captain to take on board all the missionaries, but the captain replied that with all the will in the world to transport the priests to Portuguese India, his ship was so heavily loaded that he had not room for them. Hideyoshi was greatly exasperated, and, telling the captain that all the missionaries would then be put to death, began to raze the churches in Osaka, Kyoto, and Sakai, and burnt twenty-two churches between Kyoto and Sakai. Nevertheless, Walgantan and other Portuguese missionaries, who were well versed in Japanese conditions and could speak Japanese, disguised themselves and worked among the villages as usual. The Lord of Arima, in spite of Hideyoshi's stringent ordinance, permitted in his territory public prayers and meeting so that it had the look of a small Christendom ; only, warned by the missionaries, he modified a little the outer form of Christendom. The Lord of Amakusa Island went much further, and publicly opened the churches, and rang the bells for prayers and preaching, utterly disregarding the will of a mighty prince. Such great feudal lords as Konishi Yukinaga, Kuroda Yoshitaka, etc., frequented Arima and had meetings with the missionaries as unconcernedly as before, and therefore, judged from these points, the ordinance of Catholic Interdiction of the 15th year of Tensho was perhaps the result of Hideyoshi's temporary exasperation and not put thoroughly into practice.

HIDEYOSHI'S ANGER SUBDUED.—Not long afterwards, Hideyoshi one day inquired what had become of Takayama Ukon, and when told that there had been no talk of Takayama Ukon lately and so he had perhaps gone abroad, the Regent pondered awhile and then said that though he had ordered the banishment of Takayama, yet he did not necessarily mean to make him an exile out of the country. When this came to the ears of Takayama's friends in Osaka Castle, they sent the news to Takayama, and advised him to come to Osaka and get access to the Central Government, as Hideyoshi's anger was more or less moderated. Takayama accordingly left his island and came to Kyoto, hearing of which, Hideyoshi ordered Lord Maeda of Kaga Province to take him into his castle and treat him well. At this point we may well ask why, when there were so many Catholic believers, Hideyoshi persecuted Takayama Ukon alone, and so soon repented and asked Lord Maeda to treat him kindly. Judging from all the circumstances, the answer is that Hideyoshi's once ferocious anger against the Catholics was the result of ill-feelings, suspicion, selfish calculation, and uneasiness all mixed up, and was not based on deliberate consideration and sound judgment. It is commonly believed that Hideyoshi's ordinance had far-spread results and weighed equally upon all Catholic believers, inflicting upon them very severe punishments, and initiating every kind of cruel persecution throughout the country. This was not so in fact, and it was only the feudal lords, who were themselves anti-Catholic, who fell in with the ordinance and severely maltreated the believers in their own localities during the years from 1587 to 1590. There were many Catholics as usual on Hideyoshi's headquarter staff, and afterwards in the successive campaigns against the Hojo family, the settlement of the northern provinces and Korean expedition, the Catholics were unchangeably loyal and brave soldiers under Hideyoshi.

THE MISSION DISPATCHED BY THE LORDS OF KYUSHU NOW RETURNED.—In 1590, six years after Hideyoshi began to persecute the Catholics, Gaspar Quello, the Catholic bishop, died of consumption. He had been nineteen years in Japan, labouring earnestly in the interests of his religion, and, seeing the deluge and storm about to overwhelm all the Christian brethren, he died with prayers to God to save them all. A month after his death the envoy to the Roman Pope dispatched by the feudal lords of Kyushu returned together with Alexander Valegnani, who accompanied the mission and went with them to Rome. It was in February 1582 that the mission had started for Rome, and they returned in July 1590, and members of it who had been boys when they left were grown up and scarcely to be recognized by their parents and brothers when they went on board the ship to welcome them. Amidst the joy of the welcome they were told how changed conditions now were at home and that Catholicism was publicly prohibited, and that while some lords in certain localities were courageous enough still to talk about Christianity, the believers in general were severely persecuted and could only worship and pray in secret. The return of Valegnani was very encouraging to the Catholics, for he was a man of far-reaching wisdom and eloquence and ranked next to Xavier in the estimation of the feudal lords of the same faith. Besides, as he was now in the capacity of special envoy appointed by the Governor-General of Portuguese India, all the Catholics entertained high hopes that he would, some way or other, soften Hideyoshi's heart when they were talking together.

THE ENVOY GRANTED AN INTERVIEW WITH HIDEYOSHI.—When Lord Otomo and other feudal lords reported the return of their sons and brothers from Europe, Hideyoshi, in spite of his dislike of the Catholics, was much interested, and being very anxious to hear their travel tales urged them to come up to Kyoto. So the young nobles set out for the capital, followed a little later by Valegnani, who was to ask Hideyoshi for an interview in his capacity as a special envoy from the Governor-General of Portuguese India. In January 1591 all the feudal lords who had come to Kyoto to greet Hideyoshi at the New Year met either by chance or by appointment the men newly returned home, and when they heard their tales about Europe, and saw such rare things as copper-plate prints, celestial and terrestrial globes, clocks, and mathematical instruments, they were astonished, and many admired the Catholic religion that was the spring of the European civilization. Even such a great feudal lord as Mori Terumoto, who was one of the most faithful adherents of Hideyoshi, was, in spite of the strict Ordinance of Interdiction issued by Hideyoshi, inclined to favour Catholicism, and the number of men baptized this year reached about 50,000. When, then, Valegnani asked for an interview, Hideyoshi sent twenty-six horses and three palanquins to fetch the mission, which presented a fine sight as it proceeded through the streets. First came the Arab horse presented to Hideyoshi by the Governor-General, with red velvet housings, silver harness, and plated stirrups, the reins held by two gorgeously dressed footmen. The horse was followed by two mounted Portuguese, and then, preceded by seven retainers, came the son of Lord Omura and others newly returned, all dressed in gilt-edged velvet costumes presented to them by the Pope at Rome. Hideyoshi's admiration of the Arab was so great that he said that among all the presents from the Governor-General of Portuguese India the horse was the most valuable, and nothing was good enough to give in return. The interview left on Hideyoshi's mind a very good impression, but it was neither rooted nor lasting. The anti-Catholics around him warned him that, despite his strict orders, Nagasaki was quite a Catholic city, where the missionaries were free to do their work, the church gates wide open, and numbers of people baptized every day. The priests had announced their determination never to withdraw, whatever ordinances might be issued, and the sole object of sending an envoy was to prevent the banishment of the missionaries. Was it not right, therefore, to question the qualifications of the envoy? In hot anger Hideyoshi sent an inspector down to Kyushu to see if his Ordinance of Interdiction was strictly executed, so that the missionaries were disturbed, closed the churches, and escaped to remote villages, which abated Hideyoshi's anger a little but did not change his determination to prohibit Catholicism. Shortly afterwards Hideyoshi asked a Portuguese missionary called Roderigue, who spoke Japanese well and was an interpreter between the Portuguese and Japanese, if all the people of India were Catholics, and when the latter answered that as India was divided into many nationalities there were different religions and customs, some people believing in Catholicism and others embracing the faith of their forefathers, but throughout the whole of India the Catholic missionaries were free to preach their religion, Hideyoshi said that he agreed it was fair to treat all sects of religion so, and then explained why he banished all the missionaries. He had no fault, he said, to find with the missionaries, but had banished them because many of the feudal lords, intoxicated with Catholicism, forced their people to become believers against their will. Neither can we deny that there is a good deal of truth in this. Later, when Hideyoshi was to answer the Governor-General of India, his secretaries wrote a most bombastic letter, denouncing the missionaries and reviling Catholicism; but Valegnani told Hideyoshi, through Lord Maeda Gen-i, that such an answer would surely bring to an end the trade between Japan and Portuguese India, and he could not consent to transmit it to the Governor-General of India unless it were remodelled. Hideyoshi saw reason and ordered the letter to be redrafted, saying that he was anxious to have friendly intercourse with India, and that though he had no quarrel with the missionaries, their teachings were contrary to what the old Japanese religions had been teaching, and that Japanese Shinto was inseparably interwoven with the administration in the country. He was, however, very desirous to see the trade between Portuguese and Japanese increase, and therefore he would allow the Portuguese merchants to live anywhere they liked and do their business. In addition, he gave implicit permission for ten Portuguese priests to stay in Nagasaki.

CATHOLICS DISTINGUISHED THEMSELVES IN THE EXPEDITION TO KOREA.—Maeda Gen-i was no fool, and as it was part of his office to deal with the missionaries, he used to warn them to be careful not to show how prosperous their work was, otherwise the foundation which was strengthening day by day might be undermined. Other feudal lords with Christian sympathies gave the same advice, which was proffered also by the lords who had themselves accepted Christianity; but in spite of this friendly counsel, there were found among the Christians many wild fanatics who desired only the personal glory of martyrdom amid the outward expansion of their religion. Besides, there were many foolish, bigoted missionaries who, being quite ignorant of the conditions at the centre of government, were elated by the number of their brethren and took a high tone with the local authorities, much to their annoyance. The decree against the Christians was then applied, sometimes severley, sometimes gently, until 1591, when the proclamation of the expedition to Korea was made and the country was busy with preparations. In fact, the feudal lords did not like the expedition, for they were now very desirous to enjoy ease and peace after their protracted struggles, but, seeing that Hideyoshi's determination was unalterable, they were obliged, willy-nilly, to toe the line. Neither did the Christians favour joining the expedition, for many believed that it was Hideyoshi's intention to get rid of the brave Christians on the battle-fields in Korea. It is a fact that Konishi Yukinaga took with him some Catholic missionaries to preach among his soldiers, but his friends warned him that such public disobedience would provoke Hideyoshi's anger, so he sent them back to Japan.

HIDEYOSHI INVITED THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF THE PHILIPPINES TO EXPRESS HIS SUBMISSION.—While Hideyoshi's army was battling with the relieving forces from China in Korea, there arrived in Nagoya the envoy sent to Hideyoshi by the Governor-General of the Philippine Islands, which came about in this way: There was a certain Harada Kiemon, a Christian, who went very often to the Philippine Islands and was well versed in conditions there; and this Harada Kiemon, observing how few soldiers there were in the Islands, was struck with the idea that they might easily be acquired either by force or by persuasion. He found means of letting Hideyoshi know that if His Highness sent him to the Islands as his envoy he was sure he could persuade the Governor-General to submit. Hideyoshi was greatly delighted, and wrote a letter to the Governor-General of the Islands inviting him to give up the Islands, and gave it to Kiemon. Kiemon, fearing the result of failure in his mission, gave Hideyoshi's letter to his nephew, Harada Magoshichiro, and sent him to the Governor-General of the Philippine Islands, who was terror-stricken when he read a message to the effect that if he did not submit and promise to send yearly tribute to Hideyoshi, the Islands would be overrun by armed force. However, knowing that Harada was only a merchant who sometimes came to Manila, he doubted of his *bona-fides*, thinking it unlikely Hideyoshi would entrust him with a mission, and therefore, with the object of ascertaining the truth, he sent the above-mentioned envoy. When Valegnani, who had lived long in the country, first as the head of the missionaries, and next the envoy from the Governor-General of Portuguese India, heard that Hideyoshi had invited the Governor-General of the Philippine Islands to submit to him, he wrote to the dean of a Catholic theological school at Manila, the capital of the Islands, and told him that since the Catholic influence was now declining in Japan, in order to revive it, it was most important not to hurt the feelings of the Japanese Government, and the utmost care should be taken by the Governor-General of the Philippine Islands to show as much respect toward Hideyoshi as possible. The Spaniard rejected this advice, and detaining Harada Magoshichiro in the Islands, he appointed a Spaniard name Lopez de Liano and a Dominican monk of the name of Juan Cobos as the regular and assistant envoys, and sent them to Japan.

PHILIPPINE ENVOYS SLANDERED THE PORTUGUESE AT NAGASAKI.—When the mission of the Philippine envoys arrived first at a port in Satsuma, they met there a Spanish merchant who had had his goods distrained upon for debt by a Portuguese merchant. He made an appeal to the Japanese, who decided the Portuguese had a right to attach the goods until the Spanish merchant obtained a regular judgment from the judges at home in Spain, and told him so. He got no more comfort from the Portuguese missionaries to whom he turned, who judged it ill-advised to interfere with the Japanese judgment, and counselled him to bow to it. Burning with anger against the missionaries and the merchants of Portugal, and seeing now an opportunity for revenge, he came to Satsuma Province to meet the envoys and accompanied them to Nagoya. Had the answer from the Governor-General of the Philippines been rightly translated, it would have exasperated Hideyoshi greatly, but Harada Kiemon, making a false translation, told him that as the Governor-General could not decide for himself such an important question, he had reported it to the King of Spain, and begged His Highness to grant him a delay for definite answer until he had received his orders from the King at home. Thereupon Hideyoshi, writing a letter in which he exaggerated the power and strength of Japan and bade the Governor to submit promptly, gave it to the envoys. In the meantime the Spaniards who accompanied the envoys took every advantage to slander the Portuguese at Nagasaki, and told Hideyoshi that they were the *de facto* rulers at Nagasaki, monopolizing the profits of all the foreign trade, disposing at their will of all the ships and merchandise from other countries, and, above all, concealing the Catholic missionaries in defiance of the ordinance promulgated by His Highness. Unfortunately, these slanders touched the points where Hideyoshi himself was suspicious, so that he credited them at once, and sending men to Nagasaki, levelled the churches and missionaries' residences, and furthermore, in order to see that his order was truly executed, he commanded to send to Nagoya ships loaded with the building materials of the demolished churches and houses.

Harada pretends to be the Envoy.—While the Philippine envoys were returning home with Hideyoshi's answer their ship was, unfortunately, wrecked, the envoys were both drowned, and Hideyoshi's answer was lost also ; but Harada Kiemon, pretending to be Hideyoshi's envoy, went to Manila and commenced negotiations with the Governor-General there. Harada was a cunning and crafty fellow, and while telling the Governor that Hideyoshi was anxious to have an alliance very similar in nature to an offensive and defensive alliance with the Philippine Islands, he offered, as a return for the alliance, something that would be most welcome to the Governor-General—that is, the withdrawal of all the Japanese from the Islands. These Japanese were very hot-headed and unruly, and always a stumbling-stone to the Spanish administration ; and Harada, knowing this very well, told the

Governor-General that all these men were low-born rascals fated to bring shame upon their native country. He would have them removed from the Islands, and if the people there were desirous of Japanese articles he himself would import everything necessary, provided the Governor would grant him this privilege—that is, a monopoly of the trade. The Governor, remembering that Hideyoshi first demanded that he should submit and pay yearly tribute, but now offered an offensive and defensive alliance and a commercial treaty, suspected the envoy was lying to him and hesitated to give him his answer. The sham envoy, seeing that he was suspected, thought it wise to win the good will of the Church in the Islands that was very influential with the Government, and thus attain his object by their help. In interviews with a number of Franciscan monks, he told them that His Highness Hideyoshi, his master and the sovereign of Japan, having long been familiar with the high virtues of the brothers of their order, was very anxious to bring them over to Japan in order to hear the teachings of their religion, and, if they would come, churches would be built for them. The simple monks rejoiced greatly, and said that only a miracle performed by God could have brought about such a change when they had heard of nothing but persecution of Christians in Japan. The Governor, when appealed to, expressed doubts whether Hideyoshi would welcome the Catholic missionaries, but thinking it necessary to find out the truth, he sent to Japan, as his messengers, a number of Franciscans, who had an interview with Hideyoshi, Harada Kiemon acting as interpreter, as before. Once again he translated awry, and neither side was able to gain anything. The actions, however, of the missionaries who accompanied the envoys brought about great trouble. At this time Hideyoshi's policy against the Catholics was no thoroughgoing one, sometimes severe and then lenient. When he was in a bad temper, he burned churches, and when his temper subsided, he thought no more about it. We are told how Maeda Gen-i, the Chief Magistrate of Kyoto, having been long acquainted with the Catholic missionaries, and even permitting his son to be baptized, had much sympathy with the present situation of the old missionary Walgantan, who had been thirty years in Japan and was now very old and feeble; and unable to bear the idea that such an aged saint should be banished, he begged Hideyoshi to let him stay in Kyoto on condition that he should not preach publicly. On the other hand, the newly arrived Franciscan monks knew nothing of the recent political conditions in Japan and were rash enough openly to build a cathedral, churches, mission-houses, and monks' dormitories, naming them Notre-Dame, and so on. Further, they called three more monks from the Philippines, built more churches, first at Osaka and then at

Nagasaki, and publicly read mass and preached, so that the Japanese authorities in these localities wondered how they obtained Hideyoshi's permission, and the other Catholics were in fear that it would bring down on them Hideyoshi's great anger. In spite of frequent warnings from such men as Maeda Gen-i and Walgantan, they paid no attention, and laboured to extend their work more and more.

Missionary Blood shed for the First Time.—In 1596 a large ship named *San Philip*, that had started from the Philippines for Mexico, fell in with bad weather and was driven to the west of Japan, reaching a port in Tosa Province in an almost wrecked condition. Chosokabe Motochika, the lord of Tosa Province, asked Kyoto for instructions, and Masuda Nagamori came down from the capital and confiscated the ship and cargo. While he was talking with the captain of the ship, this man, anxious to display the power of Spain, took out a map and pointed out to Masuda Spain and her territories dotted all over the world. Masuda was astounded to learn for the first time the extent of the Spanish Empire, and asked the captain how his country had expanded so greatly. The captain replied that it was the policy of Spain to send out numberless missionaries to preach the Catholic religion and convert the heretics, and then, with the help of such converts, destroy the local ruler and take his country. Masuda at once reported this to Hideyoshi. From the reports of Shiyakuin Zenso, the Buddhist priest, Hideyoshi already knew that even in the city of Kyoto the missionaries were publicly opening churches and reading mass and preaching, and therefore, as soon as he heard Masuda's story, he gave orders for the houses of all the missionaries in Osaka and Kyoto to be watched, and called for a list of the people who frequented the churches. When this decree was published, all the believers, both native and foreign, were greatly worked up and determined to die as martyrs, but they were pacified when it became known that Hideyoshi was concerned only about the Spanish Franciscans and their converts. Hideyoshi ordered the arrest of all the Franciscans—one in Kyoto, one in Nara, and others—together with their converts, in all twenty-four men. They were paraded through the main street of Kyoto in eight carts, and then, just as they were to be transported to Sakai, they were joined voluntarily by two Christian Japanese, so that the number was increased to twenty-six. The whole party was crucified at Nagasaki and were the first martyrs in Japan.

Martyrs' Clothes cut up by their Fellow-Believers.—Nagasaki being the Christian centre in Japan, the local Governor, fearing trouble, forbade the people to assemble; but in spite of the prohibition, thousands of Christians swarmed upon the execution ground to witness the scene of the martyrdom, and calling aloud on the names of Christ and the

Virgin Mary, their lamentable cries reached the sky and made all men shudder. The martyrs on the cross were silent in prayer, save Paul Miki, who addressed the crowd, saying: "Because of my teaching of the true religion of God I am now to die, but the death I am about to taste shall never make me regret what I did." Then, when he was pierced by a spear, together with his twenty-five brethren, he cried, "Lord, I give over my soul to thee," and died. When the execution was over, hundreds and thousands of their fellow-believers rushed to the crosses to have the glory of touching the bodies of the martyrs, and nothing the officers could do would prevent it. They dyed their kerchiefs in the blood on the ground, or cut up the clothes of the martyrs to preserve as precious relics. The bodies of the nine missionaries became exposed, and when the officers covered them again with clothes the faithful again cut them into fragments, so that the body of the chief missionary was at last covered with a straw mat. At night the Governor, fearing the bodies might be stolen, increased largely the number of the guards.

INTERDICTION ENFORCED AND RELAXED.—Their crucifixion took place while the feudal lords who had embraced the Catholic faith were fighting in Korea, so the thoughtful ones among the Christians began to believe more and more firmly that while Hideyoshi was intending, on the one hand, to take advantage of the absence of the Christian lords to destroy the faith at home, he was, on the other hand, entertaining a hope that the Christian feudal lords might be killed in battle in Korea. But this is not necessarily so, and Hideyoshi was, even at this time, rather liberal toward the missionaries, who did not publicly preach their religion and did not trouble the Catholics, who were content to believe and do no more, though he ordered all the missionaries to collect at Nagasaki and gradually to withdraw from the country, until their number was lessened to three or four. As the Priest Roderigue spoke Japanese well, he permitted him to stay at Nagasaki as interpreter between the Japanese administration and Portuguese merchants, so that there should be no misunderstanding. The other missionaries had to leave the country, and it can be fairly said his Catholic Interdict was, on the whole, not very severe. At this time the old missionary Walgantan was still wandering about Kyoto, but Lord Ishida Mitsunari, the right-hand man to Hideyoshi, told him to go to Nagasaki, saying that if he did, he (Ishida) would still be his friend, otherwise he must arrest him. In this manner, of all the Catholic missionaries shrinking before Hideyoshi's power and authority, some left the country, and others, demolishing their churches, obeyed the Regent's orders. Only in the localities under the rule of Konishi Yukinaga was a form of Christian state preserved, and some Christian missionaries who are said to have left Japan were still in hiding, scattered over Kyushu.

CHAPTER XXXIII

THE INVASION OF KOREA

Hideyoshi's Work was quite a Revolution.—Hideyoshi unified the whole country and accomplished a work unprecedented in the history of Japan. The unification was so perfect that the whole country came under one rule, his every word was a law, and all the feudal lords were tamely obedient, so that the people at large enjoyed settled peace. Before Hideyoshi, officials high in the Shogun's service and the great feudal lords were all of noble origin, with ancient pedigrees stretching back to the Monarchical Age; but Hideyoshi himself was of low origin, so were his feudal lords, who rose mainly from the ranks of the army, which was not only a political but also a great social revolution. When Hideyoshi was about to be made Imperial Regent, Prince Kujo Tanemichi strongly protested, saying that if one who was not of Fujiwara origin was made regent, the traditional constitution would be violated and the offender would surely be punished by the gods. Of course, this was the foolish prejudice of a man who could not read the signs of the times, but it was the death-cry of an old community in which precedents, caste-distinctions, clans, and histories were everything.

Hideyoshi's unlimited Ambition.—Hideyoshi was now the actual ruler of the whole country, and no one in the four quarters dared to resist him. His self-confidence was such that he challenged even supernatural power supposed to lie with goblins and brutes, such as foxes, who were then worshipped as gods. Once, when one of the palace maids was said to be possessed by a fox, he sent a messenger to the shrine of Imari, the fox-god, bearing the following letter demanding that the fox should withdraw from the body of the maid:—

> One of the foxes in your service has entered the soul of one of my maids, and is torturing her cruelly. I do not know what wrong she has done you for which you thus revenged yourself, and I demand of you an explanation of it; but if you have never been wronged by her, tell your fox to withdraw at once from her body. I tell you, if you hesitate, and do not obey my command at once, I shall give orders for the foxes to be hunted out and killed all over the country. Details will be told by Lord Yoshida, the Shinto priest, and I must ask you to hear him through.
>
> (Signed) Hideyoshi.
>
> *17th March.*
>
> To the God Inari.

Though such childish innocence on the part of the great man is quite laughable, yet it was natural for him to be intoxicated with the success of his great work, and far from being satisfied, his ambition gushed out and became a resistless river. He was quite uneducated and unable to write even a common letter, but as all human beings inhale air and live in it, so every one is influenced by the spirit of the age which inspires men to undertake no common great work, filling their mind with the aspiration to raise themselves above the common level of men, and even to undertake empire building anywhere in the world. Men of high susceptibility are very quick to be inspired by this spirit, and among them Hideyoshi is a remarkable example. When he followed Nobunaga at Kyoto, and used to visit Sakai, known at that time as the reservoir of foreign civilization, he was daily more keenly interested in seeing the numberless rare articles produced in foreign countries, besides becoming acquainted with the great structure of Adzuchi Castle and the manners and customs of the Portuguese, who had taught the builders of this structure. Besides, since the latter part of the Ashikaga Age, the Japanese adventurers had found their homes in seas and oceans, pirate captains at sea, but very peaceful merchants in the ports, and many of these men took delight in telling the brightest and most promising general of Nobunaga of the wonders of foreign countries, of how a mere two or three hundred Japanese adventurers sailed up the greatest rivers of China as smoothly and freely as though it were an uninhabited country, or seized strong Chinese castles at a single blow. These stories, of course, fed Hideyoshi's ambition, and it was curiously enough the tea ceremony, with its cult of rare utensils, as much valued as land or territory, that turned his mind to the Philippines, where the most highly prized of all utensils, the Luzon pot, was produced. In 1586, the year in which Hideyoshi concluded peace with Iyeyasu, he sent Tachibana Hiroyasu to Korea to ask for the opening of intercourse between Japan and Korea. The Korean Government very humbly answered that the sea route was too dangerous.

HIDEYOSHI SENT HIS ENVOY AGAIN TO KOREA.—In 1587, when he reached Hakata on his way to subdue the Shimazu family of Satsuma, he saw the remains of the rampart raised several hundred years before against the Mongolian Invasion, and his dormant ambition was aroused in recollecting that there was a mainland across the sea. More than ever was this borne in upon him when he saw the prosperity and influence at Nagasaki of the Portuguese, who had come over the ocean to Japan. He sent So Yoshitomo, Yamagawa Tsuginobu, and the Buddhist Priest Genso to Korea demanding intercourse for the second time. About one hundred years before, a Korean named Shinshukushou wrote a book *Kaito Shokoku-ki* (*Islands in the Far East*) and was well versed in Japanese conditions; his dying injunctions to the King of Korea were never to be on bad terms with Japan; and now that Hideyoshi had sent another mission to Korea, demanding intercourse between the two countries, the King recollected the old injunction of Shinshukushou and was inclined to comply with Hideyoshi's request. Under the advice of his counsellors, he hinted that he might consent, if the Korean rebels who had several years before joined the Japanese pirates and assisted to ravage and plunder the country were apprehended and sent back to Korea. So Yoshitomo replied there would be no difficulty in that, and, dispatching Yamakawa Tsuginobu to Japan, he seized all the Koreans and returned them in a few months. The King was greatly satisfied, and after killing these traitors, sent his messengers to Japan, returning his respects to Hideyoshi. So Yoshitomo interceded for the Korean messengers, telling Hideyoshi that the Korean King was so humble in his attitude as to send hostages and promised to pay tribute; but, in fact, he had flattered the Korean King by sending back the Koreans in Japan and humbly asking for intercourse, which was consequently not the result of Korea giving way to Hideyoshi, but a kind of temporary compromise.

HIDEYOSHI TO BE PITIED.—In some sense, Hideyoshi was at that time in the most pitiable situation. His original hope was to elevate himself to the rank of a great feudal lord, and when that hope was attained, he then looked for the unification of the whole country; and now that, too, was accomplished, he had no more to hope for, and sorrow fell upon him. His half-brother, Toyotomi Hideyasu, was a great feudal lord; his nephew, Toyotomi Hidetsugu, also a great feudal lord, was to succeed him as the Emperor's Regent. Other nephews were feudal lords in various provinces, and the brother and nephews of his wife, too, were daimyos. It was a tragedy, then, that this man, who could make and unmake as he liked and load his relatives and adherents with wealth and glory, had no son to whom he could transmit this supreme power as a heritage. When Hideyoshi married first the daughter of the Asano family, his position was so low and poor that he made the wedding clothes of the old cotton battle-flags used by Nobunaga, and his wife helped him to build up their fortunes. She had the womanly virtues of gentleness and chastity, but neither beauty nor wit, and, later, Hideyoshi took as his mistress the Lady Yodo, who won his heart completely, and gave birth to a son named Tsurumatsu in 1588. Hideyoshi was fifty-three years of age when his first child was born, and he was beyond measure delighted, and one may imagine his sorrow when the child died at the age of three.

Nothing could comfort him, and one day, ascending to Kiyomidzu Temple and gazing at the horizon, he pondered the vicissitudes of human life, and thought of a way to find consolation in disappointment by resolutely deciding upon an expedition to a foreign country. When, then, the envoy from the Korean King arrived in 1590, he answered by telling the monarch of his intention to ask him for a free passage for his expedition to China.

Preparation for the Korean Invasion.—From time immemorial it was a traditional policy of Korea to be dependent on one of the larger countries, and thus to maintain its existence; and as the policy of China was most successful there, the Koreans admired China, and reverently called it the Kingdom of the Heavenly Dynasty, looking down on Japan as a petty island country isolated in the Far Eastern Sea. Now this insignificant island announced the invasion of the great Empire of the Heavenly Dynasty. Korea could not believe it, and, thinking it all bluff, did not answer Hideyoshi's letter. The Regent then made up his mind to invade Korea, summoned his five senior lords (Tokugawa Iyeyasu, Mori Terumoto, Ukita Hideii, Maeda Toshiie, and Uesugi Kagekatsu) and his three junior lords (Ikoma Chikamasa, Nakamura Kadzuiye, and Horio Yoshiharu), together with his five Bugyo (Asano Nagamasa, Maeda Gen-i, Masuda Nagamori, Ishida Mitsunari, and Nagatsuka Masaei), and told them that he intended first to subdue Korea and then conquer China, where he would remove the Japanese Emperor and the feudal lords and give them larger territories over there. What was their opinion? His followers were dismayed, as they had hoped to enjoy an age of peace and were in no way in favour of the plan, save Tokugawa Iyeyasu, who resolutely supported it, then won over the others. And thus in January 1591 the order was given to prepare for the invasion of Korea. All the provinces facing the sea were to prepare two large ships for every 100,000 koku of the fief held by feudal lords; port towns and villages to supply ten sailors for every hundred houses to man the large ships to be built by their feudal lords, any surplus of sailors to go to Osaka. All the feudal lords to build three large ships and five medium-sized ships for every 100,000 koku of their fief; and as all the expense for these shipbuilding was to be paid by Hideyoshi, he advanced half of the estimated expenditure. Every sailor would be given foodstuff enough to support two men, and his wife and children enough foodstuff to support themselves; while all men serving samurai were to be given enough foodstuff for the sustenance of their wives. As regards soldiers in the army, the following orders were issued: First, the feudal lords in the Shikoku and Kyushu Provinces were to bring to the battle-fields 600 men for every 10,000 koku of their fief; second, all the feudal lords in the middle provinces and Kii Province were to bring 500 soldiers for every 10,000 koku of their fief; those in the five provinces around Kyoto, 400; those in the provinces of Omi, Mino, Iga, and Ise, 350; those in the provinces of Totomi, Suruga, and Izu, 300; those in the provinces east of these provinces, 200; those in the provinces between the provinces of Wakasa and Noto, 300; and those in the provinces of Dewa and Echigo, 200—all for every 10,000 koku of fief. The men thus called amounted to 158,700 and were divided into nine divisions, beside the naval complement, which amounted to 9,200.

Requisitions of Coolies.—All the feudal lords thus ordered to supply land and naval forces were eager to levy the soldiers in their provinces, but because with soldiers only they would be short of men for transport of military stores, they called peasants to do the work of coolies, and, according to the regulation issued by Tokugawa Iyeyasu in Hitachi Province, it was fixed that one coolie shall be supplied for every 1,000 koku of the fief, and such coolie should be given 5 kwan of copper coin for travelling expenses and 6 go of rice every day for his food, and 1 hyo (40 sho) of rice every month for the support of his family, besides the regulation that to a naval coolie be given 3 tan of rice-field and the same area of farm to be cultivated by the co-operative help of the village community.

Regulation with regard to a Day's March of the Army.—As to a day's march of the army, a standard of 6 ri a day was set in the case of marching in Japan. For lodging, it was fixed to pay 5 mon of copper coin per night for every man, and 2 mon of the copper coin for every horse, separated from the main force mentioned above. Hideyoshi, himself heading 30,000 men, started by ship from Hyogo. It may seem to us now that everything was irregular and unsystematic in Hideyoshi's time, but, on the contrary, the system and discipline with regard to the marching and transport of military stores were so perfect that under the strict and detailed regulations even the arms and personal baggage of the men in direct service to Hideyoshi were limited to the weight that was fixed for the arms and baggage of ordinary soldiers, and the efficiency of the transport service was undeniable. Hideyoshi himself, too, so luxurious and extravagant at home, was a martinet on the field, lived simply, and strictly forbade luxury and looseness. When all the preparations for the expedition were thus completed both on land and sea, Hideyoshi removed his headquarters to Nagoya in Hizen, where the whole scheme was further worked out; and asking the Imperial permission to promote his nephew Hidetsugu to succeed him in the regency, he retired from the office at Court, calling himself Taiko, and divided between himself and his nephew all the power he had gained, entrusting to the latter all the civil affairs, but keeping for himself the military power as before.

Japanese Army in Korea.—At that time, Risho, the Korean King, was tired of his long reign, and his courtiers—Ryushocho, Retokkei, and others—only currying the King's favour and trying to maintain their position, loyal and upright men were all kept at a distance, and political affairs were quite neglected, so that they were ignorant as to what was going on in the near-by island, where a great man had arisen, fully able to encroach upon his neighbours. Korea was not in close relations with Japan, and on many points rather unfriendly, but because Fusan was so near to Tsushima Islands many Japanese went, and there was much intermarriage between Japanese and Koreans. One day these Japanese, numbering in all about fifty, suddenly disappeared, and the Koreans were left to wonder why, until they were astounded at the sight of numberless Japanese ships covering the Korean Sea as far as eye could reach. Teiko, the Governor of Fusan, who was hunting at the time in Zetsueito Island, was dumbfounded at the sight of this armada, and he hurried back to the castle, which Japanese armies forthwith assaulted and captured, the credit of the capture going to Konishi Yukinaga's army, which was the first to land. Konishi Yukinaga embarked from Nagoya with the vanguard of Hideyoshi's army on March 12th, anchored at Tsushima, and after being at sea about one month, thus reached Fusan, and was followed by Kiyomasa, who arrived on April 17th ; and then, all the generals arriving one after another, they advanced for their allotted destinations. Konishi Yukinaga, heading the first army, marched for Seoul, through Mitsuyo and Shoshu from Torai, and by the road of Chusei of the Chusei Province ; while Kato Kiyomasa, as the commander of the second army, went first from Fusan to Chushu, through Kasan of the Keisho Province, and then through Anto, Giko, and Gun-i ; and, combining their forces, Yukinaga and Kiyomasa besieged the castle of Seoul, the capital of the country. In the meanwhile, Kuroda Nagamasa and Shimazsu Yoshihiro, leading the third army, were advancing for Seoul Castle, and on their way through Kinkai and Shogen to Seoul captured first the Seishujo Castle. All of the Japanese armies had sweeping victories everywhere on their way, but Konishi Yukinaga was the quickest in his advance, driving the Korean forces before him, and was the first to reach Heijo, whence he wrote to Ukita Hideie, saying: " If we once cross the Yalu River north of here we are in the territory of China, so send a large army at once, and we will soon enter China with a long and resistless march." In fact, China sent General Soshokun, their commander-in-chief on the border with 3,000 men, to the rescue of Korea, and Yukinaga met and repulsed him at Heijo, killing about 2,000 in the pursuit, only some fifty escaping and reporting their defeat. Before this the Chinese Government had had secret intelligence from a Chinese named Kyoshungi, who practised medicine in Satsuma, that Hideyoshi was planning to invade Korea; but as they had no information from the Korean King, and also did not think that Hideyoshi could be so rapid in the conquest of Korea, they were doubtful as to whether the Koreans were guiding the Japanese army to attack China. The Chinese Premier, Sekisei, however, insisted on helping Korea and sent Soshokun, who had distinguished himself in eastern warfare; but with his report of his instant defeat the Chinese Government was astonished and flurried for the first time, and turned busily to their own defence and reinforcement of the Korean army.

Number of the Japanese Army too Small.—Though the Japanese army in Korea was victorious everywhere, yet it was necessary to divide the forces in order to keep the Koreans quiet and settled, so the army of 102,400 first dispatched from Japan was not large enough, and was reinforced with about 60,000 men. But despite such reinforcements the battle-lines were enormously long, and it was necessary to guard all the strategic points; consequently 18,000 men under Konishi Yukinaga and 19,000 men under Kiyomasa were the only soldiers who could be mobilized for attack. Hideyoshi made every effort to send further reinforcements, but was prevented by the necessity of keeping at home about 100,000 men for his own guards, and in his turn he became distressed.

Victory of the Korean Navy.—At the same time that the future of the Japanese army in Korea was in no way bright in spite of their initial sweeping successes, the Korean navy was victorious at sea. At first the Japanese under Todo Takatora and Kuki Yoshitaka were victors in several actions along the coast from Fusan to Kishodo Province, but when Admiral Rishunshin, who was the Governor-General of Zenrado Province, and perhaps the greatest admiral Korea has ever had, came on the scene, the tables were turned. Most of his eighty ships were armoured with iron plates at the bow for ramming purposes, and further protected with sharp blades protruding on both sides so as to prevent the enemy boarding, and carried large guns. The small Japanese ships were no match for them, and in the battle of Tochoho the commander, Kurushima Michiyuki, was killed and about one hundred ships destroyed. Rishunshin collected his fleet around Kanzan Island, and, scouring the sea around Kyosaito Island, threatened the Japanese transport of provisions, ammunitions, and arms, and almost cut the lines of communication. At this time there was an envoy from the Court of Siam in the Chinese capital, and, hearing that Japan was occupied in Korea, proposed to the Chinese Government that Siam, with her navy, should attack Japan when off its guard; but the Chinese refused, thinking it was probably only an excuse, and that Siam would seize the chance to annex some of the most prosperous Chinese territory through which they would pass on their way north.

The First Peace Conference.—In the beginning the Chinese were inclined to think that Hideyoshi's Korean invasion concerned Korea only, but then, when they saw how far-reaching was his enterprise, how gallant his army, and how thoroughgoing his preparations, they began to fear for the integrity of their own country, and to make every effort to defend the border. So-osho, the Governor-General of the Eastern Provinces, was appointed to take charge of all Korean affairs, and, appointing Rijosho as the commander, and adding to his staff two other generals, Ryukosho and Enko, he defended such strategical points as Sankai-kwan, Tenshin, Hokuto, etc. His next step, after strengthening the long lines of communication, was to dispatch to Korea a force of 35,000 men under Rijosho to repulse the Japanese army there. It was at this time that a man named Chin-ikei had the idea of the peace conference that was to come soon after. He was originally a nameless vagabond, but he set up to be an authority with regard to Japan, and getting an introduction to the Chinese Premier, he obtained an interview with him and told him of his idea. The Premier thought well of it, and, granting Chin-ikei a military title, Yugekishogun (General of the Flying Army), sent him to the Japanese army to conclude peace with them. He was well supplied with money, and properly dressed as a high official, entered Korea, and asked for an interview with Konishi Yukinaga, then in Gishu Castle. The two met and drew up terms of peace, fixing the length of the truce at fifty days, to allow of ratification by the Chinese Emperor. It was further agreed between both parties that the Japanese army should not move beyond 10 ri (Korean mileage) to the west and north of Heijo Castle, and the Koreans should not enter that section. The terms of this proposed peace were as follows:—

1. If peace be made, it shall last as long as heaven and earth, and a Chinese princess of the blood shall be made the Empress of Japan.

2. Because of the long estrangement between China and Japan, the commercial intercourse between the two countries has been stopped of recent years, but from this time on both public and private ships of the two countries shall be free to ply between the ports of the two countries.

3. The ministers of the two countries shall exchange written oaths that the peace treaty between the two countries shall never be broken.

4. The van of the Japanese army has already subdued Korea, but here-

after, in consideration of the peace of Korea and the welfare of the Korean people, Japan shall send a capable governor-general to see that everything is in good order in Korea, no matter whether the Koreans agree or not. Japan shall hand over to China half of all the eight provinces of Korea and the remaining four provinces and castles to the Korean King.

5. The four provinces of Korea will be given back to the King of Korea, as aforesaid, but the Korean princes and one or two of the Government ministers shall go to Japan and stay in the country as hostages.

6. The year before, Japanese generals captured two Koreans, but they shall now be returned to their native country, in company with Chin-ikei, the envoy from the Chinese Court.

7. The ministers of the Korean Court shall make oath to Japan that they will for ever be subject to Japanese command, and they are also to give assurance of it to the envoy from the Chinese Court.

TREATY DEMANDING TRADE BETWEEN CHINA AND JAPAN.—Viewed from the national strength of the country, the conclusion and execution of such a treaty would have been a great diplomatic success for Japan, and after the conference Konishi kept his army in its quarters awaiting a definite answer from China. On their part, the Chinese Court, obsessed with the opinion that the Japanese were cunning and untrustworthy, ordered So-osho, their commander-in-chief, to march against them.

STOPPAGE OF COMMERCE PRODUCED WAR.—Hideyoshi's invasion of Korea sprang from his megalomania ; it ended in failure and inflicted some loss upon the country, but it must not be laid entirely at Hideyoshi's door. The natural demand of the nation pressing unconsciously upon him aroused in his mind this great ambition, which was in its nature not political but economic. As no human being can live isolated, and craves for intercourse with others, so every nation must have trade relations with other nations to supply their respective needs. It is life-blood to a nation, and when the want is naturally satisfied there is peace; in the opposite case, men are driven to satisfy it by force of arms. In the Monarchical Age there was a diplomatic official named Kentoshi (temporary envoy to China) in charge of the intercourse with China, but in course of time the mission of this diplomatic official lost its political sense, and he became purely a commercial agent, who, under the name of tribute, exported trade articles and took in money from China. Of course, trade on such a small scale could not satisfy the people at large, and consequently we hear of the wako (Japanese pirates), whose purpose was to get money from the neighbouring countries by their military strength. It is true that some of the Japanese adventurers were mere robbers, or pirates, disguised as merchants, who ravaged the interior of Korea and China, but it is also true that because of the strict restrictions put upon the trade between the two countries, regular merchants became adventurers and forcibly broke down the restrictions as the only means of profitable foreign trade. The Japanese adventurers gradually disappeared when ingenious methods of smuggling were invented, and the merchants of Japan and China began to meet in Formosa for trade, yet the opening of the ports of the two countries for trade was the natural desire of both nations. It is recorded that someone wrote to the King of Korea in the name of the Emperor of Japan, asking the King to act as intermediary in opening trade intercourse between Japan and China. This was in the year 1367, when Yoshiteru, the Ashikaga Shogun, was murdered, and there was no Shogun in Kyoto, and though the King of Korea refused on some pretext or other to be such an intermediary, yet it is clear that the economic knowledge of the merchants at Sakai and Kyoto far excelled that of the generals and knights under the Shogun, for they recognized the benefit of the foreign trade and persuaded some Shogunate official to write the letter. Sixteen years later, in the negotiations between Konishi and Chin-ikei, commercial intercourse was the chief item in the provisional treaty against which China protested most strongly, all of which goes to prove that Hideyoshi's expedition was not the result of his ambition, always aiming at something big, but also of the feeling that foreign trade was indispensable for the national existence of Japan, and the origin of the desire for such trade had a deep foundation.

JAPANESE CONCESSION MADE BECAUSE OF DISTRESS.—However, Chin-ikei did not believe that the articles of the provisional treaty would be satisfactory to the Chinese Emperor, and though he advertised himself as an authority with regard to Japan, in his eyes she was merely a small island and Hideyoshi an ambitious island chief who could be placated with the offer of some high title such as king or viceroy, in accordance with the compromising policy adopted in the later days of the To and So Dynasties towards powerful rebels. He was, after all, a Chinese, having the self-conceit common to all the Chinese, and therefore when he started from Peking he took with him a princely dress and pearl-studded belt with which to entice Hideyoshi, and really did not care whether he succeeded in his mission or not, thinking no doubt he could find some good excuse in case of failure. His aim was only to make himself temporarily important with his pockets stuffed with gold, and leave the final results to work out by themselves. Indeed, the thought occurred to the mind of this foolish but bold diplomat that when two tigers were tired of fighting, the way often opens for reconciliation. Observed from the Japanese side, the conclusion of such a peace treaty appeared to be too small a result in comparison with the gigantic ambition of the expedition undertaken by Hideyoshi, but when we consider how extraordinarily changed was the position of the Japanese army in Korea just six months after Konishi Yukinaga landed at Fusan, and when this provisional treaty was discussed, we find it natural for the Japanese ruler to be satisfied with the articles it embodied. At first the Koreans did not imagine that the Japanese army would move with such lightning quickness ; the people were all unfamiliar with warfare and there were no defensive preparations, and to this was due the first sweeping success of the invaders in Korea. Now the situation was quite changed. The Koreans had got war-hardened, and were not so easily defeated as before ; indeed, they often counter-attacked the Japanese army. In the second place, when the Japanese first entered Korea, the castles and towns had large stores of provisions, which, on capture, increased the food supply of the Japanese army so much so that the Korean soldiers and officials seemed to be welcoming the Japanese with provisions. In the course of half a year, however, all this stock was exhausted, and the farms and fields so ruined that there was no food obtainable anywhere, on the top of which came the Japanese defeats at sea, and a further shortage because the small Japanese transport ships were very often blown out of their course and could not keep their schedule time. In the third place, though Ukita-Hide-iye was the commander-in-chief of all the army in Korea, his personal dignity and influence, together with his military talent, were not weighty enough for his position, as the result of which the generals were only eager for their own success, and there were no combined efforts. Konishi Yukinaga was an especial object of jealousy for his prompt capture of Heijo Castle and other successes, and was a great cause of dissension among the leaders. Then the Japanese suffered from the severe continental winter beginning in September, and, lastly, their lack of men made it impossible for them to do more than maintain the ground they had captured and occupied. Thus, when everything is considered, it was reasonable of the Japanese generals to accept the peace treaty proposed by Chin-ikei.

Konishi Yukinaga was deceived and defeated.—While Chin-ikei was quite insincere with regard to the conclusion of the peace treaty, and simply passing time, the Chinese army completed their preparations for the campaign, and So-osho, coming to Lioyang, ordered Rijosho to cross the Yalu River. The army was divided into three, General Yogen heading the main force, General Rijokaku the left column, and General Choseicho the right column, to which General Goichu's southern army was added. This army under Rijosho, numbering 100,000 in all, issued from the Sankaikwan Castle on October 27th, and 100,000 taels of silver were allowed as rewards to encourage the soldiers to win the battle. Konishi Yukinaga had been relying on Korean spies for his information regarding enemy movements, but as these men were all captured, owing to the treachery of one of their number, he was left quite in the dark. He wondered, too, why Chin-ikei did not come back, although the fifty days' truce had already expired; but just at this juncture a certain Chinese general named Sadaiju came to see him and told him that the Chinese Emperor had ratified the peace treaty, and Envoy Chin-ikei was just due back. Yukinaga was greatly rejoiced, and his Buddhist Priest Genso made a Chinese poem to celebrate the peace, and sent out an escort of twenty men to meet Chin-ikei. The treacherous Sadaiju made them drunk and killed all but three, who fled back and told the story to Yukinaga, to whom the news struck like a bolt from the blue. Hurriedly he prepared for battle. He had only 28,000 men, against whom Rijosho boasted of leading an army of 200,000. The siege of Heijo Castle began on January 9th. The weather was very cold at this season, and the supplies of food and clothes in the castle were scanty, and with their big guns and fire-tipped arrows the Chinese set the place on fire in many places. In two days Japanese casualties amounted to 1,600, and they had lost all the outer works and were defending the inner citadel, making loopholes in the earthen walls and causing great mortality among the attackers, who were staggered by the stubbornness of the defence and their own losses. They accordingly left an opening in their blockading lines, through which many Japanese escaped, until there were only 6,000 left in the garrison. Even Konishi's army, the most stubborn of all the Japanese armies in the field, could not stand against the exceptional hardships of the defence. Their commander had been impatiently waiting for reinforcements from Seoul, but as he was deceived in his hope he was compelled to evacuate the castle and withdraw. The retreat was a very trying one. The troops were so extraordinarily fatigued and weak with starvation that they could scarcely crawl, and though there was no enemy pursuit, about sixty stragglers who could by no manner of means keep up with the main body were killed. When, at last, the army crossed the frozen Daido River, and reached Otomo Yoshimune's castle, only to find all their comrades gone and the castle deserted, the exhausted men lost all heart. While all the Japanese generals were withdrawing hurriedly towards Seoul, Kobayakawa Takekage alone kept up heart and declined to retreat one step without a decisive battle with the enemy. Ukita Hideiye, the commander-in-chief at Kaijo Castle, sent one message after another to Takekage, ordering him to retreat to Kaijo, and he could only finally be persuaded to do so on the condition that he should be given the position of vanguard in the forthcoming battle of Seoul.

Great Battle at Kaijo.—The triumphant Rijosho, after his victory at Heijo, advanced on Kaijo Castle, expecting to capture it with a single stroke. He was largely reinforced by Koreans, who swarmed to his banner, and the opinions among the Japanese Generals in Kaijo Castle were divided as to the wisdom of taking the offensive or the defensive. They finally yielded to the opinion of Tachibana Muneshige, who doggedly insisted on a sally and an offensive battle. All the public buildings and private houses in Kaijo were burned, and natives likely to join the enemy killed, and thus showing their determination never to retreat they determined on battle for the morrow. Next day, when the vanguards of both armies came in sight of one another on the slope of Reisekirei hill, the Chinese, despising the apparently small numbers of the Japanese, attacked up the hill, when to their horror further Japanese forces appeared over the brow. They began a hurried withdrawal, but, giving them no time to retreat, the Japanese charged down upon them, and cutting and slashing with their keen blades among the enemy, who were from North China and poorly armed and no match for their opponents in hand-to-hand fighting, drove them and the whole Chinese army into precipitate retreat, in the course of which 38,000 Chinese were killed. The Chinese commander, Rijosho, himself was wounded and just escaped, flying to Heijo Castle without listening to the Chinese and Korean generals, who advised him to make a stand. By this time the Japanese army had been just eleven months in Korea, but during this short interval of less than a year the Korean land had been laid waste in all directions, and the Korean farmers having no time to cultivate the soil, famine reigned over the country. All the authorities could do to save the starving folks was to grind up pine-tree bark with a little waste rice and water, as their stock of cereals was almost nil. For a thousand miles the land was deserted and silent, as there was no cattle left. In such extremely distressed conditions, the severest exactions made by the Japanese army could not produce any provisions. Moreover, the transport of provisions from Japan was irregular and could not be depended upon, all of which caused a decline in the *moral* of the army and a burning desire to return home. The Commander-in-Chief, Ukita Hideiye, himself was in favour of leaving Seoul and retreating as far as Fusan, but as Generals Kato Kiyomasa and Nabeshima Naoshige were in garrison far north and could not easily withdraw, the other generals thought it wrong to forsake them, and the idea of retreat was negatived. In the course of time both Kato and Nabeshima managed to extricate themselves and join the main army, and as some of the enemy provision trains were intercepted, the Japanese army could sustain itself for a while, and the question of retreat was postponed.

Defeat of Rijosho revived the Problem of the Peace Treaty. At first, when Rijosho gained his victory at Heijo, the war party at the Peking Court was in high feathers and scoffed at the peace party, but now that Rijosho's army was quite shattered, and the commander himself a fugitive, the peace party gained ascendancy, and again sent Chin-ikei, accompanied by Joitkwan and Shayoshin, to Konishi Yukinaga's quarters at Ryuzan to revive the question of peace. Konishi, after consultation with Ukita Hideiye, Masuda Nagamori, Ishida Mitsunari, Otani Yoshitaka, and Kobayakawa Takakage, agreed to revive the seven articles of the peace treaty proposed before at Heijo, and, taking with him Chin-ikei and the other Chinese envoys, returned to Nagoya, where he asked Hideyoshi to give audience to the Chinese, and, telling him the real situations of the Japanese army in Korea, explained the necessity for peace. Hideyoshi was already tired of the war, and, to the delight of everyone, readily agreed to the peace propositions on June 28, 1593. When he concluded the peace treaty with the Chinese envoys, he appeared to have totally given up his long-cherished ambition to subdue Korea, destroy the Chinese Empire, and, removing the Japanese Emperor there, to establish a Greater Japan and rule over all the Far East. He gave a great entertainment in the country near Nagoya, and seemed to think only of a good time for himself and his men. He did not know, of course, what was the position of Chin-ikei in the Peking Court, nor of the relations between the war party and the peace party in the Chinese capital. The matter of credentials was not brought down to such a definite point as it is to-day, and he believed that the envoys had power to conclude the treaty. Besides, it was about this time that Hideyoshi, in his aspiration to show his power and strength, sent his messengers to Formosa and Philippine Islands, demanding tribute and submission, which not only brought about no result, but ended in the persecution of the Catholics in Kyoto and other places.

Hideyoshi was tired of the Foreign Expedition.—It was not only the hardship and difficulty that made Hideyoshi anxious to give up the foreign expedition, but largely the fact that his favourite, Yodo, had borne him another son. Foreign expansion had been one of his long-cherished ambitions, but his invasion of Korea was entered upon mainly to divert his melancholy after the death of his infant son Tsurumatsu. Now, at the very time when he realized for the first time the difficulties of the foreign expedition, his favourite bore him another son, and the world seemed changed for him. He told himself that he could transmit his power and glory to his son, grandson, and distant posterity, and what was the use of wasting any more of his energy and mental strength on the toilsome expedition? The moralist may well observe that at bottom all men are alike; hero and obscure, when nature is concerned, have no distinction. Hideyoshi had already adopted his nephew Hidetsugu as his successor, and given over to him the great Osaka Castle; and now that his son was born he felt the need to construct a castle for this son and himself. Appointing as commissioners six feudal lords, he began to construct the Fushimi Castle, and ordered all the daimyos to supply 250,000 men for the work, which was really so severe a burden that such a lord as Nakamura Shikibu-no-Shoyu had to supply 3,000 men out of his total of 6,000. Seven or eight years before, Hideyoshi constructed the great Osaka Castle, with the River Yodo running beneath it and commanding a distant view of the sea, but the Fushimi Castle was reared amid such peaceful and tranquil scenes that he could hear the bells of the Buddhist temples at Daigo, the mournful cries of monkeys at Minuroto, and look down on the white sails on the River Uji, which were all associated in men's minds with the scenes of the old Monarchical Age. Time changes and ages even a hero, though Hideyoshi could not see it for himself.

Peace Conference was broken up.—Just as Hideyoshi at home was tired of the foreign expedition, so were his generals in Korea, all spirit being gone. When they heard that peace was being discussed both at the Courts of Japan and China, and the question to be decided first was the withdrawal of the Japanese army from Korea, both generals and men heartily welcomed the notion, and were anxious to return home as soon as possible. When, therefore, the Chinese envoys, Yokyoho and Chin-ikei, came to Korea, bringing with them the ratification of the Chinese Emperor, and told the Japanese generals that they would go to Japan on condition that all the Japanese troops were withdrawn from Korea, the whole force left Korea and returned to Nagoya. By this time Hideyoshi had already completed the construction of Fushimi Castle, and was there when the Chinese envoys reached Sakai, and there he gave them audience. Before this, while Chin-ikei was yet in Korea, he had exhorted the Korean King to send over to Japan with him his heir, but the King, being quite in the dark as to the provisions of the Heijo treaty, and the Nagoya treaty concluded at Nagoya, and not knowing anything about the kind of ratification brought from Peking by the Chinese envoys, feared that something untoward might happen to his son and declined to send him. With difficulty, he was persuaded to send his ministers Koshin and Bokuko-cho, as the result of Chin-ikei's repeated exhortations. At the interview between Hideyoshi and the Chinese envoys, the former was from the beginning sufficiently displeased, because the envoys had not brought with them the Korean prince as stipulated in the peace treaty; but when the ratification of the Chinese Emperor was read, and he heard that the Chinese Emperor would set him up as King of Japan, and said nothing of the provisions in the Nagoya treaty, his anger burst out so fiercely that he knocked down the terrified Chinese envoys, and at once gave orders to resume the invasion of Korea.

Second Invasion of Korea.—On the 13th of January, 1597, Kato Kiyomasa's army embarked in 200 ships, and, taking advantage of a favourable wind, crossed over the sea in a day, and entered the old fort of Chikuto, where there was still a Japanese force left over from the first invasion, and the combined forces captured Ryozan Castle by way of Kicho. On the 15th, Konishi Yokinaga's army entered Mokuho, where they maintained communication with the Japanese garrison at Fusan, who had been there since the first invasion. On February 1st, Konishi Yokinaga sent out his men to cut timbers to repair the forts, and building a high tower in the castle and digging moats, he surrounded the castle with a triple wooden barricade, after which he and his troops moved on. Japanese armies continued to arrive in quick succession, and the Korean people, warned by their former calamities during the first invasion, gathered their property and fled. This time, however, the Japanese changed their strategy, and were much more concerned with quick occupation than devastating the country ; strategical points were more to them than killing Koreans. Not even the killing of Japanese timber-cutters or sailors who landed to purchase supplies would induce them to waste time in retaliation.

Warned by their former failure, they were intent only on advancing without troubling about what might go on in their rear. Their purpose was to solidify the positions they occupied, and sally forth when the crops were ripe in July and August. Provisions were scarce for the present, which militated greatly against them. Further, the hearts of the Japanese were not in this second invasion, and, although they were forced to bow to Hideyoshi's wishes, they were not likely to gain results as quickly as before. The Chinese envoy, Chin-ikei, who was driven out by Hideyoshi, had by now come back to Peking, but he was afraid to report to the Chinese Emperor that Hideyoshi had been angry about the proposed investiture, and ordered a fresh invasion of Korea. On the contrary, he reported that Hideyoshi was grateful for the investiture, and had sent a letter of thanks, and he brought to the Chinese Emperor Japanese goods which he represented to be a tribute from Hideyoshi. While men were doubtful as to the truthfulness of Chin-ikei's report, Kato Kiyomasa and Konishi Yukinaga landed again in Korea, so that his falsehood was made clear to all but the Chinese Premier Sekisei, who was still of the opinion that Hideyoshi's anger was only directed against the Korean King, and he had no hostile feelings against China. The Chinese Court, however, determined to send a large army to the rescue of Korea, and clapped the Premier into prison, where he died. Keikai, Maki, Yoko, and Hyutei were appointed commanders, and the armies of the four provinces were mobilized to aid Korea. In May, Keikai, issuing from Sankaikwan Castle, dispatched General Yogen with 3,000 of the Ryoto Province army to garrison Nangen Castle—a point of great strategical importance, having the Umpo and Urei mountains to the east and the large rivers to the south, and communicating with Kenkai and Chikuto Castles, making it the key to the whole Zenrado Province. Besides, Kanzanto Island at the mouth of the Western Korea sea was an important naval basis and formed the right wall, so to speak, of Nangen Castle. General Maki was dispatched to occupy Seoul Castle; General Hoichu, Chushu Province; and General Chinguchu, with a force of 2,000 men, to Zenshu Province to keep in touch with General Yogen. Among all the Japanese leaders, Konishi Yukinaga was the quickest to perfect his plan for success, and to capture Nangen Castle he first cut the communication between the two Korean admirals, Genkin and Rishinshin, and decoying out the former, inflicted upon him an overwhelming defeat and occupied Kanzanto Island, in virtue of which communications between the Japanese army and navy were perfected. All the Japanese forces combined, then marched out to attack Yogen in Nangen Castle. The place was stormed, and out of the whole garrison only 120 men escaped death. This was the first victory gained by the Japanese army contact with Chinese armies in the second invasion, and then, in quick succession, Maki was defeated at Shokusan, the main Chinese force overcome at Uroosan, and General Toichigen at Shisen. Such brilliant and continuous success is scarcely to be paralleled in the history of war, but, after all, it was nothing more than victory on the field. Viewed as a whole, the Japanese were the defeated party. In the first invasion Konishi Yukinaga and Kato Kiyomasa swept through Korea like a swift wind blowing away dead leaves, and in a short time subdued eight Korean provinces. Yukinaga had occupied the ground as far as Heijo Castle before the Chinese army came to Korea's rescue, but now the Chinese army already in Seoul were coming down southward to meet the Japanese army marching on to the Korean capital, and though the Japanese soldiers fought well and gained continuous victories, yet they were victorious in a southern corner of Korea, and that was all.

Hideyoshi put his Nephew Hidetsugu to Death.—Hideyoshi adopted his nephew Hidetsugu, and gave over to him his office of Imperial Regent because of the death of his infant son Tsurumatsu, and he had no other son to make his heir ; but, with the birth of Hideyori, he could not help wishing that Hidetsugu would retire and open the way for the future of Hideyori. It never seemed to occur to Hidetsugu to do so, which by degrees began to vex Hideyoshi. All the lords in the direct service of Hidetsugu had been full of hopes for a bright future now that Hidetsugu was already Regent, and would soon become the actual ruler of the whole country, and they began to fear that if Hideyori replaced their master the outlook would be nothing like so promising. The old retainers of Hideyoshi, on the other hand, were eager to upset Hidetsugu from his position and build a firm foundation for the future of Hideyori, by which they would please their master and also secure their own fortunes. Both the parties intrigued against and traduced each other. When Hideyoshi constructed the Fushimi Castle, Hidetsugu's followers took it to be a menace to the Osaka Castle of Hidetsugu, who now occupied it as the Regent of the Emperor; while, on the other hand, when Hidetsugu was out hunting it was rumoured that in his train there were concealed arms to take advantage of any chance, and suddenly attack Hideyoshi. Ishida Mitsunari somehow got hold of a letter from Hidetsugu to Mori Terumoto, the great feudal lord of the Chugoku Province, requiring him to swear homage to the writer, and reported that Hidetsugu was rebelling against Hideyoshi. Among Hideyoshi's Court ladies was the daughter of Lord Kikutei, a well-known beauty, who was just now lying ill in her father's home, and Hidetsugu, hearing of this, tried to induce her to come to his Court. Her father, in spite of springing from one of the oldest and most renowned noble families at the Imperial Court, was void of power and wealth, and thinking that if his daughter bore a son to Hidetsugu the family fortunes would be made, sent the girl secretly to Hidetsugu, which was again reported to Hideyoshi, and thus the relation between the father and adopted son became more and more estranged day after day. Finally, Hideyoshi sent to Hidetsugu five lords—Miyabe Zenshobo, Maeda Tokuzenin, Masuda Nagamori, Ishida Mitsunari, and Tomita Sakonshogen—to ask him if he contemplated any treachery against his uncle, and Hidetsugu swore by the gods that he entertained no such thought. The five lords returned satisfied with Hidetsugu's answer and his oath, and reported it to Hideyoshi, who now demanded, further, that Hidetsugu should come to Fushimi Castle personally, instructing Horio Yoshiharu to kill him on the spot if he refused to obey. Contrary to the expectation of the envoys, Hidetsugu raised no objections, and at once agreed to come to Fushimi and see Hideyoshi. He reached there on July 8th, and Hideyoshi, without seeing him, commanded him to retire to the monastery on Koya San. Hidetsugu once more bowed before the order of the autocrat, shaved his head, and took up his lodging in Seiganji Temple till Hideyoshi should be reconciled. However, all his hopes were vain, and on the 15th, Hideyoshi, sending as his messengers Fukushima Masanari and Ikeda Iyo-no-kami, ordered Hidetsugu to kill himself, which he did very tranquilly after first dispatching three faithful retainers who stuck to him to the last. When Hidetsugu's head was sent to Fushimi, Hideyoshi forwarded it to Kyoto, and after parading Hidetsugu's three children and his mistresses and Court ladies, in all over thirty, publicly in a cart through the streets, beheaded them all at Senjogawara, where the head of Hidetsugu was exposed. The first victim was the Lady Kikutei, who had been once favoured by Hideyoshi and afterwards taken into Hidetsugu's household, and all the bodies were entombed together under a stone called the Chikusho-zuka (Tomb of Beasts).

Last Days of Hideyoshi.—The mightiest hero must bow to Time, and as years crept upon him, Hideyoshi's strong resolution took the shape of bigotry, his daring changed into cruelty, and his open-heartedness into avarice, and in his last days he showed himself in no way superior to an average man. His family troubles began when he killed Hidetsugu, and quarrels among his wife and mistresses and party dissension between his old and new lords served to increase them. Hideyoshi's most beloved mistress, Lady Yodo, whose unrivalled beauty entirely captured him, only came into his life when he was forty-eight years of age, and though it was, of course, her beauty that made him so entirely devoted to her, yet he was no less the slave of her wit, shrewdness, and charm. When she found herself the idol of the ageing Hideyoshi, this Lady Yodo changed into a virago. Hideyoshi's wife, who was a chaste and gentle woman, recognizing that she was old and her beauty faded, was satisfied with the honourable title of Kita-no-Mandokoro (His Highness's consort), and had no idea of competing against Lady Yodo. Hideyoshi, on his part, was at first very careful to pay due respect to his wife, but in his later years he began very often to neglect to pay her the respect due, and his wife, sober-minded as she was, had a woman's feelings and could not help being hurt, so that by degrees there grew up a secret struggle between Hideyoshi's regular wife and his mistress. Hideyoshi, as we know, was no mere soldier, but a statesman of the highest order at the same time, and therefore he chose men not only for military merits, and raised to important positions in utter disregard of all precedents any who were gifted with administrative or financial talents.

This is all right and natural in time of peace, and no one would complain, but in this age of long and constant warfares all the soldiers and generals believed that military achievements were the only qualification for high position, and looked down upon those who, without having distinguished themselves with feats of arms, were promoted to important positions, and imputed their fortune to skilful flattery. These non-military men got the name of the civil party, and in company with some of the military party set up themselves against other militarists who were jealous of and despised them, so that in the last days of Hideyoshi we find among his feudal lords and high retainers a conservative party, progressive party, military party, and civil party, each of which, according to the origin of their advancement, respected and followed Hideyoshi's regular wife, or flattered and approached Lady Yodo, all leading to a tangled web of party dissensions and unceasing fights in secret. The old Hideyoshi, his body and energy alike exhausted, was unable to control and suppress all these dissensions in his family and intimates, and soon after he had held a gorgeous flower-viewing party at the Sanboin Temple, on March 13, 1598, he was taken ill. In August, entrusting his son Hideyori, now seven years of age, to the tender care of the great feudal lords, he died at the age of sixty-three.

JAPANESE WITHDRAWN FROM KOREA WITH GREAT DIFFICULTY.—Ishida Mitsunari forthwith posted down to Nagoya, taking Hideyoshi's dying command, and transmitted his message to all the Japanese generals in Korea to withdraw and return home to Japan. They kept Hideyoshi's death a secret and were endeavouring to evacuate safely, but the Governor of Fukien Province, China, learned of Hideyoshi's death through his spies in Japan and reported it to his Government, and the Chinese Emperor ordered his generals in Korea to take every advantage of the dispirited state of the Japanese armies and to pursue them hotly. The Chinese and Korean naval forces, with much increased courage and concentration of energy, mobilized all their ships and pursued the retreating Japanese ships, but the latter in desperation turned upon them and gave them a sound beating, after which they secured their retreat, and in November all the Japanese armies were back in Nagoya.

EXPENDITURE ON THE KOREAN WAR.—In this great war China expended over 8,000,000 taels of silver and the necessary rice, excluding the value of gunpowder, implements of war, and horses during the three years between 1598 and 1600, when all the Chinese army came back to China. The Chinese Court asserted they had sent 200,000 men to Korea, but that is an exaggeration. The actual number of Chinese land and sea forces that came to Korea's rescue was 45,000 of the former and 13,000 of the latter, which used

1,244 large guns, 118,000 fire-arrows, 69,745 kin of gunpowder, 1,796,966 kin of lead for large and small bullets, besides a sufficient supply of all kinds of firearms and guns which struck the Japanese army with terror. After the war, firstly, China had to leave in Korea a garrison of about 34,000 men, including cavalry, infantry, and sailors, together with 3,000 horses ; secondly, to send to Korea 910,000 taels of silver every year for the expenses of the garrison ; and thirdly, to send 130,000 koku of rice and beans to Ryoto, Santo, and Tentsien. This was the total of the Chinese war expenditure in the second Japanese invasion of Korea that continued for twenty-three months, and if we went back to the first Japanese invasion that lasted for forty-three months, we should have to double the amount, so that the whole war expenditure of China during the first and second invasions of Korea would be about 24,000,000 taels. According to the *Minshi* (*History of the Ming Dynasty of China*), there was in China at the Manreki era about 7,013,000 kei of both public and private fields and farms, from which the Government received for summer-tax, 4,605,000 koku of rice and wheat, 57,900 gold ingots, 206,000 hiki of silk, and for autumn-tax, 22,033 koku of rice and wheat, and 236,000 gold ingots, so that the whole Chinese territory paid to their Government a tax of 56,663,800 koku in rice and cereals. Of this total, 41,598,800 koku was kept in the provinces for the expenditures of local Governments, and the remaining 15,000,000 or 16,000,000 koku being applied to the expenditure of the Central Government and divided among the Imperial Household, ministers, and other officials, partly in rice and partly exchanged to money, there was not much left for the Government reserves. China incurred a huge expenditure in her rescue of Korea, and though while aiding Korea the Chinese Government ordered the Kosei provinces to pay an increase of taxes amounting to 400,000 koku of rice, yet this being insufficient to make up the war expenditure, they had no other way but to buy in cash the rice and other cereals necessary. The ratio of exchange between gold and silver during the Manreki era was 1 gold to 7 silver, but the standard of taxation by the Government was given at 1 gold to 5 silver. Basing upon this proportion of calculation, 24,000,000 taels could purchase 64,000,000 koku. Calculating according to the approximate value of 1 koku of rice at the present day, which is about 50 yen, the amount of expenditure may be estimated at almost 4,800,000,000 yen. This only for rice and other cereals exclusive of the expenditures for war implements and animals. China at that time was a country with a population of 60,692,856, which lived in 10,621,436 houses. It is apparent what effect the enormous cost of war had on a nation of this size. She was unable to recover from this loss, which finally spelled her downfall by the invasion of the Northern Barbarians.

Economic Results of the Korean Invasion.—As a result of their help to Korea, China incurred this huge war expenditure; but the Japanese expenditure for this long war ought to have been far more than that of China, for Japan was always on the offensive and moving about, while the Chinese army co-operated and kept in touch with the Korean forces, who also helped them with provisions. On the other side, it should be considered that Korea being not very far distant, the transport expenses of the Japanese army were smaller than those of the Chinese, so that when every point is balanced there was perhaps not much difference between the war expenditures of the two countries. When, first, Hideyoshi mobilized his armies for the invasion of Korea, he ordered that the soldiers should be lodged in the country free of charge, but, later, the country was pretty well exhausted, and the people objected to soldiers being billeted free, so in the 2nd year of Bunroku he allowed 1 mon for every man and 2 mon for every horse under the name "wood expense." It is clear from Hideyoshi's orders to strike many new gold and silver coins for this invasion that he found the gold, silver, and copper coins then in circulation too few to defray the war expenses, which in turn shows how heavy they were. Just as in China the downfall of the Ming Dynasty was due to their huge war expenditures for the Korean War, so the Japanese exhaustion of national resources as the result of the war, together with the hearty desire of the feudal lords for a peaceful age, opened the way for Tokugawa Iyeyasu to unify the country again after Hideyoshi's death. However, though the direct result of the invasion of Korea was the exhaustion of the national resources of Japan, on the other hand, the indirect benefits in greatly stimulating the national spirit were many. As we have seen, Hideyoshi gave orders to the feudal lords of the coast provinces to build at their own expense two large ships for every 100,000 koku of their fief, and also three large ships and five medium ships at his expense; and as there were thirty-two feudal lords with over 100,000 koku of fief—in all the coast provinces the total amount of the fiefs was about 12,000,000—Japan newly built for the Korean War 578 large ships and 575 medium-sized ships. At first, Hideyoshi was anxious to build 2,000 ships, and also to purchase from the Portuguese, through the mediation of the Catholic missionaries, two large ships; but he failed in this, and could only build 1,150 large ships in spite of the feudal lords being obedient to his commands and doing their utmost, so that his invasion of Korea was not a military success.

Yet it brought about unprecedented prosperity both in shipbuilding and iron-working, showing pertinently that war is after all an industry. Of these large and small ships, despite many foundered and burned, they helped enormously in the progress of water transportation.

The great prosperity of the trade between Japan and the southern countries, including Southern China in later years, when the Tokugawa family came to rule over Japan, was the after-result of the shipbuilding, and the accompanying progress in that art was virtually brought about by Hideyoshi's invasion of Korea.

PROGRESS IN JAPANESE INDUSTRIES AS A RESULT OF THE INVASION OF KOREA.—When the feudal lords returned from the Korean War, some brought with them captured artisans and specialists in many industrial arts, while others carried off rare and precious articles, and even brought home large stones for castle walls and big garden trees, and these artisans and this booty contributed much to the advancement of the industrial arts of Japan. The Hagi pottery was first made in Japan by a Korean called Rikei, whom Mori Terumoto employed as a guide in Korea, brought to Japan and gave a Japanese name. He had many Japanese pupils, among whom were the makers of the Matsumoto and Fukagawa wares. Agano pottery-ware of the Buzen Province was first made in Japan by a Korean named Sonkai, son of Son-ye-ki, who was the garrison commander of Fusan Castle. He was brought to Japan by Hosohawa Tadaoki and started a kiln at Agano, Hosokawa encouraging the art by prohibiting pottery making except at Agano and supplying Sonkai with seventy men to work in the kiln. So famous did it become that such well-known masters of the tea ceremony as those of the Senko school and Lord Kobori Totomi gave it large orders for their tea-ceremony wares. Nabeshima Naoshige was one who recognized the exquisiteness of Korean pottery, and when he went to the Korean War he took with him a local potter, Hokosaburo of Yanagawa, Kabachi village, who, in accordance with the instruction of his lord, studied the art of pottery making from the Korean potters whom he captured, and, picking out five excellent workers, he sent them to his native province and made much improvement in the Imari ware. Ryuzoji Iehisa, the chief retainer of Lord Nabeshima, was also deeply interested in the Korean art of pottery making, and when he returned from the Korean War he brought with him a Korean potter, Risanpei, and made him bake potteries at several places for a trial; but good earth was discovered nowhere until Kanai Sanpei, the Korean potter, came at last to Arita village, Hizen Province, where he found it for the first time and started there his business of pottery making. His kiln flourished so much that many Japanese potters came from far and near to learn the art and formed a pottery district. The origin of the Mikawauchi pottery-ware produced at Hirato is also interesting. When Matsuura Shigenobu, the feudal lord of Hirado, came back from the Korean War he brought home Kyukan, a Korean potter at Yusen, and ordered him to bake pottery at Nakano village, and then when Kyukan's son, San-no-jo, succeeded his father, he tried hard to find a good earth here and there until he found it in the Fujiwara Hill, where he continued to make pottery for many years until he removed to Mikawauchi, so that the Mikawauchi ware had in its origin quite a Korean style. These Korean potters made a great contribution to the Japanese art of pottery making, some preserving the pure Korean style, and the others mixing the Japanese and Chinese styles with the Korean and forming a new style. They spread their art far and wide in the interior, and thus brought about a revolution in the ceramic art in Japan. Of all other wares, the Satsuma has maintained the purest Korea style. When Shimazu of Satsuma returned from Korea he brought home to Japan over eighty Koreans of twenty-two families whom he captured in Korea. He treated them very well, making their living easy and comfortable, and caused them to bake the potteries which have become famous under the name of Satsuma ware. Bokukei-i, Chintokitsu, and Seizan-kanyu were the most excellent of all the Korean potters, and made wares good enough to compete with those produced at Yusen in Korea; and Shimazu gave them better and better treatment, exempting them from all the taxes, but strictly forbade them to change their fashions in hair and dress and to marry with Japanese; so that while their blood and social system long remained purely Korean, their art, too, was never influenced by the Japanese school of pottery making and could maintain the pure Korean style. In time the Koreans reached several thousand, among whom the seventeen families are even now keeping up their old Korean family name, and few made intermarriages with the pure Japanese in the other village districts. The above examples are merely the most remarkable out of many showing that the Korean potters, after they came over to Japan, made a slow but steady and far-reaching contribution to the industrial arts of Japan. There was at that time a very famous Japanese potter, Jinsei, whose art owes much to Korea, because in the Keicho era he learned the art of pottery making of Butsuami, the Korean potter at Otomura in Tosa, which shows that there were Korean potters in Tosa, too, who were captured in the Korean War and brought over to Japan. The famous cloisonné-ware maker, Hirato Dojin, was at first a carver in Kyoto, but in the Keicho era, by the order of Tokugawa Iyeyasu, he studied the art of making Shippo (cloisonné) ware under a Korean potter in Japan, and became cloisonné artist to the family of the Tokugawa Shogun, which shows that the art of Shippo-ware making was also transmitted to Japan as an after-result of the invasion of Korea. We can find a parallel in the expulsion of the Huguenots by France in 1659 and their flight to England, where by their industry and thrift they helped to lay the foundation of their foster-country's industrial greatness.

CHAPTER XXXIV

JAPANESE EXPAND ABROAD

Disappearance of the Japanese Pirates followed by the Activities of the Red Mark Ships.—The question may arise here how and why the Japanese pirates who struck terror along the Korean and Chinese coasts in the 14th century lost their power and gradually disappeared in the 15th century. The answer is this: first, as the new Korean Dynasty of the Yi family succeeding to the dynasty which fled as the result of the internal trouble caused by the encroachment of the Japanese adventurers was stronger than its predecessor, opportunities were fewer for the Japanese pirates to encroach upon Korean territory; second, China began to devote her full power and strength to the defence of her coasts; third, the successive rise of such great soldiers and statesmen as Oda Nobunaga, Toyotomi Hideyoshi, and Tokugawa Ieyesu in Japan unified the country and thus the time had arrived for the adventurers to use their talents and bravery to advantage at home; lastly, the experience of the Japanese adventurers for over a hundred years made them realize how much trade profits were to be preferred to mere plundering. For these reasons the Japanese adventurers ceased to practise piracy. But the national desire for extension abroad and the enterprising spirit of the Japanese, looking for a place where they could most easily find a footing, discovered it in the continent of Southern Asia and the islands in the South Seas, and in process of time the Japanese pirates gave place to the Red Mark Ships privileged by the Government to go abroad. In days gone by the pirates came and went as the tide rises and falls and made no permanent settlements, but with the coming of the Red Mark Ships the Japanese began to settle and occupy the ground firmly in Southern Asia.

Japanese Merchandise in China.—The Chinese Court was long so much in terror of the Japanese adventurers that they used every means of defence, even sacrificing other things to prepare for it. Many soldiers and generals in the latter days of the Ming Dynasty distinguished themselves in the defence against the Japanese pirates and earned high fame for their bravery and strategy, but the Chinese soldiers and their military preparations alone could not defend their coasts, and it is not a little curious to hear that the Chinese conciliated some Japanese, gave them positions of authority, and employed them to defend their coasts against the Japanese pirates. During the 15th century, when the Chinese generals Sekikeiko and Yudaiyu were in charge of the defence of the eastern and southern coasts, they often bribed the Japanese pirates to withdraw; and having thus proved that Japanese were bribable, they enticed them by similar methods to join China, and entrusted them with the defence of their coasts. For instance, when some Japanese adventurers, Jusuke of Takamimura in Sanuki Province and ten others, descended on the coast of Fukien Province in China, they were suddenly fired at, stopped, and boarded by Chinese officials. To their great astonishment, these Chinese officials were not Chinese but Japanese, headed by one Tadotsuya Gihei. This incident occurred in 1587, the year in which Hideyoshi subdued Kyushu. It is natural for Japanese to know the conditions of their country best, and therefore to engage Japanese who were pirates by profession to defend the coasts against their fellow-countrymen, on the principle of setting a thief to catch a thief, proved a most efficient method of coast defence. It was not the Japanese adventurers alone who were a terror to the Chinese; there were also the gangs of Chinese pirates, a terrible thorn in the side of their Government, because they were in touch with the Japanese adventurers, and together plotted against their own country. This was one reason why the Chinese Government appointed the Japanese adventurers Chinese officials, for they were able to clear their seas of pirates as soon as they were deprived of the help of the Japanese. The above-given instance is only one, and no doubt there were many Japanese who allowed themselves to be enticed into Chinese service, and undertook the work of coast defence against pirates of both nationalities. There is a record how, about the year 1660, there was at Hakata in Kyushu a merchant called Yamato-ya Hoshinosuke who engaged in the coast trade. Once he went to China on business and never came back home, to the great astonishment of his family; and while his people were wondering as to his whereabouts some gifts from him arrived, and continued to come from time to time. At the same time the family received a hint that this Hoshinosuke was enjoying a very high post in China as the chief of a Chinese province, and there is reason to believe that he filled the same sort of position as Tadotsuya Gihei mentioned above.

Japanese Adventurers in the South Seas.—In the last half of the 16th century there was a tendency for the Japanese adventurers to push down toward the south-east, and the most energetic adventured out toward the Philippines and the other islands thereabouts. In 1574, before Oda Nobunaga had fought the great battle of Nagashino, a Chinese pirate chief named Rimako, leading a large fleet of pirate-ships, descended upon the Philippine Island, and, as the second-in-command was a Japanese named Shogo, for the first time we have a collision between the Japanese and Spaniards. Originally the Japanese occupied the Islands before Spain, and as they had thus the right of previous residence the sovereignty should have been theirs, whereas Spain acquired them.

Similarly, in spite of the Japanese being the previous residents in Formosa, the sovereignty was usurped by the Dutch there, and the Japanese were merely in the position of hangers-on, which shows how lacking the Japanese Government was in knowledge and energy. Rimako's fleet consisted of 62 ships with 2,000 sailors, 2,000 infantry with artillery, and 1,500 women, besides numbers of artisans of various descriptions, enough to establish a small principality anywhere, and making us curious to know what this large pirate fleet was doing before it descended on the Philippine Islands, for however wide the ocean may be it was impossible for such a large fleet to cruise about unnoticed. Of course, at ordinary times the ships were dispersed, anchoring in the ports as peaceful merchantmen, and then at a word from their chief they started in the shape of a fleet for their rendezvous, which was under the protection of some islands.

COMBINED FLEET OF THE JAPANESE AND CHINESE PIRATE SHIPS.—In the course of their long voyage the pirate fleet descried one day a Chinese merchantman which had sold all its goods in the Philippine Islands and was now on its way home. This ship was taken and the sailors used as pilots, under whose direction the pirate fleet arrived at the mouth of Manila Bay on November 29, 1574. Rimako ordered his second-in-command, Shogo, the Japanese, to land with 600 men and make a surprise attack, but Shogo mistook the landing and came ashore at the wrong place, which gave the Spaniards, who knew of their arrival, time to strengthen their defences, and Shogo was obliged to withdraw and make a junction with Rimako. Three days later Shogo delivered a fierce and terrifying attack upon the forts, which, however, stood out well, and the bold Shogo was himself killed in the hot fighting. Rimako lost heart, retreated to his ships, embarked, and sailed for Lingaen, whither the Spaniards followed, reinforced by a Chinese fleet under the Chinese Viceroy of the Fukien Provinces, and routed him out. The greater number of the Japanese and Chinese pirates were scattered, but many remained on the Islands and married native girls. Thus the Spaniards on the Philippine Islands could enjoy peace for a few years and ruled over the neighbouring islands, until the inroad of a Japanese pirate chief called Taifusa with twenty-six ships in 1582, the year in which Oda Nobunaga was killed by Akechi Mitsuhide. This Taifusa, driving before him the natives, who made a strong resistance, landed at the mouth of the Kagayan River, Ronguilo, and to cope with the situation the Governor-General of the Philippines sent a battleship with over one hundred sailors to attack and drive out the Japanese. The record says the Governor-General, desiring to inspire his sailors with religious zeal, and to make them fight bravely, added to the number of sailors in the ship a Franciscan monk and a Dominican monk. The Spanish commander reached the port of Bolinao in August, and, reinforced by the other Spanish warships, he emerged, and finding some of the Japanese pirate ships at Cape Boxedol, the northernmost point of the Philippine Islands, attacked them. After a fierce battle the Spaniards captured the Japanese pirate ships, but the courage of the Japanese and the sharpness of their swords struck them with admiration. A thick fog fell after the battle, and seizing his advantage the Spanish commander sailed up the River Kayagan and landed. Taifusa had already heard of the battle from some Japanese who had escaped by swimming, and at the head of his men he attacked the Spanish forts, which were defended with very strong ditches and batteries. So fierce was the assault that twice they laid hands on the cannon, and the Spanish oiled the muzzles to make it difficult for the Japanese to grip them. In the end the attackers were unable to resist the artillery, and after losing many men in a second assault, Taifusa sailed away with the remnant force. Thereafter the Spaniards were terrified of the Japanese adventurers, and devoted their energy and strength to building the fortifications at Manila and in the Islands. In 1585, at the East Indian Council at Madrid, it was proposed to organize a squadron to defend Kayagan on the northern coast of the Philippine Islands against the Japanese encroachment, and the Spanish officials at Manila adopted such preventives as to separate the Japanese and Chinese settlements and limit the sphere of their residence to some places out of the town.

Hideyoshi's Desire to take the Philippine Islands.—The Spaniards now established a settlement on the Kayagan shore, naming it Nueva Segovia; but as the Japanese had long occupied that territory, built the fortifications in it, and ruled it, this establishment of the Spanish settlement endangered the relations between the Spaniards and Japanese. The Spaniards called the Japanese pirates, but if so, then all are pirates who capture and occupy the land belonging to other people. These " pirates " when they returned to their native country were all good citizens and not dangerous people at all. A certain Harada Kiemon, who frequented the Philippine Islands, and was well versed in the conditions there, was indignant to see how oppressed the Japanese were in the Islands, and, returning to Japan, got access to Hideyoshi, now actual ruler of the country, and explained to him the conditions of the Japanese in Manila. Harada did his best to get Hideyoshi to dispatch an expedition to the Philippines and take the Islands at a single blow, which would increase the sale of wheat-flour and other merchandise and bring money into the country. In the meantime, at Manila, the Governor had taken every measure for defence, though he did it secretly in order that it might not challenge a war between Japan and the Islands, and relying upon time to settle everything in due course, and hoping that the situation would change sooner or later, he adopted an apparently peaceful manner and attitude. Nevertheless, he did not neglect the positive measures against future dangers, and one after another he sent back from the Islands all the Japanese, against whom he was always on guard. Even the Japanese who came to the Islands for trade purposes were not permitted to keep their weapons ashore, and were instructed to settle their affairs promptly and leave the Islands as soon as possible, though it is true that while they were staying on the Islands for trade purposes they had every kind treatment and every convenience so as not to incite their anger. A secret report came to Manila that Japanese intended to occupy Formosa, which would be a very good basis for the conquest of the Philippine Islands, and, trying to be beforehand, the Governor sent two warships to Formosa to survey the ports and general conditions there, hoping that even if they could not take Formosa, the expedition would arouse the suspicions of the Chinese Viceroys at Canton and Kinshu as to the Japanese intention, and thus put a spoke in their wheel. However, Hideyoshi died shortly after, in the middle of his invasion of Korea; the Philippine Islands did not suffer the same fate as that country, and the plans and arrangements of the Governor-General with regard to Formosa served as a good basis when Spain captured Keelung in Formosa a few years later.

Japanese Settlement at Manila.—With the death of Hideyoshi, Japan's ambitious and heroic undertakings were simultaneously abandoned, and the Spaniards in the Philippine Islands, having now nothing to fear, tried greatly extending their power, during which time the adventurous Japanese, co-operating either with Spaniards or Portuguese, profitably employed their oars and swords; and these Japanese, whether they were friends or enemies to the Spanish Government at Manila, were mostly Catholic believers and had Christian names. The Spaniards, the more they came into contact with the Japanese and Chinese, and the better acquainted they became with their courage and strength, began to be afraid of these Japanese and Chinese, and limited their residences to certain places; but although the Japanese in the Philippine Islands had their settlement restricted to a certain place, they had a form of self-government in it, and there is some evidence to show that a Japanese was the head of all the others, and exercised administrative and judicial power. In the year 1625, when the chief of the Japanese Settlement, Andrew Perez Franco, was complained of to the Court on the charge that he had embezzled some money from other Japanese, he was said to have possessed the rank of general, and the other chief, Juan Suon, the rank of captain. There is also mention that a Japanese named Petro Leon brought a suit against another Japanese, Miguel Dorisa, on the charge that the latter had maltreated his wife Maria Cosia, and thus it is plain that, despite the prohibition of free communication between the Japanese settlement and native villages, the Japanese were on very friendly terms with the natives, and that the Tablen race of to-day is of mixed Japanese and Malay blood. In the year 1603, when the Governor-General was absent from Manila, all the Japanese at many places rebelled in concert, and, judging from the fact that this insurrection was settled by the mediation of the Catholic priests, it is plain that all the Japanese in the community were Catholic believers, and their self-governing community was a settlement in the perfect sense. The Catholic Priest Sotelo, who later got access to Tokugawa Iyeyasu and tried hard to hinder the trade between the Japanese and the Dutch, and also afterwards persuaded Daté Masamuné to send an envoy to the Pope of Rome, came of an illustrious family of Seville, and while living on the Philippine Islands as a Franciscan priest in 1594, he came for the first time in contact with the Japanese there, and after preaching for some years among them and studying the Japanese language came over to Japan in 1603. He won the confidence of the Japanese, high and low, and did active work.

Chinese Revolt at Manila.—The Chinese community in the Philippine Islands was also self-governing, and had a chief of the community just as the Japanese. The Chinese population far outnumbered the Japanese in the Islands, and this large settlement became a menace to the Spanish Government of the Islands, and sowed seeds of trouble. In 1603 three Chinese who called themselves high officials of the Chinese Government came to the Islands on a large ship, and inquired of the Spanish officials where were the isles on which gold lay in piles, which betrayed their intention to capture them. The Spanish laughed at the idea of gold islands, but gave them the treatment due to their rank, the truth being that these Chinese, pretending to be high officials of their Home Government, really visited the Islands with the object of consulting with the resident Chinese to plot against the Spanish Government at Manila, because at that time the Chinese dissatisfaction against the oppression of the Spaniards, their contempt for them, and their great desire to seize the resources of the Philippines, all combined to make them revolt against the Spanish government of the Island. Among this Chinese community there was a Chinese with the Christian name of Johan Baptista De Vera, who, being very wealthy and a man of strong character, was much respected in the Chinese community and very often appointed its chief, and he was the ringleader of this Chinese revolt. Anxious to know the number of the Chinese population at Manila, but fearing that if he made investigation publicly he would be suspected by the Spanish officials, he bade all the Chinese on some ground or other to bring him each one needle, and knowing from the number of these needles that there were enough Chinese at Manila to succeed in their insurrection, and fortifying a place between the river-mouth and a swamp about a mile from Tondo village, he collected there about 2,000 Chinese to revolt against the Spanish Government at Manila. Vera himself, pretending to be a loyal supporter of the Spanish Government, secretly informed the Governor that the Chinese had risen against his Government. The Governor-General sent an army to attack the revolting Chinese, and after a doubtful struggle lasting twenty days the Chinese were exhausted and defeated, and all the rebels were killed. In this battle between the Spaniards and Chinese, the Spaniards could only put in the field 2,000 armed men, and if the Japanese had not helped them they would have been defeated; but 800 Japanese coming in a body to reinforce the Spaniards, displayed their well-known valour and skill in war and enabled the Spaniards to win the victory. When this Chinese revolt was suppressed, the Mayor of Bamhanga captured 400 Chinese and put them all to death. Spanish records say that the number of Chinese killed on the battle-field or elsewhere reached 23,000, but, in fact, the actual number was about double that. Not only did the Japanese thus aid the Spaniards at Manila, but other Japanese joined them in the battle at Laos in Cochin-China in 1609, and also in the battle at Champa in Indo-China, showing everywhere their bravery and daring.

Collision between Japanese and Spaniards at Manila.—In fact, all over the South Sea Islands and southern parts of Asia where Chinese, Spaniards, and Portuguese had settlements, Japanese, too, established themselves at least on an equal footing with these peoples, and in places had more power and population than they. Notwithstanding that they sided with the Spaniards generally and oppressed the Chinese and natives, they were so much suspected by the Spaniards that the Spanish officials at Manila decided in 1606 that the Chinese population should not be over 6,000, and a large number of Japanese could never be tolerated. The Japanese already numbered 3,000 at Manila, and they were looked upon as a menace to the Spanish authority in the

Philippine Islands. This increasing jealousy on the part of the Spanish resulted at last in a collision between them and the Japanese in the Philippine Islands. In 1609, when the Governor-General set out on an expedition to the Spice Islands, he and his deputy schemed to banish many Japanese from the Islands, for they feared that these foreigners were too unruly and riotous, that they would sooner or later disturb the public peace. But when they tried to drive the Japanese out by force they met with resistance, and the situation became so dangerous that there was imminent fear of a battle between the Japanese and Spaniards, in which the former would number about 1,500 brave and determined fighters, who would probably carry all before them. The mediation of the Catholic fathers prevented actual fighting, but this is said to have been the greatest danger the Spaniards had ever met with since their occupation of the Islands.

GOHEI, THE JAPANESE.—There was strife for the succession of the throne in Cambodia in 1609, and when the reigning King applied for aid to the Spanish Government in the Philippine Islands, an admiral was sent down with a squadron, but before he could arrive an unexpected situation had been brought about in Cambodia by some Japanese. To go back to the beginning, there was a certain Gohei at Nagasaki whose father was a Portuguese and mother a Japanese, but having been brought up in Japan he was quite a Japanese. There were many Eurasians like Gohei at Nagasaki, and he called them all together and offered a ship for their joint use. To this company he added some Japanese and Portuguese, and gave out that they intended to go to China, Champa, and Cambodia for trade, but, in fact, coast piracy was the object. A Spanish adventurer called Don Antonio Nalabar, who had knocked about Nagasaki for seven years, got wind of the plan and joined Gohei. When they were cruising along the China coast they heard of the Spaniards having meddled with the succession strife in Cambodia, and here they thought was a chance for good pickings for them. Down in Cambodia they found a lot of Spaniards and Portuguese, and Gohei and his band joined them, appointing as their chiefs three Spaniards, and negotiating with the King of Cambodia before the arrival of the Admiral from Manila, they got the King's agreement to give them some land, gold, and rice. The King's mother, however, hated the Spaniards, and the ministers objected to the action of the monarch, so they could not get the agreement executed; and while they were wasting their time in negotiations there were frequent collisions between the Spaniards and native bodyguards; and then a certain Spaniard, Louis de Vilafain, taking advantage of the absence of the three Spanish chiefs above-mentioned, joined his force with Gohei's, and, attacking the native garrison, looted a lot of gold and rice. The allies occupied a strong position on the river-mouth, and, keeping in communication with the Japanese ship, defended themselves there. The native soldiers were very exasperated, and, taking advantage of the estrangement, killed all the Japanese, Spaniards, and Portuguese in the place. The King of Cambodia was slain in the entanglements, and Spanish influence fell for ever.

Captain Davis killed by Japanese Pirates.—As we know, the Japanese adventurers were not only busy in the Philippine Islands; their activity in Siam was wider and had stronger foundations. The Japanese were already coming and going from the coasts of Siam before the Dutch and Portuguese, and from their base at Batani they used to attack and loot the ships coming from India, China, and Japan. It was while on his way to the Batani Strait that the well-known English navigator and discoverer of Davis Strait, Captain Davis, was killed in a fight with the Japanese there.

Japanese Catholics escape to Manila.—When the Catholics were persecuted in Japan in 1614, and some were exiled from the country, while others were killed, many exiles went to the Philippine Islands; and among them there was Don Juste, or Takayama Ukon, the former lord of Takatsuki Castle in Settsu, who died in Manila in 1615 and was buried in St. Michael's Church. The Spanish treated the numerous exiles who poured into the Islands with every kindness, and in return got a good class of men, who eventually numbered 1,500, and who in 1615, when the Governor-General set out to subdue the Spice Islands, made up his third battalion.

Japanese in Batani.—Batani in Siam had already been visited by the Dutch in 1517; then, in 1538, by the Portuguese, who had been to Satsuma. In 1606 the Dutch established a factory, which was attacked by the Japanese in 1609 and burnt down; and though the Dutch were not daunted by this blow given by the Japanese, and made such strenuous efforts that they monopolized the trade in Batani, the centre of commerce in course of time shifted to the capital of Siam and Malacca and Batavia, and the trade of Batani declined. At this juncture the English began to open commercial intercourse with Siam, and then with Batani, as the stepping-stone they came over to Japan. In 1603, when Captain William Keeling visited Bantam Island in Sunda Strait, a Siamese mission was on the island. The captain invited them to dinner, and from them got information with regard to the conditions in Siam. Thus prepared, when he returned home in 1610, Captain William Keeling reported to the East India Company, and suggested opening trade with Siam. His recommendation had great weight with the Board of Directors, for it was just the time that the arrival of the Siamese mission in Holland made the English people very nervous, and they ordered Captain Hippin to go to Siam on the ship *Globe* in February 1611. In August of the same year he reached Ceylon. That year the English Government, having already got much information about Japan, decided to open trade intercourse with it, and writing to William Adams, an Englishman in Japan, to mediate for this purpose, entrusted the letter to the ship *Globe*, and in April the next year, appointing John Salis as the envoy to take King James's letter to the Japanese Emperor, ordered the three ships, *Globe*, *Thomas*, and *Hector*, to go to Japan.

They reached Bantam in October 1612, and starting from there for Japan on the 14th of January, 1613, arrived in Hirado on June 13th next year. It is interesting to observe these English ships passed on from place to place, finding the Dutch everywhere strongly established and intensely jealous of competition, until they finally anchored in the port of Bantani.

ENGLISHMEN KNEW JAPANESE FOR THE FIRST TIME.—At this time Batani was a dependency of Siam, and was ruled by a Queen who was at this time about sixty years old, but of unrivalled beauty and great wealth derived from many monopolies. Floris, an English official in the ship *Globe*, who was desirous to make a trade venture to Japan from Batani, finding himself short of money, got a loan from the Queen, paying her 6 per cent. interest, and also 1 per cent. to her Minister of Finance. In Batani the English learned a lot about Japan and the Japanese, and saw how much their seamanship was respected, and more especially how much their fidelity was admired, even to the extent of their being many Japanese in the bodyguards of the Royal Family. All this was reported to the East India Company. There was a certain nobleman in Siam who had a guard of 280 Japanese, and when he was killed by the royal command, these Japanese collected themselves as a body to avenge their master, and attacking the royal palace, sacked it and retreated in triumph. This, too, the English saw, and examined, in addition, the exquisite and rare Japanese articles, which filled them with admiration for the industrial arts in Japan. When they reached the capital and found that the trade between Japan and Siam was long established, and that Iyeyasu, the actual King of Japan, wrote to the King of Siam, they began to get larger and larger ideas regarding the country, and at last appointed John Salis as the special envoy to Japan, and ordered the ship *Globe* to take him there. They thus opened trade with Japan, and their profits and losses were fairly well balanced; but they could not, after all, compete with the Dutch, and disappeared gradually from the scene.

English Failure in Trade.—Thus the English sent out their ships under Peter Hall and John Fielers from Siam, and traded along the coasts of Champa and other neighbouring countries, but their sailors were all Japanese, whom they engaged at Ayucha or Bangkok. For instance, when they shipped to Japan from Siam about 90 hides in the ship *Sea-Adventure* (1617), the sailors were all Japanese, for the Japanese were scattered over all neighbouring countries, and everywhere admired for their daring on the sea; but they were riotous and unruly ashore, utterly disregarding the captain's instructions. When, therefore, the East India Company was about to send out a ship for the trade between Japan and Siam, they were advised by Cocks, an Englishman in Japan, to engage Japanese ombra to control the Japanese sailors, this ombra being a Siamese word meaning "foreman"; so that it is apparent that the East India Company not only employed Japanese in the ships trading along the Siamese coasts, but also employed a Japanese foreman to control them. The English made very strenuous efforts to develop their trade relation with Japan, but met with poor results, and finally they were obliged to close up their factory at Hirado in the year 1623 and withdraw from Japan. Opinions differed regarding this English failure in their trade with Japan, but the first reason seems to be that the Dutch captured Chinese ships and sold their loot very cheap in Japan, so that the English could not compete with them. Secondly, the Japanese merchants were very smart and always got the better of the English. In his diary Cocks severely criticized the Japanese merchants for their way of doing business, saying that the chief obstacle to trade with Japan is the greedy traders there who were not satisfied with the monopoly of trade in their markets, but, coming to Hirado and Nagasaki, dispatch their ships to Siam, Cochin-China, Tonkin, and Cambodia, and any other place where they think they can get profit, and, using every means to exclude the merchants of other countries, try to monopolize the gains. It seems that this criticism is not groundless, and the English and Dutch merchants truly found in the Japanese severe competitors everywhere in the East, so that the English trade there decreased year after year in the East until they were finally obliged to give up their trade with Siam.

Yamada Nagamasa in Siam.—About 1619 there was civil strife in Siam owing to the usurpation of the throne, and a Japanese, Yamada Nagamasa, was one of the most prominent figures in it. At that time there were in Siam about 8,000 Japanese, who, in self-governing groups, occupied a wide district called the Japanese Settlement. Each group had its chief, of whom Yamada Nagamasa was one. He was born at Shidzuoka in Suruga, formerly a palanquin-bearer of a wealthy merchant, and in 1617 begged two merchants, who were Kamotsu-tori —that is, privileged to buy and distribute foreign goods—to take him with them on their trip to China. He had a bad character for dissipation and underhanded ways in business, and the merchants declined, but he followed them to Osaka, and they finally agreed to take him as far as Formosa anyway. Arriving there, he remained behind, and eventually found means to journey to Siam when he was about twenty-seven years old. Yamada Nagamasa had already nourished the ambition of making his fortune abroad, and loving to talk about wars and battles and to do chivalrous actions, displayed many of the qualifications of a leader; and when he became one of the chiefs among the Japanese in Siam, it happened for him that the usurper king arose and applied to the Japanese, whose bravery and fidelity were so well known, for help. They put him on the throne and were formed into a standing army to subdue the insurrections in the country, while the Japanese chiefs were promoted to the ranks of state ministers and high officials. Tsuda Matsuzaemon married one of the royal princesses, by whom a son was born named Sanemon, who afterwards returned with his father to Nagasaki to live, and Yamada Nagamasa also marrying a royal princess was elevated to a very high position in the royal Court and appointed the feudal lord of Rigall Province, with a fief at first corresponding to 3,000 koku of Japanese fief, and afterwards raised to 20,000 koku. Okubo Jiemon, gathering Japanese soldiers of fortune, organized a bodyguard, and, having in his employ over 40 samurais, more than 100 private soldiers, and about 200 inferior soldiers, was a trusted state minister at the Court, and at the same time a great land-owner of newly cultivated fields and farms and a very wealthy citizen at home.

His influence was instrumental in raising to the rank of feudal lords men under him, such as Otsuka Juzaemon, Goto Mataroku, Akashi Yoneri, and Akashi Jutayu. Not only were the Japanese in Siam so powerful as to be appointed feudal lords, but there was also a Japanese at Hantebya on the river-mouth of Menum who was at first an hotel-keeper there, but, having married a sister of the priest of Tepiatai Temple, was appointed one of the warders of Hantebya Castle and given a fief corresponding to Japanese 300 koku. It is evident that the Japanese influence was deeply rooted both politically and socially. Towards the year 1627, when the two merchants who had dropped Yamada at Formosa originally visited that island again, the Formosans told them that there was a message from Siam to say that if they would come to Siam they would be given every facility for trade, which was a very agreeable surprise and encouraged them to proceed there. On their arrival they were most politely received, and sent in a carriage to the Governor's office. The two merchants were rather astonished and began to suspect some trap, and could only bow when their guide informed them the Governor would see them. To their delighted astonishment the Governor patted them on the shoulders and told them that he was Yamada Nagamasa of old, and had invited them in order to repay them for the favours they had done him in the past. The story of how he had become the chief of the Japanese in Siam, and how he distinguished himself in the civil strife and established a glorious reputation as the favourite minister of the King and high officials of the state, astonished the two Shidzuoka men, who, after a profitable trade trip, returned to Japan.

STRIFE BETWEEN YAMADA NAGAMASA AND THE SIAMESE QUEEN.—King Parasong of Siam, who owed his throne to the power and influence of the Japanese settlers, was an able ruler and made several important reforms. The Siamese King was not the absolute monarch and centre of administration as in China and Japan: on the contrary, in the former the King was a great merchant and land-owner, not satisfied with the political power only, but very anxious to protect his own interest as the head of the largest and strongest clan in the country even against the interest of the people. This unique position of the Siamese Royal Family was due to the fact that the social system and political organization were yet in their infancy in Siam, and her national wealth and resources were very meagre. The revenue was not sufficient to support the Royal Family, and therefore as merchants they used their political power to control the national commerce. This had become the hereditary policy of the Siamese Royal Family, but King Parasong pushed it to an extremity, monopolizing the sale of hides, copper, and tin, and unless the foreign merchants paid an advance amounting to 25 per cent. of the price of the commodity, they were not allowed to ship their goods. The string was stretched too tight, and the merchants withdrew from the capital to places where the royal authority was weaker and they could transact their business in secret. As may be imagined, the Royal Family of Siam became very unpopular, especially among the nobles and high officials, whose interests in trade were opposed to those of the throne, and in consequence they began to hate the Japanese, who upheld the royal power, and contemplated expelling them, but the royal power was too strong for them until the death of King Parasong. When this monarch was on his death-bed in 1628, after a reign of three years, he called to his side Yamada Nagamasa and his minister Kohama, and laid on them his dying command that when his heir ascended the throne the two men would live in the capital alternate years and be the Regent to the young king. He then died. His widow took

Kohama, who was young and handsome, as her lover, and for his sake poisoned the boy king, who was thirteen years of age, and ascended the throne herself. Yamada Nagamasa in great anger prepared to bring an army from his province and chastise the Queen and Kohama in 1632, which terrified the lady so much that she at once sent an envoy to say that the idea of the boy king having been poisoned was utterly groundless, and that if Yamada would come to the capital and confer with her, she would make way for another king, and give to Oin, Yamada's son, two new provinces of Batani and Rigall.

WITHDRAWAL OF ALL THE JAPANESE FROM SIAM.—Yamada Nagamasa was, in fact, poisoned by the messenger from the Siamese Queen, but before he died the next year he made arrangements to take possession of the two provinces which she had promised to give to his son Oin, sending the son himself there. After Nagamasa's death his son set out for the capital at the head of an army to avenge his father. The Court, knowing well that when Oin's army approached the capital all the Japanese there would join him, and also desiring to destroy the Japanese Settlement and loot their ships, summoned on some pretext Kagiya Shozaemon and Tamaya Chubei, who had charge of all the Japanese ships. These two men consulted Iwakura Heiemon, the chief of the Japanese settlement, who told them that no doubt they were simply to be used as hostages to prevent the sack of the capital and give the Siamese army time to come and take Oin and his men in the rear. There followed a conference of all the Japanese chiefs, who agreed that it would be better to embark on their ships and hang about in the offing. While they were still conferring, messengers from the Court followed one another, urgently summoning Kagiya Shozaemon and Tamaya Chubei, who made up their minds to go on the grounds that they might otherwise be accused of cowardice. Besides, there was no time to escape, and if they were to die it did not very much matter where they met their death. The report of a gun in the castle would be the signal of their end, and they begged their fellow-countrymen to assault the castle and die as became Japanese. The two men then entered the castle accompanied by 25 men, with 25 guns, 10 bows, and 10 spears, while Iwakura Heiemon collected all the Japanese and waited outside the castle. The Siamese demanded from Kagiya and Tamaya the surrender of all their ships, which was refused, and after lengthy and critical negotiations it was finally agreed that the Siamese would neither kill nor confine the Japanese, who, on their part, should all withdraw from Siam and return to their native country, which would have settled the trouble had it not been for an unfortunate incident. While the Siamese and Japanese were busy over their negotiations, a Japanese named Genzo fought with some Siamese officials in the castle, and, after killing four and wounding nine, escaped into the street, where he was surrounded and killed. In return for this outrage, Siamese officials came to the Japanese Settlement and demanded the delivery of thirteen Japanese, whose lives should be at their disposal. The Japanese having refused to deliver up their countrymen, the situation was again critical, and it seemed as if bloodshed must ensue, but at this juncture a Siamese governor interceded between the Japanese and Siamese, and it was finally agreed by both parties that the Japanese settlers should pay to the Siamese Government 20 kwamme of silver to redeem their ships, on which they should forthwith embark and withdraw. In February 1633 all the Japanese embarked and left Siam, the fleet numbering about three hundred ships in all.

All the Japanese expelled.—As this fleet was leaving the coast, the Siamese, in violation of their word, directed large guns upon the departing ships, which drove the Siamese, in terror of the almost superhuman courage of their opponents, to call to their aid the large Portuguese ships anchored in the port. The Japanese made a more desperate stand than ever, and, sinking all the Portuguese ships, went off to Rigall Province to make a junction with Oin. They lost in the sea-fight Hikotayu of Sakae, one of the Japanese chiefs, and 43 men, while 100 were wounded. In the meantime Oin's army and the other Japanese who had left the capital and joined him were completely hemmed in by the native militia, and, as it was totally hopeless to resist the ever-increasing numbers of the enemy, Oin extricated himself with 16 or 17 men out of the mêlée, and persuading the other Japanese to return to Japan, he and his followers went to Cambodia, where the people remembered the services that Yamada Nagamasa had done for them. There, however, the same fate awaited him as in Siam. In Cambodia, too, there was a civil strife between two royal brothers. The younger brother was already on the throne and the elder brother had revolted against him, and the struggle was at its height when Oin arrived. The King drew Oin to his side, and they fought the elder prince; but since almost all of his countrymen sided with the latter, and their force far outnumbered the allied forces of the King and Oin, even the bravery of the Japanese could not turn the tide of the battle, and Oin suffered defeat several times. In the end he and his veterans, Otsuka Juzaemon, Imamura Sakyo, Akashi Yoneri, Adashi Jutayu, Goto Mataroku, Yamada Nihei, and Hayami Matasaburo, were all killed in battle, so that there were no Japanese left in Cambodia either.

Eight remaining Japanese.—The Siamese, then, expelled the Japanese in 1633, and they had, in addition, serious trouble with Portuguese between the years 1632–66, and these foreigners blocked the mouth of the River Tanas in 1633. The quarrel was due to the Portuguese having captured on the River Menum the ships of their hated rivals the Dutch, contrary, in Siamese opinion, to all international rules, the river and port being open to all foreigners. Of course, the Dutch supported this view, and the trouble grew until the Portuguese captured at sea a ship belonging to the Siamese King, who retorted by seizing a number of Portuguese ships in the Menum River and arresting the crews. After a while, the Portuguese sent a messenger to the Siamese Court saying that their Home Government was sending a special envoy to solve the question now at issue between the two countries. Thereupon the King released the imprisoned Portuguese, but after doing so he learned that the envoy was nothing more than a common Portuguese already in Siam disguised as one. The Siamese Court was greatly exasperated and captured all the Portuguese ships in the Rivers Rigol and Tanasselim, and the Portuguese on their part blockaded the mouth of the River Tesselim and stopped all Siamese ships from entering. In this critical situation the Siamese sent out eight Japanese officials on an elephant at the head of several hundred Siamese, all dressed as Japanese and carrying Japanese arms. This force came down to the shore, their guns drawn by elephants, and opened fire on the Portuguese ships, which turned and fled to avoid being sunk. These eight Japanese had been away in the interior when their fellow-countrymen were expelled, and when they turned up in the capital the Siamese promised to allow them to depart in peace if they would repel the enemy. That these Japanese, only eight in number, commanded several hundred Siamese, speaks well for the wide reputation of our countrymen for gallantry.

Reason why Japanese were gathered in Siam.—It was the policy of the Dutch which brought many Japanese there. In 1664 Holland made a treaty under which Siam agreed to punish anyone who disturbed the trade relations between Holland and Siam; and the Dutch, paying a certain fixed rate of tax to the Siamese Court, obtained the privilege of freedom to transact business anywhere in Siam. A further treaty was made that the Siamese King should never employ Chinese sailors on his ships when sending a merchantman to Japan. The Siamese were never good deep-sea sailors, and so all the voyages between Japan and Siam were made by Japanese and Chinese; but now, when it was stipulated that there should be no Chinese in the ships of the Siamese King, it was equivalent to entrusting everything to the Dutch ships or employing Japanese, and it was this situation which drew so many Japanese to Siam. The Dutch were not alone in their view of the situation, and in 1671, when the English opened trade again with Siam, they invited Japanese also. Both Dutch and English established themselves in the country, first because Siam was a stepping-stone for business from the south and the islands to Japan and China, and secondly because the trade with Siam was exceedingly profitable. In 1676, when the Dutch were lamenting the declined state of trade with Japan, they thanked Providence for having the trade with Siam to fall back upon, for they found it more profitable than that with Japan. At that time silver was very scarce in Siam, and importers of the metal made a large profit, and the Japanese, either directly or through the Chinese, had a share in this business; but after 1690, when the Dutch began to make silver coins for Siam and imported them there, importation of Japanese silver was entirely stopped. The Dutch exchanged seven shillings of silver for one crown of gold.

A GREEK WAS PROMOTED CHIEF MINISTER.—The example of Yamada Nagamasa was followed by a Greek and a Japanese woman. This Greek, whose name was Phaulkon, was the son of a small hotel-keeper, and when he was only ten years of age he ran away and joined an English ship commanded by George White. After long service and wide travel in the East, he was able to buy a small ship with his own savings. In this ship he was wrecked at the mouth of the River Menum, and while wandering about the shore he met a Siamese envoy on his way home from Persia, who was in the same pickle and could not proceed. Phaulkon was already acquainted with the Siamese language and could converse with this gentleman, and purchasing another little ship he transported the envoy to Ayucha, the Siamese capital. This gave him access to the Royal Family of Siam, and led to his being made Minister of Commerce of the Royal Household, who were great trade monopolists. From his former captain, George White, Phaulkon had imbibed advanced free-trade doctrines, which made him a bitter opponent of the East India Company, who were monopolists to the core. For this reason the Company always aspersed him, and no doubt his administration inconvenienced them greatly; but he was an able and upright man, and in 1685, after he had served many years as the Minister of Commerce to the Royal Household of Siam, he was appointed Chief Minister of State to superintend all the state affairs.

PHAULKON'S WIFE WAS A JAPANESE WOMAN.—Stimulated by the success of the Dutch in the East, the French entered the field, and in 1530 sent ships to the East for the first time; in 1538 for the second time. These later voyages proved commercial failures, but that did not prevent French Jesuits being highly successful as missionaries in the East. They flocked into the Orient in large numbers, and in

1660 a bishop, inspired with evangelical fervour, came to Siam. When he arrived there in 1662 he found that the Catholics in Siam were all Portuguese, and though the bishop was very eager to be friendly with them and learn from them the native customs and language, they suspected him of favouring French territorial expansion, and received him with only a cold politeness. The bishop then turned to the Dutch, and while he was studying the Siamese and Chinese languages and native manners and customs in the Dutch, he chanced to meet some Japanese Catholics who had fled from the persecution at home and settled here. The good bishop had always yearned over Japan, and he got great consolation in his intercourse with these Japanese. Following the bishop, a number of French came into Siam, and Phaulkon, partly of his own nature and partly from his religious faith, was very friendly with them, so that the French influence was dominant both in public and private circles. Curiously enough, the wife of Phaulkon was a Japanese lady, said to have been born in a noble family in Japan and driven out of the country because she was a Christian. In Siam she became one of the most respected of the Christians, and when she was chief of the Bureau of the Royal Cuisine, Alexander Hamilton, who interviewed her in 1719, said of her that by her carefulness and kind-heartedness she had won the deep respect of every one, native or foreign, who came in contact with her. In spite of his Japanese wife and her wide influence, Phaulkon had no Japanese around him and no Japanese in his army. When, for instance, he led an expedition against Macassar, there were among his troops about sixty Englishmen and a small number of Frenchmen but no Japanese, the reason perhaps being that at that time the Japanese Government had already issued the interdict of the Catholic religion, and no Japanese were allowed to live in foreign countries, so all the Japanese abroad withdrew and returned home. Phaulkon, as we have seen, held in his hands all the military and civil powers of the state and did his very best to promote the welfare of the country, but his foreign origin naturally drew upon him the jealousy of the native officials, above whose heads he was promoted, and in time Yamada Nagamasa's fate was his too. In the year 1685, when France dispatched a special envoy to Siam, escorted by 1,400 soldiers, Louis XIV ennobled him as a count of France and gave him the Orders of St. Michael and St. Peter, which caused even the King of Siam, pro-French as he was, a few qualms, and naturally had much more effect on those who were always antagonistic to the French influence. In May 1688, when the King was on the point of death, the nobles and high officials held a secret council, and their decision to entrust all the state affairs to General Era Phet

Rakusa knocked on the head Phaulkon's plan to raise to the throne the Crown Prince, who was a Catholic believer. Next Phaulkon was invited to an important state council and was seized, tortured, and in a few days publicly beheaded. This was the end of his romance. History does not tell us what became of his Japanese wife, but, according to a record of the East India Company, the Phaulkon estates were all confiscated and his family imprisoned.

Japanese in Java.—In 1619, three years after the death of Tokugawa Iyeyasu, when an English fleet attacked Jakatra in Java, they found that a body of troops composed of Japanese was assisting the Dutch in defending the port, which shows that not a small number of Japanese had been living in Java for many years. On the Ambon Islands, too, there were a good many Japanese, who were, equally with the Englishmen there, much suspected by the Dutch. One day a Japanese met in the street a Dutch soldier, and innocently asked him how many the garrison consisted of. The Dutch at once suspected that the Japanese and English were plotting to capture the castle, and seizing thirty or forty Japanese and over ten Englishmen, massacred them all, a further proof of the terror which the Japanese always inspired in the Dutch. The location of Jakatra was little changed afterwards and became Batavia, but, judging from the fact that there is still a site called Campon Nippon (Japanese town), it is clear that the Japanese had a separate Japanese settlement in Java, just as they had in Manila, Ayuchu, and Cambodia. Though there was a number of Japanese, who, because of the religious persecution at home and the banishment of the Eurasians, crossed the ocean and came over to Java, no remains of their activity are left save the name Campon Nippon. Six or seven years ago, when an official of the British consulate at Batavia was sauntering about the streets, he found by the roadside a stone on which some letters were inscribed, and finding by careful examination that it was the tombstone of a Japanese, asked for permission to remove it to the consulate, where it remains as the only relic of the Japanese in old Batavia.

Japanese in Cambodia.—Cambodia is also a place where a large number of Japanese immigrated and were active. In 1635 the Tokugawa Shogunate forbade the Japanese on pain of death to emigrate, and thereafter the number of the Japanese abroad greatly, but by degrees, decreased. About 1637 there were in Cambodia some seventy or eighty Japanese houses, and as the power of these Japanese was strong enough to be a good support to the state and could suppress internal rebellions, the Royal Family there places much reliance upon these Japanese, and both Malaccans and Chinese highly respected them. These Japanese traded in hired Chinese ships, and although the influence of their fellow-countrymen in the neighbouring country of Siam was at one time overpowering, and at another almost extinct, the Japanese in Cambodia seemed to be loved and respected by the natives and foreigners with few exceptions. About 1600, a Sakai merchant named Naya Sukezaemon used to go on trade trips to the Philippines and South Seas, and did very well, so well indeed that he called himself Luzon Sukezaemon, and his extravagantly luxurious living brought down upon him the suspicion and jealousy of Hideyoshi and his attendant lords, and all his property was confiscated. Sukezaemon presented his gorgeous mansion to the Taianji Temple of Sakai city, and, saying that such a small country as Japan was too narrow for his activity, set off for Cambodia. There he set up in trade and his talents won him the confidence of the Royal Family, who made him the governor of the port, where he came to manage all the trade affairs with Japan. In the year 1603 the King of Cambodia sent as a present to the Tokugawa Shogunate 8 rhinoceroses' horns, 300 deer hides, and a few peacocks, and asked for weapons to suppress internal rebellion. The Shogun sent him twenty bundles of swords, and told him that if he wanted more he could have them. During the decade of 1640, a Sakai merchant, Kiya Kyuzaemon, who had long been resident in Nagasaki, violated the national interdict and travelled to Siam in search of trade. At that time Siam was in trouble with an encroaching neighbour, and the King begged the merchant to help him to defend the boundary. Kyuzaemon repulsed the invaders and was rewarded by being made a feudal lord, with a large estate. Many prosperous years followed for him, and then he sent to his younger brother in Nagasaki a quantity of Siamese goods, the proceeds of the sale to be spent in masses for the souls of their parents. It was not, perhaps, attributable to the strength of Kiya Kyuzaemon alone, but largely to the combined strength of all the Japanese in Siam, just as it was in the time of Yamada Nagamasa, that this merchant had such a success, and thus there is pretty good reason to believe that in the middle of the 17th century there were still a good number of Japanese in Siam.

SOUTH SEAS ISLANDS THE SECOND HOME FOR JAPANESE ADVENTURERS.—From the above records people may imagine how widely spread the Japanese settlements were with the Philippine Islands as the boundary on the south, and all over the southern end of the Asian continent to the Malay Straits, and how extensively they traded around the coasts. It was an Englishman who truly observed that Hirado in Japan and Batavia in Java are sister ports; and it is also very interesting and noteworthy that Japanese are finding to-day their places of activities in some of the very spots where their forefathers were active and founded settlements three hundred years ago. Missaiya, where Kubota Yoshiro, called Miguel, sailed in 1605 under the so-called Red Marked Licence issued by the Shogunate to the trader going abroad, is the Pisaya Islands of to-day, including Mindanao and Parawan; Bunro, which had many other names such as Hodei, Para, Monrai, etc., where Kusuriya Jinemon sailed under a similar licence, is called Borneo to-day. Wanracka, where a foreigner called Antony was permitted by the Shogunate to go under the licence, was the name for Malacca; Marucco was the name for the Moluccas in the East Indies, or the Spice Islands; and Koruha was a name for Java, often written in books as Chevo. In 1604 Sumikura Ryoi and Kawaya Sukemon were licensed to go abroad, and went to Tokei, or Togai—that is, Tonkin of the French-India of to-day; and in the same year Suketayu of Hirato went to Jinkafu, or Sonha, now Yui, the present capital of Annam, and Senjo, called Chanpo, or Chanhan, now Pinzan of Annam. Toidei, where Imaya Sochu, Hikawaya Magobei, Daikokuya Sukezaemon, and Yoemon were granted to go by the licence, was the name for Batani; and Koshi is now called Cochin-China. It is handed down that Kikuyoya Doin of Kyoto sent ships owned by Hirano Shozaemon, Takaseya Shizo, and Kubota Yoshiro to Shinshu, and that Shinshu was the name for Singapore of the present day, and Dendan was the other name for Batani. All these places were second homes for the Japanese adventurers three hundred years ago, and they have become again to-day places over which Japanese are scattered widely.

TRAITS OF SEA-ADVENTURERS OF THAT DAY.—The history of these sea-adventurers is almost lost, and very little is handed down about their life on the seas and abroad; but knowing, as we do, that Japanese ships in those days were very small, that the seas are deep and the waves often high, we must give them credit for undaunted courage and resolution. The largest ships were those owned by such great merchants as Sumikura Suetsugu and a few others, but the largest Sumikura ships were only 120 feet in length and 42 feet in width, and had a crew of 380 men. The Suetsugu ships were about the same, the largest being 120 feet in length, having a carrying capacity of about 5,000 bushels; the middle-sized ships, 104 feet in length, carrying about 3,700 bushels; and the smallest about 90 to 96 feet in length, carrying about 600 bushels, so that they were nothing more than large junks. These could hardly accommodate more than 60 or 70 men, but the Japanese sea-adventurers were such fearless and daring fellows that in these small ships they passed the dreaded Formosa Straits and sailed by the Danger Rocks and over the London Bed, the mere mention of which terrifies the boldest seamen of the world.

TENJIKU TOKUBEI, THE TRADER.—When Sumikura Ryoi, the licensed merchant, was sending ships to Annam, one of his captains employed a boy of fifteen years of age as his secretary. This youngster was called Tokubei and was born in the Takasago district of Harima Province, showing that men from that locality used to venture abroad in foreign trade. Formosa was called Takasago by the Japanese traders, and then the name was extended all over the islands in the South Seas, the reason, perhaps, being that the men from Takasago who visited Formosa for trade found the mountains, rivers, and other general geographical forms very much like those in their native place. It is another proof, too, that Takasago district and the coasts of the middle provinces supplied many merchant adventurers. In 1630 Tokubei embarked on a Dutch ship whose captain was protected by the Shogun, and sailed along the coasts of Siam and Annam; and as these countries were all called Tenjiku by the Japanese then, when Tokubei returned home he called himself Tenjiku Tokubei, and in 1707 published a book entitled *Tales by Tenjiku Tokubei*, dedicating it to the Bugyo of Nagasaki. This volume contains a general, though somewhat inaccurate, sketch of the countries in the South Seas, and although not so valuable as *Marco Polo*, was the only traveller's actual diary ever published in Japan, and was very welcome. Until a few years ago, there was a shop called Tenjikuya in Takasago, while such names as Annamya Toroemon at Yawata in Omi and Siamya Kambei in the same place, show that their houses took the name from the foreign lands where their forefathers used to go a-trading.

MANY OTHER SEA-ADVENTURERS.—Araki Sotaro of Nagasaki became the captain of his own ship, and went often to Annam for trade, where he gained so much favour from the King of Cochin-China, whose family name was Gwan, that the monarch gave him a princess as his bride and ennobled him under the name of Gwantaro. When this Sotaro returned to Nagasaki, he took his wife home with him. Kadoya Shichiroemon of Ominato in Ise came of an old family of sailors, and made an ample fortune by trade with Annam, where he continued to live in spite of the Tokugawa interdict of all foreign intercourse, married a native woman, and reared a family. He frequently communicated with his relatives through the Chinese merchants who frequented Nagasaki, but never came home, and died in Annam in the 11th year of Kan-ei.

WHAT THESE JAPANESE ADVENTURERS HOPED FOR.—The names just detailed are merely those of men whose careers were particularly striking, and whose names were consequently well-known, but, of course, there were numberless others, like the smaller ranges of mountains above which Mount Fuji towers in peerless grandeur. What, then, was the motive why all these sea-adventurers risked their lives on the seas and in foreign lands? If one looks only at the surface one might be inclined to think that it was mere love of adventure that made them hold their lives so cheap, but that would be a mistaken interpretation. What they were after was fortune, and thinking the most likely place to find it was in foreign countries, they ventured on the sea, and moved about from place to place, just as it is a natural instinct to seek a warm place in winter and a cool place in summer. Morgan says, in his *History of the Philippine Islands*, that the Japanese assemble in some places and form their own group, but they do not make a permanent settlement, and return to their native country sooner or later. What they sought for was gold. They did not bring home anything but gold, and thinking that the Philippine Islands, Cambodia, and Annam were the countries where gold was most plentiful and cheap in comparison with silver, into those countries they pushed their way. A bishop of Ceylon, in the 17th century, writing about the trade between India and Siam, said that if you paid about 8 or 10 per cent. as the freight charge of a ship and took pepper, sandal-wood, and iron from Calicut to Arakan, Begou, and Tenasselim, you could bring back gold, rubies of Avar, gum, long white peppers, and silver, which shows that even India sought gold in Siam. In the Report of the East India Company, 1663, it was mentioned that the chief commodities passing through the Malacca Straits are elephant tusks, silk, gold, dop, tattang, ambergris, musk, agura, and beniyamen, all from the South Seas Islands. There is mentioned in the diary of the captain of the merchantman *Darling* that the staff of the East India Company stationed in Siam were enriching themselves secretly, and lived so luxuriously that they wore even belts of gold. When England opened trade with Siam the English knew that Batan produced the best kind of gold, and were very anxious to occupy that territory. Cochin-China was also a country rich in gold, and according to White, who held an important position in the Siamese Government in the 18th century, it was said that ships of Annam coming to Siam for gold and agura, highly valued by Japanese, took back home nitre and lead; also gold was exchanged for silver in Siam at the rate of one of gold for three of silver, showing that in rich gold countries where silver was scarce it was common to import it from abroad. According to Kaemfer's *History of Japan*, the Dutch minted silver coins at home for export to Siam and sold them at the rate of one crown of silver for seven shillings, the crown being worth only five shillings at home, a very substantial profit. Before they began this business, Siam could only get silver from Japan, so that it must clearly have been a large and profitable line of trade.

LAST LAMENTING CRY OF THE JAPANESE ABROAD.—The countries in the South Seas were thus a very good market for Japanese commodities, but when the combination of the terror of Christianity and the selfish Tokugawa policy to keep the sovereignty permanently in the hands of their family brought about the famous Ordinance of National Isolation, these rich markets were closed. This famous ordinance, issued in 1633, forbade Japanese ships to go abroad, only exempting the so-called Red Mark ships, and prevented the Japanese abroad from coming back to Japan. The ordinance was issued for two years in succession; but the ordinance issued in 1635 not only prohibited Japanese ships from going abroad as before, but also shut down on the privileged Red Mark ships, and when five Japanese who had been long in Annam secretly returned home on their own small ship, they were at once executed to show the strictness of the ordinance. Thus the once-flourishing Japanese expansion abroad and the widely scattered Japanese settlements faded away, and it was no longer possible to found a New Japan overseas. Of all these active Japanese, some returned home secretly to Japan, and others died in the foreign lands; while even those who remained abroad could not transmit their racial purity, because they married the native girls and their original blood gradually weakened, until there was nothing remaining after a few hundred years to tell of the history of their forefathers. In 1676 Tanimura Shirobei in Annam wrote to Kadoya Shichirojiro at Matsusaka in Ise, saying: " Here are only two Japanese left; all the others are dead, and our situation indeed so pitiful and helpless as to call for all your sympathy." Such was the last heartbroken lamentation of this Japanese written with the tears gushing out of his eyes.

CHAPTER XXXV

FOUNDATION OF THE TOKUGAWA FAMILY

Forefathers of Tokugawa Iyeyasu.—When Toyotomi Hideyoshi died, in the year 1598, his son Hideyori was by hereditary right the successor to the power and glory which Hideyoshi had acquired by his long, eventful career, but, in fact, the sovereignty over the country was transferred to the hands of Tokugawa Iyeyasu. According to the books and documents compiled and collected during the Tokugawa era, the forefathers of the Tokugawa family are traced back to Nitta Yoshishige, a noble descended from the Minamoto family, but really this is not credible. The truth is that a man named Chikauji, who was a forefather, nine generations back, of Iyeyasu, was a travelling priest called Tokuami, and about the year 1400 this Buddhist priest, while passing through Matsudai in Mikawa Province chanced to appear at the house of Matsudaira Tarozaemon, the local magnate, and marrying his daughter by some means, he took Matsudaira for his family name. Whether this Buddhist Priest Tokuami was a mere adventurer or a bold and virtuous priest, nothing is known; and though hundreds of writers in the Tokugawa Ages attributed to this Buddhist priest a noble descent from the Nitta family, yet to-day opinions among historians are divided. Some believe it; others do not. After all, the lineage of this Tokuami, the forefather of the Tokugawa family, is not worth discussing, and we are satisfied to know that while the great feudal lords Oda, Imagawa Yoshimoto, Uyesugi Kenshin, and Takeda Shingen were struggling hard to master the country, this Matsudaira family descended from Tokuami, changed its family name to Tokugawa, and produced a great man called Tokugawa Iyeyasu, who subdued the local lords and mountain chiefs in his neighbourhood, and finally became a feudal lord ruling over a greater half of Mikawa Province.

Iyeyasu's Family Constitution on a Democratic Basis.—Iyeyasu was severely tested from his boyhood, and amidst the excessive hardships he met with, he studied strategy and policy, standing between the two great generals Imagawa Yoshimoto and Oda Nobunaga, and his experiences finally moulded him into a hero of iron heart. The Tokugawa family was different from the Imagawa and Oda families in many points. Being first local magnates in the Matsudaira districts and aggrandized by degrees to the position of the lord of a castle and province, and having passed through a difficult period of family dissension, the power of their relatives and chief retainers was greater than in other noble families, so that the Tokugawa family was like a small military republic. Japan, after the civil war of the Onin era, was in many respects like Europe in the dark Mediaeval Ages, and the old relation between a lord and his subjects deteriorated. Profit and interest became the chief object of men, and when a lord and his followers had the same interests their relation was maintained, but if otherwise the two sides fell apart and became enemies. All the feudal lords tried to tempt men of ability into their service by offering as much as they could of emolument and reward, and even in the armour of great lords and powerful provinces there were generally vulnerable points which proved a weakness in time of danger. In the Tokugawa family, on the contrary, was found a well-developed patriarchal system with the elderman at its centre and a number of free peasants surrounding him. This solid organization had no weak spots, but the solidity of a rock, and the thrifty habits of its members, their perseverance and fortitude, inclined to bind them more closely than ever the more a situation became dangerous. The soldiers never quailed before impending dangers, and Iyeyasu was the centre and beloved head of this solid and strongly cemented body.

Iyeyasu acknowledged Hideyoshi's Supreme Power.—When Nobunaga's power was gradually extended until he was well-nigh the master of the whole country, Iyeyasu was, as the chief of Nobunaga's faithful allies, more and more well-treated by him, and was already lord of the three provinces, Mikawa, Suruga, and Totomi, a part of the Kai Province, and a certain part of Shinano Province when Nobunaga was killed at Kyoto in 1582. At the time of Nobunaga's death he was travelling to Sakai, but escaped through by-paths to Mikawa. After Nobunaga came Hideyoshi, who destroyed Mitsuhide and succeeded to Nobunaga's power, and Iyeyasu was obliged to acknowledge Hideyoshi and submit to his authority. But later, when Nobuo Nobunaga's son rose against Hideyoshi, Iyeyasu saw that if Nobuo was destroyed he himself would not be safe, so he came to Nobuo's aid, and his army built upon a corps of old soldiers and followers belonging for generations to the Tokugawa family showed splendid and unrivalled bravery, so that even Hideyoshi, with his vastly larger army, could not defeat Iyeyasu. When Nobuo made peace with Hideyoshi, Iyeyasu followed his example and became dependent upon that great man. Iyeyasu was short of stature, fat, and not very distinguished looking, but on the battle-field and in command he seemed like the god of war, and his voice is said to have carried more than a mile. He was, in his time perhaps, unrivalled as a general, and the opportunity came for this great captain to turn statesman and show a very high order of statesmanship also.

Hideyoshi entrusted his Son Hideyori to the Five Great Lords.—The relation between Hideyoshi and Iyeyasu was as mentioned here, and as Iyeyasu, among all the feudal lords under Hideyoshi, had the largest army and highest reputation, it was natural and necessary that after the death of Hideyoshi, Iyeyasu would be the master of the whole country, and therefore it was Hideyoshi's policy to marry his son to Iyeyasu's grand-daughter in order to cement the relation between the two families, Toyotomi and Tokugawa, and prevent any other man from usurping his own sovereignty. Besides this scheme, Hideyoshi called in the four great feudal lords—Uyesugi Kagekatsu, Mori Terumoto, Maeda Toshi-ie and Ukita Hide-ie—whose influence and military power were next to Iyeyasu's, and who, together with Iyeyasu, were called the five Greater Lords, and ordered them to form a cabinet and to discuss and decide all the greater political affairs in a spirit of conciliation and freedom from suspicion. Then, fearing lest they should have too much power, Hideyoshi appointed also Lords Asano Nagamasa, Maeda Gen-i, Ishida Mitsunari, Masuda Nagamori, and Nagatsuka Masaei as the five Bugyo, and entrusted them with executive powers. Not yet content, he appointed three lords called the Second Lords to go between the five Greater Lords and the five Bugyo. These were Lords Nakamura Kazuchika, Ikoma Chikamasa, and Horio Yoshiharu. Finally, he made Lords Katagiri Katsumoto and Koide Yoshimasa, both of whom had served him from their boyhood, tutors and attendants to Hideyori. He thought that his son's life would be safe, and that under such an elaborate system of checks a real equilibrium of power would be maintained. On his death-bed he became more and more anxious and wrote testament after testament, begging the five Greater Lords to watch over his son. Indeed, his dying thoughts were for his son's future, for the greatest man that perhaps Japan ever produced was no different from anyone else where his paternal feelings were concerned.

Iyeyasu succeeded to Hideyoshi.—All Hideyoshi's arrangements proved as useless as tying up fierce wild animals with a piece of string and expecting they will not break loose and fight. We saw in the previous chapter how, while Hideyoshi was living, there were serious party dissensions among his feudal lords, who were divided into the civil party, military party, progressive party, and conservative party, and after his death, when there was a new party headed by Iyeyasu, the quarrels became more acute than ever. There were now only three parties—one for Hideyori at any cost; the second for Iyeyasu, if he should rule as Hideyori's Regent; and the third neutral. The heart and actual head of the Hideyori party was Ishida Mitsunari, but he was a civilian, and the greater part of Hideyoshi's old adherents, who were all soldiers who had made their names on the battle-field, hated him because they had risen in a different way, many siding with Iyeyasu. Maeda Toshi-ie, who ranked next to Iyeyasu in power and influence, was obliged to be quite neutral, and there seemed no way out of the impasse until the great campaign of Sekigahara in 1600, when Mitsunari's party was utterly vanquished, and the great feudal lords, such as Lords Shimadzu, Mori, and others, who had joined Mitsunari against Iyeyasu narrowly escaped to their provinces. The Great Lord Uyesugi Kagekatsu, the most devoted supporter and ally of Ishida Mitsunari, was deprived of the greater part of his fief, and Hideyori's party suffered a complete eclipse, though Hideyori himself was not touched, as he was an infant and ignorant of all the Mitsunari plots, and was respected even by Iyeyasu himself as the son of the late great ruler. Iyeyasu thus became the master of the country by right of conquest. On August 17, 1598, Hideyoshi died; on June 6, 1600, Iyeyasu left the Fushimi Castle to chastise Uyesugi Kagekatsu at Aidzu Castle, Mutsu; and it was on September 14, 1600, that the great Sekigahara campaign began—so in only two years after Hideyoshi's death the sole rule over the whole country was completely transferred into the hands of Tokugawa Iyeyasu.

What was the Cause of Iyeyasu's Victory?—The Sekigahara campaign was perhaps the largest and longest in Japanese history, and the result has been attributed by historians partly to Mitsunari's unpopularity and partly Iyeyasu's talents as a strategist; but this is not the whole truth. Under the surface there was a great historical current which proved the decisive factor in this war, and that was the fundamental fact that the nation was by this time tired out of wars and battles. Japan after the great civil war in the Onin era was just like a broken-up beehive—the eldermen, village-chiefs, local magnates, and feudal lords were all at loggerheads everywhere; and when Oda Nobunaga backed up Ashikaga Yoshiaki as his candidate for the Shogunate—the last Ashikaga Shogun he proved to be—and came up with him to Kyoto in 1568, it seemed as if the situation in Japan were more or less settled and there would be an age of peace. But, in truth, the scale of war was enlarged, and the petty frays in villages and districts became greater ones between province and province, or between provinces and provinces, and wars never ceased in Japan, which was the cause of local chiefs and captains of bandits who appeared in the time of Nobunaga developing into large and small feudal lords. When Hideyoshi unified the whole country in the year 1582, and every one was tired out of the long years of unceasing war, and was heartily desirous of enjoying a peaceful and settled life, the expedition to Korea was undertaken by Hideyoshi just when all his feudal lords were well-nigh exhausted. It was only at Hideyoshi's strict orders that the lords went to the Korean battle-fields, much against their will, and as they wasted about half their resources and strength in the four years of the foreign expedition, when the Korean war was once stopped they all heartily rejoiced and did not stop to think that it was a disgrace for Japan to give up and withdraw from Korea before the original object was attained. In their mind's eye they imaged the happy time after they returned home, and naturally they were disappointed and well-nigh desperate when they were ordered to go again to Korea for the same unwelcome task as before. More than ever, then, when Hideyoshi died and they were enabled to return home, their one idea was to be done with wars and fighting. Besides, the centralizing policy of Hideyoshi gathering up to the centre all the wealth of the country and displaying unprecedented luxury had dazzled the eyes of the feudal lords. These heroes and grizzled warriors who came from wildernesses and mountains realized for the first time the value of gold, silver, and precious stones, and saw for the first time the beauties of art and design, and their desire to obtain such beauties and riches and to enlarge and brighten their lives was unquenchable. Ishida Mitsunari then chose entirely the wrong time for his enterprise, and, lacking the insight to see that war was against the general trend of the age which was all for peace, his failure was only what could have been expected.

HIDEYOSHI'S POWER EMBRACED HETEROGENEOUS ELEMENTS.—Hideyoshi had a large and open mind, and his shrewd, vivacious, and winning character had always succeeded in winning men's hearts and making them his willing servants. In unifying the country, war was his second string. His principle was to win the heart of the feudal lords and take them under his banner, so that it may fairly be said that he was fitted to be general of generals and a leader of men. Such was the cause of his quick and sweeping success in the subduing of the country, and, indeed, there has been no parallel in the history of Japan for such speedy success as his. In only four years after he destroyed Akechi Mitsuhide he unified the whole country, and in eight years after the battle of Yamasaki his great enterprise of conquering Korea was undertaken, by which time he was the master of the country. No doubt the strong points in his character were accompanied by many shortcomings, one of which was that in his hurry to unify the country as quickly as possible he tolerated those whom he should have destroyed, and set free those whom he should have chastised, so that his work was in some regards a mere temporary patchwork. The construction of the Great Buddha in Kyoto is a good example of this. His first idea was to make it of bronze, but, reflecting that it would take much longer and be much more costly, he made it of wood and coloured it over; and thus, though all the feudal lords were enclosed in the net of his policy and served him, there were some among them who could not easily be moulded to his will and be pliant servants. Iyeyasu was different from Hideyoshi in almost all respects, and though his nature was blunt, heavy, and unattractive, yet it had the solidity of iron, and when he set out against an enemy he would not stop fighting until he had destroyed him. All the men under him being relatives and hereditary adherents from the time when he was a small lord at Okazaki Castle in Mikawa, the blood relationship and common interest proved a strong bond and made them all brothers, with the result that though the extension of Iyeyasu's power was not so quick as Hideyoshi's, yet it was much more firmly cemented; and, further, though Iyeyasu, obeying the spirit of the times, submitted to Hideyoshi, and did him homage, yet his military power was never smaller than his master's. Before the campaign of Sekigahara Iyeyasu's fiefs brought him 2,500,000 koku, while Hideyoshi had only 2,000,000 koku when he was the master of the country. It is true Hideyoshi had many other sources of revenue besides his feudal possessions in rice-fields and farms, as he possessed all the gold- and silver-mines scattered over the provinces, and also took profits from the mint which Iyeyasu had not; yet when the feudal possessions in fields and farms were compared, Iyeyasu's were far greater than Hideyoshi's, and Hideyoshi knew, as a matter of course, the danger that in his rather loose political system he was swallowing such an unassimilated and powerful element, yet his hurry to bring about peaceful unification gave him no time to spare much thought for this danger. He was obliged to tolerate it and take it into his government.

THE MOST INGENIOUS NEUTRALITY.—Hideyoshi, then, was in too much of a hurry to bring about the unification of the whole country, and had not time to shape all the men under him into his mould, so that when Ishida Mitsunari arose against Iyeyasu there were many among his feudal lords who, in spite of their being bound by the sacred duty of homage to Hideyoshi and his successor, sided with Iyeyasu or pronounced neutrality, among whom was Lord Nabeshima, whose neutral policy was of a most cowardly but ingenious nature. When Iyeyasu was about to set out to the north-east to chastise Uyesugi Kagekatsu in Mutsu, this Nabeshima knew beforehand that the Osaka party would take advantage of Iyeyasu's absence, and surely begin a war against him; and, thinking that the best policy was to court the favour of both parties, he sent his men to the provinces along the main road from Owari to Mutsu and bought up rice and other cereals at the large towns before Iyeyasu's departure from Kyoto; and, shortly afterwards, when Mitsunari, awaiting Iyeyasu's departure, raised his head and schemed to attack Iyeyasu in the rear, Lord Nabeshima immediately dispatched his chief retainers to Iyeyasu, and told him that though he was very anxious to fight under him and had already prepared provisions for his army by buying up the rice in the provinces along the main road, yet as Mitsunari had made such a sudden move, all the roads were blocked and he could not advance. Therefore, the best service he could do Iyeyasu was to surrender to him the rice he had bought in the provinces along the main road and prepared for his own army. To Mitsunari he made sufficiently satisfactory promises, and then, returning to his own province, waited to see which side the cat would jump. Altogether a highly ingenious form of neutrality.

Lukewarm Samurai Spirit of this Age, and Decline of the Old Spirit of Fervent Loyalty.—In addition to the example of Lord Nabeshima, there is another showing how the samurai in this age had lost the old spirit of fervent loyalty and to what degree they had degenerated, only flattering power and authority, thinking exclusively of their own interests. Maeda Toshi-ie was formerly a friend and follower of Hideyoshi, who relied on him greatly, and it was to him, second in power only to Iyeyasu, that the dying Hideyoshi entrusted his son, though nominally putting him under the care of the five great feudal lords, for all important affairs with regard to Hideyoshi and his future were to be decided upon by Toshi-ie. The precise truth is that Hideyoshi felt that the only feudal lord at all likely to check the ascending power of the Tokugawa family was Toshi-ie, and he adopted his son Toshinaga, giving him his old family name of Hashiba, and raising him to high Court noble rank. In the will entrusting to the Maeda family Hideyoshi's future, he bequeathed them some rare and precious articles and a sword made by Yoshimitsu, but Toshi-ie died in 1599; and when the Sekigahara war broke out, Toshinaga, who had succeeded him, unexpectedly sided with Iyeyasu; and, further, when Hideyori was isolated in Osaka, and had finally made up his mind to defend the Osaka Castle against Iyeyasu and wrote to Toshinaga to come to his aid, the latter not only refused, but arrested the messenger, and sent him and Hideyori's letter to Iyeyasu. Nor was Maeda's the only case of such baseness. Such was the spirit of the samurai at the time of Sekigahara. In Iyeyasu's following, on the contrary, there were no such lukewarm, indecisive, or cowardly spirits. When, for instance, Iyeyasu was on his way north-east to attack Uyesugi Kagekatsu in Aidzu Castle, and halted overnight in the Fushimi Castle commanded by Tori-i Mototada, one of the oldest and most loyal of his adherents who was very glad to see him, Iyeyasu, observing that the number of the garrison was small, was very sympathetic with Mototada; but Mototada replied: "The destiny of the Tokugawa family depends upon the coming war, and your grace is going north-east. If nothing serious occurs in the provinces around Kyoto, this castle can be defended even by a smaller garrison, otherwise not even five or six times our present number would be enough, so it is good for your grace to take north-east as large a force as possible." Mototada had thus already made up his mind to die defending Fushimi Castle, no matter how large a force attacked it. What he foresaw occurred. The Hideyori party concentrated their strength in the attack on this castle, and Mototada was killed after a heroic defence renowned in the history of battles in Japan. The soldiers under Tokugawa Iyeyasu were all, like Tori-i Mototada, hereditary adherents of the Tokugawa family, and the organization of Iyeyasu's army with such adherents at the centre, was extraordinarily strong and solid. Against the real strength of the Tokugawa family the heterogeneous Hideyori party had no chance.

Iyeyasu fixed his Capital at Edo.—Iyeyasu was now ruler by the natural right of the stronger, and thinking of military power he fixed his headquarters at Edo. He did not take the office of Shogun, because he thought that, though many of Hideyoshi's veterans had died in the Sekigahara campaign, there were still many who could not forget the favours they received from their master, and Hideyori was likely to rely on their aid and rise against him. He kept in the background therefore, for a while, though the feudal lords, now losing the heroic spirit of the old warriors and imbued with courtiers' minds, incessantly urged to take the office of Shogun, and receive the homage and tribute of the feudal lords. Iyeyasu would not consent until Maeda Toshinaga, a selfish but crafty lord, came without Iyeyasu's permission to Edo to pay homage and tribute in January 1602, and was followed by all other feudal lords, so that at last Iyeyasu took the highest military title—Shogun—in the next year.

However, he surrendered this office to his son in 1605, and, giving up to the latter Edo Castle, he retired to Shidzuoka, though he himself decided all important questions. When the great founders of a dynasty die the whole country is shaken and thrown into confusion, and he thought it the best policy to surrender all the power to his son while he was still living and cause him to give favours to the feudal lords and strengthen his own position, and thus the new age which maintained the longest peace in the history of Japan was inaugurated.

Expenditure of Gold and Silver for the Reconstruction of the Hokoji Buddhist Temple.—After Sekigahara, it was clear that the defeated party of Hideyori could not compete with Iyeyasu, who had won his position simply by being the strongest man in Japan, and appearing at a time when every one was sick of war. Nevertheless, the adherents of Hideyori, spurred on by Lady Yodo, would not acknowledge Tokugawa supremacy, and were constantly in agitation against it, so much so that Iyeyasu sent his grand-daughter Senhime, then only seven years old, down to Osaka as the future wife of Hideyori, hoping thus to bind together the two houses. But the old adherents of Hideyoshi in Osaka, seeing that all the feudal lords left their wives and children in Edo as hostages and were yearly visiting Edo Castle to pay to the Tokugawa Shogun respect and tribute, and fearing that sooner or later all the feudal lords would forget the old favours they had received from Hideyoshi and the oath of homage to him, and finally submit to Iyeyasu, chose Lord Fukushima Masanori as their ringleader, and forced all the feudal lords to sign in their own blood an oath that they would never be hostile to Hideyori. Iyeyasu had to be always on his guard against action by Masanori, who was eventually deprived of his fief and exiled to a remote part of the country. As the situation grew more and more serious, Iyeyasu watched Osaka like a cat, secretly strengthening his armed forces. What he most dreaded was not the mighty castle of Osaka, but the stupendous mountain of gold and silver piled up there in the time of Hideyoshi. After Sekigahara, Iyeyasu deprived the Toyotomi family of the greater part of their fiefs, lessening them to merely 600,000 koku in the three provinces of Settsu, Idxumi, and Kawachi, and so the extent of territory belonging to the Toyotomi family and the size of their army were merely those of a large feudal lord. There remained the huge store of precious metal accumulated by Hideyoshi in his life-time, and from which he had made some fifty horses of solid gold, each weighing 1,000 large coins. Iyeyasu was very much afraid that this gold would tempt many a feudal lord and brave soldier of fortune to the side of Osaka, and therefore he persuaded the Osaka party to repair the Hokoji Buddhist Temple and reconstruct the Great Buddha's Image in memory of Hideyoshi. The Great Buddha was constructed by Hideyoshi, as we know, but only of painted wood; and now Iyeyasu succeeded in persuading Osaka to break up this wooden image and construct a bronze one. In the Sunshoji Buddhist Temple, Kyoto, there is an old document entitled "Account of Expenditure for the Great Buddha's Image and Its Temple," compiled by Masuda Uemon, and, according to that document, the expenditure was 10,042,380 gold coins and 2,304 kwan of solid silver, together with 236,700 koku of rice actually consumed, the last mentioned huge item being, of course, unproductively and unprofitably used up for this work. We are also told that all the feudal lords who owed their high positions to Hideyoshi contributed the very best timbers produced in their provinces for the construction of the Great Buddha and its Temple. The large pillars and columns were valued at 1,500 ryo of gold, and even the smaller ones at several hundred ryo of gold, the upshot being that Hideyori and the feudal lords who sympathized with him lavished a huge amount of gold and silver on such a useless work as the construction of the Great Buddha and its Temple.

FEUDAL LORDS DECLINED BUT THE SOLDIERS OF FORTUNE ANSWERED HIDEYORI'S CALL.—While the Osaka party, on the one hand, expended this huge sum of gold and silver in such an unnecessary way, they were, on the other, plotting against Iyeyasu under the leadership of Ono Harunaga. It is a fact that such feudal lords as Fukushima Masanori, Katagiri Katsumoto, and some others, who were all old adherents of Hideyoshi, began to be jealous of the power of Tokugawa Iyeyasu after Sekigahara; but Lady Yodo did not hear the opinions of sober and thoughtful men, and the virago herself, being the centre of all the plots, only favoured young and handsome men, among whom Ono Harunaga was so extraordinarily favoured that he took upon himself the air of a commander-in-chief, and most of the sober and thoughtful men withdrew from the castle, feeling that nothing good could be accomplished with the Osaka party and that the ruin of the great Osaka Castle would come sooner or later. Only the war party was left. Katagiri Katsumoto, Hideyori's grand tutor, deplored this very much, and often admonished Yodo, but she and her favourites would not listen, and even suspected their adviser of being in communication with Iyeyasu. Iyeyasu's spies in Osaka spread rumours which made those in Osaka Castle suspicious of one another, and Lady Yodo began more and more to suspect Katsumoto, until she ordered his execution. However, the captains of the seven battalions, which Hideyoshi organized in the later years of his life as the bodyguards in the castle, all sympathized with Katsumoto, so Lady Yodo had to withdraw her order, and granted him leave of absence to visit his own territory. When Katagiri Katsumoto had departed, Yodo made up her mind to take up arms against Iyeyasu, and sent messengers to the great feudal lords--Maeda, Asano, Shimizu, and many others—in the name of Hideyori, to come to his aid, and also invited various brave soldiers of fortune. To her great chagrin, none of the feudal lords, neither Maeda nor any other, responded to the summons, though a very great number of soldiers of fortune, largely the survivors of Sekigahara, and also those who had been dismissed by their lords for some reason or other, joined her. The number of soldiers in the castle was suddenly increased to 200,000 men, of whom about 12,000 were mounted, 60,000 were foot soldiers, and about 60,000 subordinate privates.

Kinds of Soldiers in Osaka Castle.—Among the soldiers of fortune mentioned above there were some who had the reputation of brave warriors. Sanada Yukimura was a renowned strategist who had been leading a solitary life on Mount Koya since the defeat of Sekigahara when Lady Yodo invited him into Osaka Castle with the promise that if Osaka regained power he would be made a great feudal lord, with a fief of 500,000 koku. He came in with about 5,000 or 6,000 followers. Chosokabe Morichika was deprived of his fief in Tosa after Sekigahara, and, renting a small house in the wood in front of the Shogokuji Temple, Kyoto, he changed his name to Yumu and began to teach children from the houses around his home. He was now enticed to Osaka with the promise that, after the success of the Osaka party, he should be restored to his old position as feudal lord of Tosa. To the alarm of his neighbours, he issued from his house fully armed, and when he had walked a mile he had been joined by 200 or so of his old followers; the number increased to over 500 before he reached Osaka Castle. Sengoku Buzen was one of the vanquished at Sekigahara, and he was so reduced after the war as to be a master of a small private school in Kyoto, with his name changed to Soya. He now collected about 5,000 of his old followers and brought them with him into Osaka Castle. Akashi Kamon was a lord in Harima Province, with a fief of 10,000 koku, and a Catholic, much respected by the Catholics in Japan as the head of Japanese Catholicism after the death of Ishida Mitsunari and Konishi Yukinaga, who had been secretly supported by Hideyori after Sekigahara. He now joined him, heading about 4,000 men, the greater part of whom were Catholics. Mori Buzen, born in Owari Province, was formerly the lord of Kokura Castle, and after Sekigahara, disappeared. He suddenly turned up in Osaka, bringing with him about 4,500 followers. Oda Samon, who was on good terms with the Court nobles in Kyoto, collected about 30,000 followers; while Goto Matabei, whose fame as a brave soldier and strategist was widespread, brought with him about 6,000 followers. To each of these soldiers of fortune thus crowded in the castle, two large coins were given to buy arms and swords, together with enough rice to support themselves, but there was no one of sufficient weight and influence to take the post of commander-in-chief, for, after all, most of those gathered in Osaka were mere fortune hunters, swarming as flies do on a barrel of sugar. There was no one mind in them, and they were in no way likely to win the victory over the 200,000 men outside the castle, who were one and united under a trusted leader; but Lady Yodo could not see this. It may be worth while to mention, as a unique example in the Japanese history, that Lady Yodo had as many as 10,000 women soldiers. They were divided into about seventy companies, regularly armed as soldiers, and took upon themselves service as night sentries. We are told that there was much trouble in the way of secret plottings, love intrigues, jealousy, and so on.

OSAKA CASTLE FALLS AND THE TOYOTOMI FAMILY IS DESTROYED.—When Iyeyasu heard that Osaka Castle was thus strongly garrisoned, he set out at the head of a large army to besiege it, the first battles being fought at Sumiyoshi and in the direction of Hirano. Iyeyasu had with him not only the feudal lords, who were his old and faithful adherents and had been with him at Sekigahara, but also those who had been against him or neutral, such as Daté Masamuné, Maeda Toshinaga, and others. The besieging army numbered about 300,000, against a garrison of 200,000, but the desperate and fierce courage of the defenders caused many assaults to fail, and this was especially due to the soldiers of fortune, who, though they were not so strategic as the chief generals in the Tokugawa army, were yet so bold and fearless as to strike the enemy with terror. Iyeyasu brought up miners to cut a tunnel, but it failed, and, seeing that it was no easy task to capture the castle, he sent in envoys to consult about terms of peace between the Tokugawa and Toyotomi families. At this time, after a siege of fifty days, there was only 70,000 koku of rice left in the castle, and as a further supply seemed impossible to obtain, the generals in the castle were all inclined for peace; but Lady Yodo would not listen until one day Iyeyasu, seeing the lady on a high turret, fired a large gun at it and demolished it. The lady was terrified, and agreed to the peace on December 22nd, 1614. Though peace was thus made between Iyeyasu and the Osaka party, the two families of Tokugawa and Toyotomi could not get along side by side in peace, and war soon broke out again in April of the succeeding year. This time the Osaka party stood in a very disadvantageous position, all the moats being filled up and the forts being levelled, besides the garrison being much smaller. Yukimura insisted upon the necessity of Hideyori joining his army in the field to encourage them, and proposed a plan whereby Akashi Kamon was to take by-paths and fall on Iyeyasu's rear. Harunaga agreed to this plan, and, giving the necessary orders, returned to the castle to report to Hideyori just as Akashi appeared in Iyeyasu's rear. However, the Osaka soldiers were full of suspicions of one another, and in a very low state of *moral*, so that they could not stand against Iyeyasu's men, and both Yukimura and Akashi were killed before their combined movements could be executed. The castle was set on fire by a traitor within the walls, and Hideyori killed himself, ordering Mori Katsunaga to decapitate him. When Lady Yodo saw that her only beloved son Hideyori had killed himself, she cried out loudly and ordered Lord Uji-ie Doki to kill her. She was accompanied in death by twenty-three lords, including Ono Harunaga, and thirteen ladies, including Harunaga's mother and Lord Watanabe Hisashi's mother. Of all the Osaka army, 14,534 men were killed, but Lady Senhime, Iyeyasu's grand-daughter and Hideyori's wife, was preserved by her grandfather's army, while Hideyori's son Kunimatsu and an infant of eight years were captured under the Fushimi Bridge and killed. A tragic end, indeed, for the renowned Toyotomi family, and commanding the profound sympathy of that age and of posterity.

CHAPTER XXXVI

BEGINNING OF THE EDO AGE

Edo before the Tokugawa Family settled down there.—With the establishment of Iyeyasu's power the Edo Age took the place of Momoyama, the name originating from the Tokugawa capital whence all laws were issued. Edo, being at first merely the castle residence of the Tokugawa family, had no special civilization worth mentioning in history, but in the course of time it became the centre of learning, arts, and customs, and, creating a new civilization, displayed the so-called "Edo colour," the characteristics of which remained even after the total collapse of the Tokugawa Shogunate 300 years later. Examining the history of Edo, it appears there was a certain Edo family during the latter part of the Heian Dynasty, but there are no documents to prove it, and, according to the *Adzuma-Kagami*, the standard history of the Hojo Age at Kamakura, it seems as if the Edo family lived here until toward the Nanboku-cho Age (the age of North and South Dynasties), and their mansion occupied the place where is now the Imperial Palace, for there is mention of the name of a local magnate called Edo in the *Adzuma-Kagami*. In 1358 (3rd year of Enbun), when Hatakeyama Dosei enticed Nitta Yoshioki, the loyal leader to the Nancho (Southern) Dynasty, into his domains and killed him on the ferry of Yaguchi, there was a certain Edo Totomi-no-kami among the traitors whose territory was said to be Inage, showing that the Edo family had already left Edo by this time and moved to Inage. When Ota Dokwan removed there from Shinagawa and constructed a castle the name Edo began to appear in history, and the castle at that time occupying the site of the present Imperial Palace in Tokyo, and being a valuable strategical point, it changed hands several times. When Toyotomi Hideyoshi came to Odawara in his campaign against the Hojo family, Edo Castle was held by Toyama Saemon-no-suke Kagemasa, one of the chief Hojo retainers, who, later, surrendered to Iyeyasu when he invested the castle by order of Hideyoshi.

Construction of Edo Castle by Iyeyasu.—When the Hojo family was destroyed by Hideyoshi, in the 18th year of Tensho, Iyeyasu was granted all the Hojo possessions in the Kwanto Province in exchange for his old domains in Suruga and other provinces, and at first was minded to follow the Hojo example and fix his stronghold at Odawara, but, bowing to Hideyoshi's views, he changed it to Edo, which, though a gathering centre from the large Mutsu Province, the northern provinces and the provinces along the eastern sea, was at that time only a small town about half a mile long and quarter of a mile wide, with irregular streets, and the houses very scarce owing to the ravages of war. Iyeyasu entered it for the first time on the last day of August. The castle was then divided into three parts—Hon-maru (main fort), Nishimaru (west fort), and San-no-maru (third fort)—separated by moats, while the Nishimaru of to-day was merely a hill dotted with farms. Iyeyasu ordered Honda Masanobu, Ii Naomasa, and Matsudaira Iitada in 1592 (1st year of Bunroku) to repair and enlarge Edo Castle, taking in part of the present Nishimaru; and after Sekigahara in 1600 (5th year of Keicho), when Iyeyasu became the master of the whole country, all the feudal lords came to pay him respect and tribute every year, and as they all set up mansions in Edo, Edo became now the capital of the whole country. That Iyeyasu was something more than a mere soldier is seen in his construction of Edo Castle in which he showed more or less statesmanship, and that the first thing he did when he came to Edo was to find some way to get salt to his city. He remembered well how the great Takeda Shingen, the terror of all the surrounding feudal lords, had been very much distressed when his salt supply was cut off by the Hojo family of Odawara, and therefore, when he discovered that the sea by Edo was too muddy to make good salt, he dug canals between the Rivers Sumida, Nakagawa, and Edogawa to reach Gyotoku in Shimoosa and bring Gyotoku salt into Edo. The present Takabashi-dori is one of these canals. As the result, too, of Iyeyasu's enterprise, some salt was produced in the Rokugo district and Daishigaware on the Edo Coast, which, though rather coarse, was used by Edo people. When the canals to Gyotoku were completed, with the completion of Edo Castle, the use of Gyotoku salt was extended from Edo to the foot of the Usui Pass in Shinshu. His next idea was to open a commercial port in the neighbourhood of Edo and attract foreign trade there, and, after hearing the opinion of a Spanish priest, he wrote the Spanish Government of the Philippine Islands in the year 1610 (15th year of Keicho) and consulted them about his plan to invite Spanish ships to ply between Edo and the Philippine Islands. It all came to nothing, but it is clear that he paid due attention to foreign trade and built high hopes upon it.

IYEYASU ORDERED THE FEUDAL LORDS TO CONTRIBUTE FOR THE CONSTRUCTION OF EDO CASTLE.—When Iyeyasu planned to reconstruct Edo Castle in 1604 (9th year of Keicho), he ordered all the feudal lords to contribute for the work, and appointed Todo Takatora, the lord of Imaharu Castle, Iyo Province, as the chief manager of the work, with other feudal lords to work as his colleagues, who all stayed in

Edo and took charge of their share of the work. Coolie service was imposed on the feudal lords in accordance with their wealth and resources, and Lord Mori of Nagato Province, whose fief was valued at 298,480 koku, had to contribute 2,688 coolies and 300 sailors. If such was the general standard, it seems as if the rate was one coolie for every 100 koku of fief. Over and above this contribution of labour the feudal lords had to supply very large stones in the proportion of 1,120 stones, large enough to be a burden for 100 men, for every 100,000 koku of fief, and, further, when the work was well commenced, as there was insufficiency of stones, it was proposed by Kato Kiyomasa, and adopted, that the feudal lords should make a further contribution of stones at the rate at least of two large stones for every 10,000 koku of fief. The levy imposed on the feudal lords for the work differed in accordance with the topography of their domains, and Shimazu Tadatsune of Kagoshima was ordered to contribute 300 ships, and Asano Yukinaga of Wakayama, in Kii Province, 385 ships. Asano is said to have received from the Shogunate 1,192½ gold coins for the expense of this shipbuilding. Besides Shimazu and Asano, many of the feudal lords in the coast provinces were ordered to build ships to convey stones from Izu Province to Edo, and, according to the *Todaiki* (*Records of the Generation*), with a burden of two large stones, each a burden for 100 men, the ship could ply twice a month between Edo and Izu Provinces. This great work of construction was completed in three years and caused at the same time a rapid development in canal work. The present Zaimokucho (Timber Street) is where lumber was loaded and shipped. The huge 100-men burden-stones came to Edo in large quantities, and fetched as much as 200 silver coins apiece; and Gorota stone, 6 feet by 6 feet, was sold for 3 gold coins, one silver coin weighing 43 momme and equal in value to 1 ryo of gold. These stones were not only sold by the merchants, but also by the Shogunate to the feudal lords; for the Shogunate had previously ordered the hatamoto (samurai who were hereditary adherents to the Tokugawa family) to bring large stones to Edo. The lime used in the work was taken from Kaminariki and Kitakosogi in Tama-gori, Musashi Province, and the smaller stones used for foundation work came from Nakase and thereabouts, and Osato-gori in Musashi. The feudal lords in the Kwanto Provinces had all to contribute 20 tsubo (tsubo = 6 feet square) of pebbles for every 10,000 koku of fief. The most remarkable thing in this great civil work is the transportation and advanced mechanical knowledge. When one looks at the Mitsuke (castle gate) now remaining in Tokyo, one may well wonder how such huge stones could be put so neatly in place, a work we are accustomed to think can only be performed with a crane. The fact that such gigantic stones were brought from Izu to Edo can only fill one with admiration for the methods of transportation then in use. In the *Keicho-Kenbun-shu* (records of what was seen and heard in the Keicho era) we find: " Stones are dropped and piled up in the sea as to make isles, to the deep-water side of which ships were moored and a gangway built of poles. The stones are loaded on wagons with levers and rolled down into the ships, and it is interesting to see the use of rollers and levers in the ships." The canal along Sakuma-cho, Kanda, Edo, was already dug so as to pass the ships from the sea for the transportation of timbers and stones; and, by the 2nd year of Genwa, the moat of Ochanomidzu, Surugadai, had been cut to connect the Edogawa with the River Sumida.

Amount of Money expended by the Feudal Lords on Edo Castle.—The cost was imposed on the daimyos in the western provinces, but in the 19th year of Keicho the Shogunate ordered the feudal lords in the Kwanto Provinces and northern provinces and north-eastern provinces to make repairs and complete the unfinished work. These feudal lords were ordered to contribute in the proportion of 80 per cent. for the transportation of stones and 20 per cent. for the construction of the Tenshudai (high castle tower). Daté Masamuné of Sendai; Uyesugi Kagekatsu of Yonezawa; Gamo Hideyuki of Aizu; Mogami Yoshimitsu of Yamagata; Satake Yoshinobu of Kubota, Dewa Province; Hori Tadatoshi of Kasugayama, Echigo Province; Mizoguchi Hidekatsu of Shibata, Echigo Province; Murakami Yoshiraki of Murakami, Echigo Province, had to dig the moats and ditches, with the assistance of Soma Toshitane of Nakamura, Mutsu Province, and Suwa Yorinaga of Takashima, Shinano Province, and the huge Edo Castle was thus completed. In the 16th year of Keicho the building of the stone walls of the Nishimaru and the reconstruction and repairs of the Tatsunokuchi portion were commenced, and the feudal lords mentioned above had to make further contributions, and those in the western provinces also. The second Osaka War broke out before the work was finished, and so it was temporarily postponed; but when the war was over the Shogun gave no rest to the feudal lords until the whole work was completed.

To give some details of the contributions of the feudal lords for this great civil work: Daté Masamuné constructed as his share about 13 cho (a little less than 1 mile) of stone wall and one masugata—that is, the foundation of a castle gate—and employed 423,179 coolies, expending 2,647 large gold coins, equal in value to 581,558 yen in the currency of to-day. His fief was 615,000 koku, and his contribution was therefore at the rate of about 160 momme of gold per month for every 10,000 koku of fief. Of course, when we study the contributions of all the feudal lords minutely, we find variety in the work. Some, for instance, transported gravel from places near their own provinces, while others were ordered to contribute timbers from their domains; and yet throughout there was a certain standard of contribution by which the expense laid upon all the feudal lords was reckoned. By the 19th year of Keicho, when the first stage was finished, 44 feudal lords had contributed for the work, and the aggregate total of their fiefs was 8,620,500 koku. Besides, there were 8 small lords, whose fief value is unknown, who were ordered to commence their work in August of the 11th year of Keicho, while the others were ordered to do the same in March of the 12th year. The work seems to have been continued for four months, and, counting up the total expenditure on the works in the first stage, taking Daté Masamuné's expense as the basis of accounting—that is, 160 momme of gold per month for every 10,000 koku of fief—about 55,129 kwan and 822 momme of gold must have been spent. The work was again commenced in February, the 12th year of Keicho, and though we do not know when it ended, yet, as it was the continued and repairing work, it took, perhaps, the same length of time as the first stage; and the aggregate of the fiefs of all the feudal lords who made contribution for the work being 3,818,800 koku, the total expenditure works out at 24,434 kwan and 851 momme of gold. On the third stage, commencing December, the 15th year of Keicho, seven months were spent, and the total fief of the feudal lords who took part in this work being 2,517,800 koku, the total expenditure was about 28,180 kwan and 433 momme of gold. In the fourth stage, beginning in January and ending in September, the 19th year of Keicho, the expenditure was probably 92,484 kwan and 688 momme of gold, calculating from the total fief of 16,425,060 koku of the feudal lords who contributed labour and materials. Finally, the work that was commenced perhaps in December of the 5th year of Genwa and was continued until November the next year cost, roughly, 47,900 kwan and 792 momme of gold, as the total fief of the feudal lords who shared in this work was 2,495,800 koku. The sum total reaches 248,118 kwan and 583 momme, corresponding to over 5,626,271 large coins. This large gold coin, called keicho ōban, had less intrinsic value in proportion to its weight, being equal to 7 ryo and 2 bu of small gold coins, and the 5,626,271 large gold coins are, therefore, equivalent to 42,272,025 small gold coins. Now one small gold coin would buy 2 koku of rice, and, reckoning expenditure on the construction of Edo Castle by the price of rice of to-day, it was really stupendous. We must calculate, in addition to the above huge sum, the 1,193 large gold coins paid by the Shogunate to Lord Asano for the expense of shipbuilding, and 150 large gold coins given to Lord

Shimazu for the same purpose. The Shogunate itself spent a great deal of money from its own Treasury, and there were minor contributions in the shape of provincial products that the feudal lords contributed to the Shogun to curry favour with him. If everything be included, the sum total of the expenditure was really incalculable.

ACCUMULATED WEALTH OF THE FEUDAL LORDS ALL USED UP.—Before this there was the Sekigahara campaign in 1600, the two campaigns of Osaka, and now came the construction of this great Edo Castle, following which both Nagoya and Shizuoka Castles were constructed. All the expenses were imposed upon the feudal lords, so that the treasures they had accumulated during the last thirty or forty years were all used up and their resources of wealth well-nigh exhausted; but they made shift to bear such heavy expenditure rather than run the risk of being suspected, hated, and finally destroyed by the Tokugawa Shogun, and they vied with one another to give him service as much or more than was necessary to win his good will. Even Kato Kiyomasa, who, as the old and faithful adherent of the Toyotomi family, was most likely to be distrusted by Tokugawa Iyeyasu, was the first to propose the necessity of making further contribution of large stones when the construction of Edo Castle was well advanced and more large stones were needed; and Daté Masamuné, whose craft, ambition, and military talent made him an object of suspicion, came himself to oversee the progress of the work. Mori Terumoto, who, at Sekigahara, was the most powerful ally of Ishida Mitsunari, Iyeyasu's opponent, was now very anxious to give full satisfaction to Iyeyasu with regard to his share of the contribution for the construction of Edo Castle, and, sending his son and chief retainers to Edo and pressing them to finish their part of the work as soon and as well as possible, tried to seek Iyeyasu's good will. Thus the construction of Edo Castle was completed in the 5th year of Genwa (1619); and as the Tokugawa Shogun invited merchants from all the provinces to come to his town, Edo became at last the greatest city in the whole country with its prosperity, bustle, and novelty.

STREETS AND MARKETS IN EDO.—Though the construction of the great Edo Castle was thus completed, there were no proper mercantile establishments: to this the Shogunate now turned its attention. A straight canal was cut from the Nihombashi Street to the Mikawagashi, with small branch canals, and the excavated earth piled up on the banks. This ground was given free to all citizens and merchants invited from the provinces. The Ise men were the first to come, and occupied the most important and convenient parts of the city, so that in a few years about half the streets were filled up with houses on whose shop curtains were inscribed the characters "Ise House." After the Ise merchants a great many Omi men came, and were followed by the Odawara and Shizuoka merchants. After the death of Oda Nobunaga, when Iyeyasu was in Sakai and in great danger, Amagasaki Doin, a merchant of Sakai, helped him to escape; and now that Iyeyasu was the ruler of the whole country and lord of Edo Castle, he invited this man to Edo, and, giving him a place in the north corner of the most prosperous Nihombashi district, built a house for him there. Following him, a great many of the Sakai merchants came to Edo. Nihombashi Street was the only mercantile quarter, the part now forming Ningyocho and thereabouts were too distant from the castle and unfitted for business streets. Permission was given for cutting the reeds and draining the marshes there and opening a licensed quarter which in the daytime was frequented by prodigals of all kinds but deserted at night for fear of robbers. With the opening of theatres, this was entirely changed, and every description of merchant gathering there, Sakai Street and its surroundings became at last the most flourishing centre. At that time Asakusa was not a part of Edo, but an independent market where, on every third and eighth days, a fair was held, and on December 18th the merchants from Kazusa, Shimoosa, Hitachi, and Musashi Provinces met and transacted business. Namikimachi of Asakusa to-day was a main road with an avenue of large pines, and, as the part between the Kaminarimon and the Ueno Hill of to-day was a swampy valley full of reeds, the name Shitaya, which means a low valley, was derived from the actual scene. Even after the Nihombashi district became a flourishing centre, the east side of Owaricho, Kyobashi, was a shoal; while the part now forming Kobikicho and Shinzaimokucho was an inlet of the sea and a good fishing-place for anglers. The ground in front of the Seishoji Buddhist Temple, at the foot of Atago Hill, was a reedy swamp as late as 1650, and even in the hot weather of July the samurais used to take off their wooden clogs and wade across. As for the part extending from Gotanda to Aoyama, it was said that men often saw wild boars there. When Iyeyasu entered Edo for the first time, the method of travel between the Tokaido and Mutsu Provinces was to pass first Image and Ikegami from the upper part of the River Banyu, Sagami Province, and turning north to Hatago-cho, so via Nishimaru-shita and Honcho, then to reach the bank of the River Sumida through Kodemmacho. Through Shinagawa and Takanawa was only a by-path on which two loaded horses could not pass, but after Iyeyasu cut and opened a road, 35 feet wide, from Yatsuyama-shita to Hon-Shiba, the highway was entirely changed and a thoroughfare was made from Shinagawa to Senju.

Prohibition of Sword Wearing.—For 200 years after the civil war of Onin, the whole country was in a state of constant warfare, and the people at large had no time of peace and rest; but with the establishment of the Shogunate in Edo, for the first time the foundations of permanent peace were paid. The feudal lords of the Tokugawa Age were almost all upstarts, and were originally the large land-owners who, with the help of the men in their household and their followers, destroyed the local magnates around them and assumed power over the district; so not only could they not trace their pedigrees back to the noble families of the Fujiwara Age, they could not even go so far as Ashikaga. It is true these lords called themselves the posterity of such old noble families as Minamoto, Taira, Fujiwara, and Tachibana, but it was a mere assumption and quite untrue. In not one case out of a hundred were their ancestors nobles in the olden times, but forgetting their upstart origin they, with their men and followers, formed one class separated distinctly and arrogantly from the other classes; and as they lorded it over farmers, merchants, and artisans, there grew up a sharp distinction between the class soldiers and officials and the class farmers, merchants, and artisans. Just as the revolutionaries in modern Europe, who rose to the cry of liberty and equality, oppressed the people as soon as they acquired political power, these feudal lords, in spite of their farmer origin, oppressed their former friends and put many restrictions upon the actions and modes of living of farmers, merchants, and artisans. Thus was brought about the issue of the law prohibiting sword wearing, though it was not promulgated by Iyeyasu for the first time. As we have seen, it was Hideyoshi who confiscated all the swords in the possession of farmers, merchants, and artisans, and melted them down into nails for use in the construction of the Great Buddha; but Iyeyasu executed the policy very strictly and systematically, forbidding the commoner classes to wear swords and depriving them of any resisting or fighting power, which he limited to the samurai class, that is, the feudal lords and their soldiers and officials. Such a strict prohibition, no doubt, originated in Iyeyasu's fear of the ronins who escaped from the battlefields of the Sekigahara campaign and were hiding themselves here and there in the towns and villages, but it is sure that Iyeyasu had had many experiences before of the formidableness of the swords in the hands of farmers, merchants, and artisans.

Police Act.—Iyeyasu thus forbade farmers, merchants, and artisans to wear swords, but his policy did not stop here, and he issued many ordinances to make the distinction between the samurais and the commoners sharp and unpassable. To enumerate a few of the regulations under the laws issued were such as: Even a servant of a samurai may not wear a sword when engaged as sarugaku dancer. Farmers and commoners may wear holiday clothes made of silk or cotton but may not use the same quality of fabrics as used by samurais. Clothes and obi for maids shall be strictly of cotton. Farmers and commoners may wear swords when participating in a Shinto rite or when visiting public offices. Priests of shrines may wear swords when worshipping but must put them away when going among commoners. Physicians and scholars may wear swords; their sons, too, may wear one when at home but not when going out unless a special permit has been obtained. The following ordinance was one of them from which may be seen the restraints pressed upon the commoners of that day:—

1. Engagement of servants for a longer term than one year is strictly prohibited.
2. Those who were formerly engaged and employed in a merchant's house, or farmers that are not regular merchants, shall not be allowed to do any kind of business. The regular merchants who have been engaged in business before the issue of this act are ordered to obtain a new licence from Yonedzu Kambei and Tsuchiya Gonzaemon, the magistrates of the city.
3. When there is a fire in the city, no retainer of a lord must leave the house or form a crowd.
4. It is strictly forbidden to shelter in one's house any wounded person.
5. No one is allowed to stand begging at another's gate.
6. Anyone covering his face with a cloth or concealing his face in any manner shall be arrested and punished.

If anyone violates the above he shall be strictly punished.

The prohibition of the engagement of a servant for a term longer than one year shows that though the practice of hiring servants, hitherto in force, still had some taint of slavery remaining from olden times, and of detaining servants for several years, yet by this time the economic factor ruled in the social system, and the servitude of old was to be transformed and emancipated by degrees and developed to the free contract in civil law of to-day.

Mode of Living of Farmers in the First Period of the Tokugawa Shogunate.—It will be interesting to study what was the living condition of farmers and peasants in this age, and though there were, of course, different conditions existing in different territories, in general, probably the farmer owned premises 7 ken (ken = 6 feet) square, as recorded in the Land Survey Book of Kani-gori, Mino Province, in the 13th year of Tensho, and in accordance with the regulations of Hideyoshi, which were in general practice. Of course, his reason was that he desired to fix a unit to impose war-service upon the farmers. If the premises covered more than 300 tsubo (tsubo = 6 feet square of ground), the farmer was liable for the so-called three-house service, and for 1,000 tsubo, ten-house service. Under this heavy burden the Shiko-Rokunin principle (four-tenths in taxes and six-tenths for the farmer himself) was changed to Niko-Ichinin (two-thirds in taxes and one-third for the farmer). The Tokugawa Shogunate made the burden heavier still, changing the dimension of a tsubo from 63 inches square to 60 inches square and imposing upon the narrow dimension the same rate of tax as before, which pressed upon the farmers so severely that even a few days' illness and absence from work reduced the family to the direst straits. In the Keicho era, and when it was the time for the feudal lords to receive the payment of taxes from the farmers in their province at the time of harvest, those in the neighbourhood of Edo used to say that Iyeyasu's way of exacting taxes from the farmers was not to crush them to extinction, but to squeeze out sufficient taxes to rob the farmers of any possibility of showing outside activities. There is a story that when a local commissioner in charge of Shogunate land was about to return to his office in harvest time, Iyeyasu always summoned him and gave him instructions to arrange the taxation on the farmers in such a manner that they would not die and yet not to be overactive. We are told also that when Lord Doi once returned from Edo to his castle at Koga he found that the farmers' houses were in better condition than in the preceding year, and, gathering his retainers, questioned them if the farmers were not living too much, that is, if they were not too active. In the house of every village head-man there was a water-prison and a wooden horse to imprison or to torture any farmer who neglected to pay the regular taxes, until he or his family discharged the duty. In *Tambayosaku*, a play by Chikamatsu, there is a water-prison episode showing that the penalty was not confined to the East, but prevailed everywhere. At Yonezawa, where Naoi Kanetsugu was lord, when any farmer could not pay all his taxes the authorities at once seized his wife and detained her until her husband paid in full.

AMOUNT OF FIEF OF THE FEUDAL LORDS IN THE EARLY DAYS OF THE TOKUGAWA GOVERNMENT.—Farmers were in this deplorable condition under the administration of the Tokugawa Government, and were nothing more than merely the slaves who were obliged to work only to produce the cereals to pay their yearly taxes to their lords and perform feudal services when called upon. Had the farmers and peasants who were in such a condition of servitude begun to foster a desire for wealth and happiness that is common in human nature, the foundation of the feudal system would have been shattered, and this the Tokugawa Shogun and all the feudal lords greatly dreaded. The policy of the ruling class, therefore, was to paralyse the mind of the lower class permanently, setting up laws by which they tried to strip from the farmers, merchants, and artisans their natural resources, and teaching them, as a matter of ethics, to be contented with their present state of living. An ode is still extant which is said to have been composed by Tokugawa Iyeyasu, and says : " If one is ambitious, there is no limit, and nothing good will be derived of it, and therefore it is necessary not to be ambitious, but be contented with one's present condition." It is doubtful whether the author of this ode was really Iyeyasu or not, yet there is no doubt that the Tokugawa Shogun was anxious that such social ethics should prevail and the farmers be contented with their present state of living. The Buddhist priests preached this doctrine in their temples, and village head-men and schoolmasters taught it in concert with each other, and tried their best to keep the farmer-mind stagnant. The magnates originally rising with the support of the farmers, and now elevated to such high positions as Shogun and feudal lords, established the feudal system, yet they were, in the true sense, the large land-owners with the farmers for foundation. The following is the list of the feudal lords (197 in all) who flourished about the time of the Keicho era and divided among them the whole country:—

LIST OF FEUDAL LORDS IN THE 19TH YEAR OF KEICHO (JUST BEFORE THE OSAKA WAR).

Tosama.

(Those who were feudal lords from the time of the Oda and Toyotomi Ages.)

Name of the Lord.	*Amount of Fief.* *Koku.*	*Name of Fief.* *Province.*
Maeda Chikuzennokami Toshitsune	1,195,000	Kaga.
Shimatsu Satsumanokami Iihisa	729,000	Kagoshima.
Daté Mutsunokami Masamuné	670,000	Sendai.
Gamo Shimotsukenokami Tadasato	600,000	Aidzu, Mutzu.
Mogami Suruganokami Iichika	570,000	Yamagata, Uzen.
Kuroda Chikuzennokami Nagamasa	523,000	Fukuoka, Chikuzen.
Kato Higonokami Tadahiro	520,000	Kumamoto, Higo.
Fukushima Saemonnotayu Masanori	498,200	Hiroshima, Aki.
Ikeda Saemonnokami Tadatsugu	445,000	Okayama, Bizen.
Asano Tajimanokami Nagakura	450,000	Wakayama, Kii.
Mori Nagatonokami Hidenari	369,000	Hagi, Nagato.
Hosokawa Etchunokami Tadaoki	359,000	Kokura, Chikuzen.
Nabeshima Shinanonokami Katsushige	357,000	Saga, Hizen.
Tanaka Chikugonokami Tadamasa	325,000	Kurume, Chikugo.
Ikeda Musashinokami Toshitaka	320,000	Himeji, Harima.
Uyesugi Chunagon Kagekatsu	300,000	Yonezawa, Dewa.
Todo Idzuminokami Takatora	243,000	Tsu, Ise.
Horio Yamashironokami Tadaharu	240,000	Matsui, Idzumo

Name of the Lord.	*Amount of Fief.* *Koku.*	*Name of Fief.* *Province.*
Satake Sakyonotayu Yoshinobu	205,800	Akita, Dewa.
Yamanouchi Tosanokami Tadayoshi	201,600	Kochi, Tosa.
Kato Samanosuke Yoshiaki	200,000	Matsuyama, Iyo.
Mori Mimasakanokami Tadamasa	186,500	Tsuyama, Mimasaka.
Hachisuka Awanokami Yoshishige	186,000	Tokushima, Awa.
Ikome Soemonnotayu Masatoshi	173,000	Takamatsu, Sanuki.
Kyogoku Tangonokami Takatomo	123,000	Miyadzu, Tango.
Terazawa Shimonokami Hirotaka	120,000	Karatsu, Hizen.
Sanada Idzunokami Nobuyuki	115,000	Uyeda, Shinano.
Nanbu Shinanonokami Toshinao	100,000	Morioka, Mutsu.
So Tsushimanokami Yoshitomo	100,000	Fuchu,Tsushima.
Kyogoku Wakasanokami Tadakaka	92,000	Obama, Wakasa.
Murakami Sugonokami Yoshiaki	90,000	Murakami, Echigo.
Arima Genbanokami Toyouji	80,000	Fukuchiyama, Tamba.
Nakagawa Daizennotayu Hisamori	70,760	Takeda, Bungo.
Ikeda Bitchunokami Nagayuki	65,000	Tottori, Inaba.
Matsuura Ikinokami Takanobu	63,000	Hirado, Hizen.
Ikeda Kunainoshoyu Tadoa	63,000	Sunomoto, Iwaji.
Tokunaga Samanosuke Masashige	60,000	Takasu Mino.
Kato Sakonnotayu Sadayasu	60,000	Yoneki, Hoki.
Soma Daizennotayu Toshitane	60,000	Nakamura, Mutsu.
Ito Shurinotayu Sukeyoshi	57,000	Ohi, Huga.
Kuki Nagatonokami Moritaka	55,000	Toba, Shima.
Furuta Daizensosule Shigeharu	55,000	Matsusaka, Ise.
Arima Saemonnosuke Naodzumi	53,000	Agata, Huga.
Wakisaka Nakatsukasa Shoyu	53,000	Osu, Iyo.
Akita Jonosuke Sanesue	50,000	Shishido, Hitachi.
Mizoguchi Hokinokami Nobukatsu	50,000	Shibata, Echigo.
Sengoku Hyobunotayu Tadamasa	50,000	Komoro, Shinano.
Seki Nagatonokami Kazumasa	50,000	Kurosaka, Hoki.
Koide Yamatonokami Yoshihide	50,000	Kishiwada, Idzumi.
Inaba Sakyonosuke Norimichi	50,000	Usuki, Bungo.
Asano Unemenosho Nagashige	50,000	Makabe, Hitachi.
Hitotsuyanagi Kenmotsu Naonori	50,000	Kanbe, Ise.
Tsugaru Etchunokami Nobumasa	47,000	Hirosaki, Mutsu.
Inaba Awajinokami Norimichi	45,700	Tamaru, Ise.
Kamei Buzennokami Masanori	43,000	Hoki.
Katagiri Ichinokami Katsumoto	40,000	Tatsuta, Yamato.
Tozawa Ukyonosuke Masamori	40,000	Tsudzuna, Hitachi.
Togawa Higonokami Satoyasu	39,000	Niwase, Bitchu.
Kanamori Dewanokami Yoshishige	38,000	Takayama, Hida.
Yamazaki Kainokami Iiharu	35,000	Nariwa, Bitchu.
Shinjo Echizennokami Naosada	30,300	Asano, Hitachi.
Nishio Dewanokami Yoshinori	30,000	Ubi, Mino.
Hori Tangonokami Naoyori	30,000	Iiyama, Mino.
Oda Nagamasu nyudo Yuraku	30,000	Yamato.
Tachibana Sokonshogen Muneshige	30,000	Tanagura, Mutsu.
Akitsuki Nagatonokami Taneharu	30,000	Takanabe, Hyuga.
Shimatsu Umanokami Tadaoki	30,000	Sadohara, Hyuga.

Name of the Lord.	*Amount of Fief.* *Koku.*	*Name of Fief.* *Province.*
Fukushima Kamnonnokami Masayori	30,000	Matsuyama, Yamato.
Kinoshita Uemontayu Nobutoshi	30,000	Hinode, Bungo.
Itazaki Dewanokami Narimasa	30,000	Tsuwano, Iwami.
Koide Isenokami Yoshichika	29,700	Idzushi, Tajima.
Endo Tajimanokami Yoshitaka	27,000	Yawata, Mino.
Kuwayama Iganokami Naoharu	26,000	Gosho, Yamato.
Omura Tangonokami Yoshisuke	25,000	Omura, Hizen.
Midzunaga Isenokami Katsutaka	25,000	Shimodate, Hitachi.
Sugihara Hikinokami Nagafusa	25,000	Toyooka, Tajima.
Honda Inabanokami Toshinaga	25,000	Takatori, Yamato.
Nabeshima Idzuminokami Tadashige	25,000	Koshima, Hizen.
Ichihashi Shimoosanokami Nagakatsu	20,000	Yabashi, Hoki.
Ozeki Tosanokami Masamasu	20,000	Kurobane, Shimotsuke.
Wakebe Sakyonosuke Mitsunobu	20,000	Ueno, Ise.
Takenaka Tangonokami Shigekado	20,000	Funai, Bungo.
Narida Samanosuke Ujinori	20,000	Karasuyama, Shimotsuke.
Sakuma Bizennokami Yasutsugu	20,000	Takayama, Omi.
Mori Minbunotayu Takamasa	20,000	Saeki, Bungo.
Sagara Sahyoenosuke Nagatsune	18,000	Hitoyoshi, Higo.
Nasu Sakyonotayu Sukekage	17,000	Nasu, Shimotsuke.
Tani Dewanokami Moritomo	16,000	Yamaga, Tanba.
Kuwayama Saemonnosuke Kazunao	16,000	Fuse, Yamato.
Matsushita Iwaminokami Shigetsuna	16,000	Kobori, Hitachi.
Besho Bungonokami Yoshiharu	15,000	Ayabe, Tanbe.
Kobori Totominokami Masakadzu	15,000	Omi.
Hineno Oribenosho Yoshiaki	15,000	Mibu, Shimotsuke.
Fujita Notonokami Shigenobu	15,000	Nishikata, Shimotsuke.
Hijikata Kamonnokami Kadzushige	15,000	Tago, Mutsu.
Goto Awajinokami Moritoshi	14,000	Goto, Hizen.
Mizuguchi Idzunokami Yoshikatsu	14,000	Sawagata, Echigo.
Karushima Memonnojo Michiharu	12,500	Mori, Bungo.
Odawara Bizennokami Harukiyo	12,415	Odawara, Shimatsuke.
Hori Mimasakanokami Chikayoshi	12,000	Maoka, Shimotsuke.
Hijikata Tangonokami Katsuuji	12,000	Komono, Ise.
Toyama Kyubei Tomomasa	10,500	Kaeki, Mino.
Koide Osuminokami Mitsutada	10,300	Toki, Idzumi.
Rokugo Hyogonokami Masanori	10,000	Fuchu, Hitachi.
Niwa Horozaemon Nagashige	10,000	Kawatari, Hitachi.
Hojo Minonokami Ujinobu	10,000	Sayama, Kawachi.
Wakasaka Mondonosho Yasunobu	10,000	Mino.
Hojo Dewanokami Ujishige	10,000	Iwatomi, Shomoosa.
Furuta Oribenosho Shigemasa	10,000	(No definite fief.)
Kondo Shinanonokami Masanori	10,000	Zao, Echigo.
Hosokawa Genbanokami Okimoto	10,000	Mogi, Shimatsuke.
Oda Minbunoshoyu Nobushige	10,000	Hayashi, Ise.
Matsukura Bungonokami Shigemasa	10,000	Gojo, Yamato.
Hiraoka Iwaminokami Yorikata	10,000	Tamamura, Mino.

Total number, 114. Total amount of fiefs, 13,087,775 koku.

Renshi.

(The feudal lords who are the sons or grandsons of Tokugawa Iyeyasu.)

Name of the Lord.	*Amount of Fief.* *Koku.*	*Name of Fief.* *Province.*
Matsudaira Mikawanokami Tadanao	670,000	Fukui, Echizen.
Tokugawa Uhyoenokami Yoshinao	539,500	Nagoya, Owari.
Tokugawa Hidachinosuke Yorinobu	500,000	Suruga and Totomi.
Matsudaira Kadzusanosuke Tadateru	450,000	Takata, Echigo.
Tokugawa Saemonnosuke Yorifusa	250,000	Mito, Hitachi.

Total number, 5. Total amount of fiefs, 2,409,500 koku.

Fudai and Ichimon.

(The feudal lords who from their forefathers were the distant relatives of, or hereditary adherents to, the Tokugawa family.)

Name of the Lord.	*Amount of Fief.* *Koku.*	*Name of Fief.* *Province.*
Ii Hyobonoshoyu Naotaka	180,000	Hikone, Omi.
Torii Sakyonosuke Tadamasa	120,000	Taira, Iwaki.
Sakakibara Totonokami Yasumasa	105,000	Tatebayashi, Kozuke.
Okudaira Daizenotayu Iimasa	100,000	Utsunomiya, Shimotsuke.
Matsudaira Settsunokami Tadamasa	100,000	Kano, Mino.
Honda Minonokami Tadamasa	100,000	Kuwana, Ise.
Ogasawara Hyobunotayu Hidemasa	80,000	Matsumoto, Shinano.
Matsudaira Okinokami Korekatsu	70,000	Fushimi, Yamashiro.
Doi Oinokami Toshikatsu	65,000	Sakura, Shimoosa.
Osuka Gorozaemon Tadatsugu	60,000	Yokosuka, Totomi.
Matsudaira Shimoosanokami Tadaaki	50,000	Kameyama, Ise.
Matsudaira Squonokami Yasushige	50,000	Sasayami, Tanba.
Okudair Mimasakanokami Nobumasa	50,000	Mino.
Ishikawa Tonomonokami Takafusa	50,000	Ogaki, Mino.
Honda Idzumonokami Tadatomo	50,000	Otaki, Kadzusa.
Honda Bungonokami Yasunori	50,000	Okazaki, Mikawa.
Sakae Saemonnojo Iitsugu	50,000	Takasaki, Kodzuke.
Matsudaira Koinokami Tadayoshi	40,000	Sekiyado, Shimoosa.
Matsudaira Awanokami Nobuyoshi	40,000	Tsuchiura, Hitachi.
Honda Hidanokami Narishige	40,000	Maruoka, Echizen.
Naito Kunokami Nobumasa	40,000	Nagakama, Omi.
Aoyama Hokinokami Tadatoshi	38,000	Kadzusa and Shimoosa.
Naruse Hayatonosho Masashige	34,000	Kuribara, Shimoosa.
Honda Kozukenosuke Masadzumi	33,000	Koyama, Shimoosa.
Sakae Kawachinokami Shigetada	33,000	Maebashi, Kodzuke.
Okabe Naizennosho Magamori	32,000	Kameyama, Tanba.
Hoshina Higonokami Masamitsu	30,000	Takato, Shinano.
Matsudaira Kawachinokami Sadayuki	30,000	Kakegawa, Totomi.
Matsudaira Tanbanokami Yasunaga	30,000	Kasama, Hitachi.
Matsudaira Yonomonokami Tadatoshi	30,000	Yoshida, Mikawa.
Toda Samon Ujikane	30,000	Zaze, Omi.
Naito Samanosuke Masanaga	30,000	Saga, Kadzusa.
Midzuno Hyuganokami Katsunari	30,000	Kiriya, Mikawa.
Suwa Inabanokami Yorinaga	27,000	Takashima, Shinano.

Name of the Lord.	*Amount of Fief.* *Koku.*	*Name of Fief.* *Province.*
Matsudaira Etchunokami Sadatsuna	25,000	Yamakawa, Shinoosa.
Midzuno Tsushimanokami Shigenaka	25,000	Hamamatsu, Totomi.
Honda Sadonokami Masanobu	22,000	Amanawa, Sagami.
Naito Wakasanokami Kiyotsugu	21,000	Katsuyama, Awa.
Matsudaira Idzuminokami Noritoshi	20,000	Iwamura, Mino.
Matsudaira Osuminokami Shigekatsu	20,000	Sanjo, Echigo.
Honda Nuinosuke Yasutoshi	20,000	Nishio, Mikawa.
Ogasawara Saemonosuke Masanobu	20,000	Kaga, Shimoosa.
Okubo Kaganokami Tadatomo	20,000	Kisai, Musashi.
Takegoshi Yamashironokami Masanobu	20,000	Iwao, Mino.
Tsuchiya Minbunoshoyu Toshinao	20,000	Kururi, Kadzusa.
Makino Umamojo Tadashige	20,000	Okurumi, Kodzuke.
Koriki Saemonotagu Tadafusa	20,000	Iwatsuki, Musashi.
Ando Tsushimanokami Shigenobu	20,000	Komikawa, Shimoosa.
Sakae Utanokami Tadayo	20,000	Genyoji, Kodzuke.
Sakai Tadatoshi	20,000	Karoagoe.
Suganuma Oribenosho Sadayoshi	20,000	Kawagoe, Musashi.
Ando Tatewaki Naotsugu	18,030	(No definite place.)
Torii Tosanokami Shigetsugu	18,000	Gunnai, Kai.
Itakura Iganokami Katsushige	16,610	(No definite fief.)
Nakayama Bizenmokami Nobuyoshi	15,000	(No definite fief.)
Kondo Iwaminokami Hidemochi	15,000	Iidani, Totomi.
Abe Nitchunokami Masatsugu	15,000	Kanuma, Shimotsuke.
Ina Chikugonokami Tadamasa	13,000	Komuro, Musashi.
Miura Kanmotsu Shigenari	13,000	Omi.
Matsudaira Ukonshogen Shigenari	10,000	Itabashi, Shimotsuke.
Ii Kamonnokami Naotaka	10,000	Annake, Kodzuke.
Inaba Takuminokami Masashige	10,000	Motoe, Mino.
Inagaki Settsunokami Shigetsuna	10,000	Isezaki, Kodzuke.
Hasegawa Shikubunoshoyu Moritomo	10,000	Echizen.
Niwa Kansuke Ujinobu	10,000	Iho, Mikawa.
Honda Osuminokami Tadadzumi	10,000	Enomoto, Shimotsuke.
Toda Tosanokami Takatsugu	10,000	Tawara, Mikawa.
Toki Yamashironokami Sadayoshi	10,000	Soma, Shimoosa.
Okubo Gonemon Tadatame	10,000	Ogaki Shinden, Mino.
Oda Kawachinokami Nagataka	10,000	Nomura, Mino.
Nedzu Minonokami Nobumasa	10,000	Toyooka, Kodzuke.
Makita Saemonosuke Hirosada	10,000	Bitchu.
Akimoto Etchunokami Nagatomo	10,000	Sosha, Kodzuke.
Sakuma Daizensuke Katsuyuki	10,000	Hojo, Hitachi.
Yura Shinano-no-kami Sadashige	10,000	Ushiku, Hitachi.
Midzuno Hayatonosho Tadakiyo	10,000	Obata, Kodzuke.
Midzuno Danyoshohitsu	10,000	Ogawa, Owari.
Miyake Echigo-no-kami Yasunobu	10,000	Kumo, Mikawa.

Total number, 78. Total amount of fiefs, 2,563,640 koku.

The division of fiefs underwent afterwards much change as the result of the fall of the Toyotomi family and the necessity of increasing the domains of those who had distinguished themselves on the

Tokugawa side in the civil war. In the Genwa era (1615–24), too, Tenryo, that is, the territories directly possessed by the Shogunate, consolidated and increased by degrees. In the Kan-ei era (1624–44) the Shogunate was very severe and strict upon the feudal lords, who had no successor or whose family affairs were deranged or administration unsatisfactory, and there were many cases of fiefs being confiscated or decreased, no matter whether the lords were near relatives of the Tokugawa family or old hereditary adherents or belonged to other noble families whose rank was formerly equal to the Tokugawa family's under Toyotomi Hideyoshi. As time went on this policy was enforced less strictly, and the Shogunate permitted a lord to adopt a son from another family when there was no son and daughter, and this son was allowed to succeed so that both fiefs and Tenryo became more or less stabilized.

INCOME OF THE OLD FAMILIES OTHER THAN THE FEUDAL LORDS.—The Tokugawa Shogun then divided the greater part of the whole country among the feudal lords, who mostly had their origin from among magnates, farmers, or merchants, and the new power controlled the country, but even the all-powerful Tokugawa Shogun could not neglect to pay due respect and reverence to the Imperial Family. He first allotted yearly, as the expense of the Imperial Family, 10,139 koku, to which was added 10,075 koku in the 2nd year of Kan-ei, when Itakura Suwonokami was the Governor of Kyoto, and a further 10,000 koku in the 2nd year of Ho-ei, so that the income of the Imperial Family finally reached 30,260 koku, besides the security given to the possessions of the Buddhist temples fixed in the time of the Toyotomi Government. The revenues of the Imperial Family and shrines and temples are shown below :—

THE IMPERIAL FAMILY.—30,270 koku, the actual amount in rice being 12,332 koku ; further details being 7,645 koku of rice, and 3,389 kwan and 87 momme of silver.

FOR PRIVATE EXPENSE OF THE EMPRESS.—2,000 koku, the actual amount in rice being 827 koku ; further details being 698 koku of rice, and 88 kwan and 588 momme of silver.

FOR IMPERIAL PRINCES AND PRINCES IN HOLY ORDERS.—46,265 koku.

FOR THE SHINTO SHRINES IN THE PROVINCES.—

Koku.	*Province.*	*Koku.*	*Province.*
13,673.100	Yamashiro.	100	Hizen.
200	Idzumi.	42,803.200	Yamato.
2,360	Settsu.	148.300	Kawachi.
2,343.600	Owari.	7,429.300	Ise.
2,895	Totomi.	2,517.500	Mikawa.
883.900	Idzu, Kai.	4,348.270	Suruga.
351.100 (865 kwan, 200 of silver)	Sagami.	1,130	Idzu.
		2,627	Musashi.

Koku.	*Province.*	*Koku.*	*Province.*
280.700	Awa.	293	Kadzusa.
1,414	Shimoosa.	3,274.500	Hitachi.
1,094.300	Omi.	652.700	Mino.
376.800	Kodzuke.	1,780	Shimotsuke.
1,100	Mutsu.	5,534	Dewa.
300	Wakasa.	200	Echizen.
1,000	Kaga.	300	Etchu.
1,350	Echigo.	90	Sado.
45	Tanba.	63	Tajima.
300	Hoki.	5,600	Idzumo.
360	Iwami.	355.500	Harima.
1,000	Bizen.	160	Bitchu.
2,000	Kii.	530	Sanuki.
2,000	Chiguzen.	1,000	Buzen.

Total, 142,413.610 koku.

The great Shinto shrines having large estates were as follows :—

Ise Daijingu Shrine, 3,540 koku in the Ise Province.
Iwashimidzu Shrine, 7,117 koku in the Yamashiro Province.
Kamo Shrine, 2,572 koku in the Yamashiro Province.
Kasuga Shrine, 6,000 koku in the Yamato Province.
Ishigami Shrine, 1,071 koku in the Yamato Province.
Sumiyoshi Shrine, 2,060 koku in the Settsu Province.
Usa Shrine, 1,000 koku in the Bungo Province.
Tsurugaoka Shrine, 840 kwan-mon in silver in the Sagami Province.

FOR THE BUDDHIST TEMPLES IN THE PROVINCES.—

Koku.	*Province.*	*Koku.*	*Province.*
25,658	Yamashiro.	500	Chikuzen.
636	Idzumi.	19,604	Yamato.
1,457	Settsu.	873	Kawachi.
317	Owari.	680	Ise.
2,794	Totomi.	5,075	Mikawa.
1,415.180	Kai.	1,361.600	Suruga.
1,400.900 (457 kwan, 540 momme of silver)	Sagami.	87.600	Idzu.
		23,638	Musashi.
		437	Kadzusa.
854.400	Awa	1,676.600	Hitachi.
1,118.550	Shimoosa.	605.700	Mino.
11,995.400	Omi.	2,365.800	Kodzuke.
1,330	Shinano.	290	Mutsu.
878	Shimotsuke.	30	Wakasa.
8,301.900	Dewa.	959	Echigo.
424	Etchu.	75	Tanba.
90	Sado.	2,630	Harima.
3,000	Hoki.	21,300	Kii.
160	Bizen.	155	Hizen.

Total, 183,282.627 koku.

(Sum total of the whole estates of the shrines and temples given above, 325,696.237 koku.)

Todaiji Buddhist Temple, 2,138 koku in the Yamato Province.
Kofukuji Buddhist Temple, 15,030 koku in the Yamato Province.
Horyuji Buddhist Temple, 1,000 koku in the Yamato Province.
Tenryuji Buddhist Temple, 1,720 koku in the Yamashiro Province.
Shogokuji Buddhist Temple, 1,762 koku in the Yamashiro Province.
Kan-eiji Buddhist Temple, 6,000 koku in the Musashi Province.
Toeizan Buddhist Temple, 6,000 koku in the Musashi Province.
Zojoji Buddhist Temple, 6,000 koku in the Musashi Province.

By the middle of the Ashikaga Age the high priests of the large Buddhist temples and Shinto shrines were so powerful and influential as to challenge the feudal lords on equal terms, but times were so changed in the Tokugawa Age that they could not even feebly resist the feudal nobility who had sprung from plebeian loins, and had to be satisfied with a nominal high rank in society as old noble families and with estates just enough to sustain them. The Shinto shrines and Buddhist temples given above are merely those which were publicly recognized by the Tokugawa Shogunate or in the "Tenryo," and the other shrines and temples so numerously scattered in the provinces of the feudal lords were all protected and supported by the feudal lords. The exact number of these shrines and temples is unknown, but it is shown by records that the total number of the Buddhist temples alone was about 500,000.

CONSTITUTION GOVERNING BOTH COURT NOBLES AND FEUDAL LORDS.—The Tokugawa Shogun and the feudal lords thus drove all the farmers into a state of servitude, and organizing for themselves a new hierarchy with the farmers for its foundation they created a feudal society, but there was still a cause for uneasiness in the Imperial Family surrounded by the Court nobles and upheld by the Buddhist temples and Shinto shrines. The three last named had formed the framework of the old community, and were a dormant but not extinct volcano. Given the chance, they might still be active. The nobles had had a pitiful history for over 1,000 years, deceived by the Fujiwara, oppressed by the Taira, fooled by the Hojo family, despised by the Ashikaga, and almost shattered by Oda Nobunaga, yet this class was not destroyed, the reason being that it was a part of the framework of the old community. Iyeyasu did not know much about or pay much respect to it, but experience taught him enough the necessity of providing means to handle them properly, and he consulted a number of counsellors: Honda Masazumi, who was his secretary and a minister in the Tokugawa Cabinet; Tenkai Sojo and Konjiin Soden, who, concealing their ambitions under priestly garments, served around Iyeyasu; Hayashi Michiharu, who was the greatest scholar of the Chinese classics; Hino Terusuke, who was once a Court noble of high rank, and afterwards took orders in the Buddhist Church, changing his name to Ishin; and also Hosokawa Yusui, who was the most talented and learned among the feudal lords, and afterwards retired to a villa at Higashiyama, Kyoto. They drew up the seventeen articles of law for the Imperial Household, and instituting the eighteen articles of constitution to settle the relation between the Emperor and the Shogun, together with the law regarding the Buddhist temples, set up for the first time a certain sort of constitution.

LAWS AND POLICY TO MAKE FEUDAL LORDS COUNTER-CHECK ONE ANOTHER.—Tokugawa Iyeyasu did not trust even the feudal nobles, who seemed most devoted to him, and forbade all the feudal lords in the western provinces to build large ships and repair their castles, and, confiscating all the ships that could carry more than 500 koku, ordered them to be sent first to the Island of Awaji, and then to Edo and Suruga; and when he had extended the application of such laws over the whole country, the Tokugawa Shogun felt, for the first time, that peace and security were guaranteed. And now to give a general outline of Iyeyasu's policy for the safeguarding of his family. He organized his bodyguards with his old adherents and followers at the centre, giving these men the name "hatamoto" (men under the banner) and scattering them all around Edo, that they might defend it against an approaching enemy, and then giving to his other hereditary or old adherents, now raised to be feudal lords, the name "fudai" (followers generation after generation) arranged their fiefs so as to occupy strategic points or the provinces along the state road, thus to check, if necessary, aggression by the tosama (feudal lords who formerly served Toyotomi Hideyoshi side by side with Iyeyasu). Further, a new law forbade any but a fudai lord to be a minister in the Shogun's Cabinet; a tosama lord, however large his fief be, could only come to Edo and pay respects and tribute to the Shogun and take no part in the general administration of the country. This greatly restricted the powers of the feudal lords who were now followers of the Tokugawa family, and he now turned his attention to the fudai members, enacting that, though the fudai lords were entitled to be ministers and take charge of state affairs, they could not be lords of such huge fiefs, sometimes covering several provinces, as the tosama lords. It was the established policy of the Tokugawa Shogunate to give greater power and authority, but smaller strength and resources, to the fudai lords on one hand, and greater strength and smaller authority to the tosama lords on the other, so that they would act as a counter check upon each other and not disturb the peace and welfare of the country.

CHAPTER XXXVII

EARLY PHASE OF THE TOKUGAWA AGE

Family of Hidetada the Second Tokugawa Shogun.—Iyeyasu resigned his office of the Shogun to his son Hidetada, who took up his residence in Edo Castle in 1605, and retired himself to Shizuoka, leaving the new Shogun to attend to ordinary affairs and keeping in his own hands the settling of all important and delicate questions. Even in everyday affairs Hidetada was careful to consult his father as much as possible, and gave him the honourable name of Ogosho (Grand Highness). Hidetada was the third son, his eldest brother, Okazaki Nobuyasu, a brave and popular soldier, having committed suicide when suspected by his father of revolt. As to the second son, Hideyasu, Iyeyasu did not trust him, and there was no love lost between them. To forget his troubles Hideyasu took to drink, and often behaved in a very peculiar manner. Fortune thus elevated Hidetada, the son of a concubine, daughter of a local head-man in Mikawa, to be the second Shogun of the Tokugawa line at the age of 26; and by his wife, who was a younger sister of the famous Lady Yodo, he became the father of Iyemitsu, the third Shogun.

Why Hidetada was a Sober and Vigilant Man.—The new Shogun had nominally the supreme power, but his position was not so easy and satisfactory as it appeared to outsiders. Many years before, Hideyoshi had adopted his nephew, Hidetsugu, and made him the Prince Regent as his successor; and the bond connecting this foster-father and adopted son was not easily breakable, because they were uncle and nephew by blood, and, further, the adopted son had fought long under his foster-father. Nevertheless, Hidetsugu fell under suspicion with Hideyoshi from rivalry in love and for political reasons, and lost his life. Hidetada had been an eye-witness, and it taught him always to be cautious with Iyeyasu, who was by nature even more suspicious than Hideyoshi. It is generally said that Hidetada, the second Shogun, was a very sober and cautious man, but no one could help being sober and vigilant when he had such a suspicious father as Iyeyasu. There is a story that once when Hidetada was staying with his father in Shizuoka, Iyeyasu sent one night to his room a very pretty maid, called Hana, with some cakes. Hidetada accepted the cakes and told the girl to thank his father, but she still lingered, as if she expected something further, until Hidetada told her bluntly he did not want to have anything to do with her. Hana returned to Iyeyasu and told her story, which much delighted Iyeyasu, as proving what a sober, cautious man the Shogun was. But Hidetada had always before his eyes the terrible fate of Hidetsugu, who came between Hideyoshi and one of his women, and was much too cautious to follow such an example. However, in spite of his temperance, caution, and diligence, he often incurred Iyeyasu's anger.

HONDA FAMILY PROSPERED.—At this time there were many old generals and warriors still living at the headquarters of the Tokugawa Shogun, who had served Iyeyasu since the time when he was only a small lord in Mikawa Province, but they were simply brave warriors and good generals, and now the country was at peace. It was, therefore, natural for a man such as Honda Masanobu to rise and take a prominent part in affairs, for he had a rare talent for politics and administration, and was always relied upon by Iyeyasu and looked up to by other lords as a master of political finesse. Masanobu was originally a falconer in Mikawa Province and served Iyeyasu as one of his foot-soldiers, but afterwards, joining in the revolt of the Ikkoshu sect of Buddhists, was in the opposite camp to his late master. Hereafter he struggled hard to attain high position in Kyoto and failed, and then he went to Kaga Province, where he again joined the revolt of the Ikkoshu sect, and became a general in the rebel army. Later, he repented of what he had done and came back to Iyeyasu. This treacherous but sagacious man, cunning and fearless, was just the tool Iyeyasu needed, and there were none of Iyeyasu's intrigues and plottings in which Masanobu did not take part. His son Masazumi was of his father's type, not less sagacious and bold, and when Iyeyasu retired to Shizuoka he left in Edo the experienced Masanobu and took with him the young and active Masazumi. Father and son being both so much confided in and relied upon by Iyeyasu and Hidetada, their influence was predominant inside and outside the Shogun's Cabinet; and even such a great lord as Okubo Tadachika, who was the chief of the hereditary adherents of the Tokugawa family in Mikawa Province, and who, with his military exploits and general popularity, was looked up to as the foremost man under Iyeyasu, could not maintain his position when he was slandered by Honda's party. He was driven out of his Odawara Castle, his men all banished, and he was only permitted to spend his ruined life in Omi Province, where his old friend, Ii Naomasa, was the lord, with a faint hope for the future of his grandson Senmaru, who was granted a fief of 20,000 koku at Kisai, in Musashi Province.

THE CITIZENS WELL TREATED.—In spite of the second Tokugawa Shogun, Hidetada, being so all-powerful at this time that all the feudal nobility hung on his frown and smile, he was very generous towards the citizens at large, and seemed careful to gain their hearts. He assumed no great dignity; everything was very simple. When he issued from his castle the streets were not strongly guarded, and men and women, young and old, could come down to the doors of their house, bow their heads, and pay him respect. The by-streets and cross-roads were all closed while the Shogun's procession was passing down the main road, but when it had moved on three or four blocks ahead the bars were all down. Once when he was on his way to Asakusa, and reached the third block of Honcho Street, he gave orders for his palanquin to take this turning and that turning, until they reached the ninth block and were passing through Honkokucho Street. In reply to inquiry, he said that he had heard that the streets were full of people enjoying street dancing, and he did not wish to disturb their pleasure. When Iyemitsu, Hidetada's son, became the third Shogun and visited Kyoto for the first time in 1634 to pay respect to the Emperor, all the Court nobles and head-men in and out of Kyoto came to Yamashina to welcome him, in return for which the Shogun issued an order exempting all Kyoto from the jishisen tax, and distributed 5,000 kwamme of silver among the citizens. At that time Kyoto was a large city of 45,000 houses and 200,000 population, and the city people not only enjoyed much more conveniences than farmers, but were not burdened as they were with "war service"; all of which shows how careful the Shoguns were to keep on the right side of the citizens. Later, when Iyemitsu went to Osaka from Kyoto and granted an interview to the head-men of the city, he announced that he would issue on the morrow an order exempting Osaka from the land-tax, and promised, if they would all come to the ground in front of the castle gate, they would see a golden pavilion on the turret in Koraibashi Street as a sign of the exemption. The next day a crowd of several thousand citizens in their best clothes gathered on the appointed spot and saw on the turret a golden pavilion, whereupon they all clapped their hands and expressed their gratitude toward the Shogun.

EXEMPTION FROM THE JISHISEN TAX FOR THE CITIZENS OF OSAKA, SAKAE, AND KYOTO.—In the great Osaka War, lasting over two years, the city of Osaka was greatly damaged and needed much repair, so the Shogun called Matsudaira Tadaaki, the lord of Kameyama Castle, Ise Province, and appointing him to be the lord of Osaka Castle, and giving him a fief of 100,000 koku in the provinces of Settsu and Kawachi, ordered him to repair the castle and city of Osaka. The first thing he did was to open up a part of the castle and make it a part of the town, and then, finding it necessary to fill it up with citizens, he instructed the rich merchants of Fushimi to migrate there in a body, which they did. Going on the old taxation system of the Toyotomi Age, Tadaaki fixed the standard value of ground at between $4\frac{1}{2}$ koku to $8\frac{7}{10}$ for every 1 tan of ground, and imposed a tax at the rate of $\frac{8}{10}$ of the value of the ground. At this time the population of Osaka was about 279,000, and the value of the ground reckoned in rice being 4,946,728 koku; the jishisen came to 178 kwan and 934 momme of silver. Shortly afterwards, the Shogun removed Matsudaira Tadaaki from Osaka, making him a lord elsewhere, and brought the city under the direct administration of the Shogunate, and, as told above, remitted this 178 kwamme in silver of jishisen tax. More than that, he freed the city from the machi-kiri-gin, that is, the registration-tax on the transfer of ownership of house or land, which was one-fourteenth of the price. The same generous policy was extended to Nara and Sakai, and they, too, were exempted from jishisen.

Tokugawa Shogun distributed Silver among the Edo Citizens. The third Shogun, who showed so much favour to the citizens of Osaka, Kyoto, Nara, and Sakai, was naturally very generous and liberal, and was very benevolent to the citizens of Edo. The same year that he gave 5,000 kwamme of silver to the citizens of Kyoto, he gave the same sum to the citizens of Edo also, who, from the beginning, had paid no jishisen. According to a record kept in a certain Masuda family in Nihonbashi, Tokyo, when the Shogun first entered Edo all the ground around the residence of the Masuda family was quite wild, and one only had to build a fence around as much as one wanted to become the owner. In this way the Masuda family was the owner of one side of the Honcho Street. Jishisen was first levied in Edo in the year 1696, one hundred years after Iyeyasu entered the city, and it was much later that various kinds of taxes to be imposed upon the merchants in Edo were first fixed. The Shoguns thus oppressed the farmers and gave very liberal treatment to the merchant class, for it was their object to attract as many merchants as possible in order to make the city flourishing. The feudal nobility followed the example of the Shogunate, so that the farmers and peasants were driven like beasts of burden. In fact, feudal society is based on military strength, which can only be maintained by the farmers and samurais leading a simple life, for if the method of living is gay and luxurious much gold and silver are needed; the influence of moneyed men spreads, and the time will soon arrive when the samurais will bow before the power of gold and silver and the feudal community will perish. Both the Shogun and the feudal lords were blind to this truth, and to satisfy the wants of a moment, hurried to make the cities and towns prosperous and created some fifty large cities in the whole country. The result was soon apparent. The farmers began to migrate into the cities and the samurai spirit declined, while the Central Government was driven to try to check the growth of the seeds they had sown and do their best to suppress the power of the citizens they once so much favoured. For two hundred years they were busy with the task.

DEATH OF IYEYASU.—In January 1616, when Iyeyasu was out hawking in Suruga, it happened that Chaya Shirojiro, a Kyoto merchant, who always faithfully served Iyeyasu, came from Kyoto to see him and told him, in the course of conversation, of a method of cooking tai (a fish) much in favour with the wealthy classes of Kyoto and Osaka. Iyeyasu gave orders for the dish to be prepared, and ate a great deal too much of it, which drove him back to Shizuoka, where he took to his bed, seriously ill. On his bed Iyeyasu pondered the future of the Tokugawa Dynasty and made many wills, and then, when he realized that he could not recover, on April 16th he ordered Tsutsuki Kyutaro to bring out to him the sword of Miike Tenta, which he valued very much, and instructed the city magistrate to test its keenness by beheading the criminals sentenced to death. Satisfied of its temper, he brandished the sword two or three times, and said that his spirit would, with this sword, protect and guard the Tokugawa family to the last. Then, resting his head on the knee of his attendant, Sakakibara Kiyohisa, and telling him that as affairs in the western provinces were still on his mind his image should always be placed facing west, he ended his long and heroic life.

THE GREAT WORK ACCOMPLISHED BY IYEYASU AND ITS ACCOMPANYING EVIL.—Iyeyasu's work falls into four periods. The first period covered the time when he became, for the first time, the lord of Okazaki Castle, and then, in 1582 Nobunaga's right hand, and finally, lord of the three provinces of Mikawa, Totomi, and Suruga. In this period he showed a military genius quite qualified to join in the struggle for national power. The second period covers the time from the death of Oda Nobunaga to the sole rule of Hideyoshi in 1598, during which period he showed statesmanship in establishing his power on firm foundations and bringing under him enough good men to lay the foundation of his dynasty. The third and fourth periods cover the time that he was the head of the five great lords, constructed Edo Castle, and was eager to study how he could open up the national resources of wealth and enrich the country. The last, it may be said, was the period showing his characteristics most clearly. Iyeyasu had a keen eye for, and deep interest in, the trade at Nagasaki, and was broad-minded and far-seeing enough to favour men of any rank, however low, in his anxiety to open foreign trade. His encouragement of commerce, and the fact that he chose men even from the farmer class to help build up a good civil administration are sufficient to show how fully qualified he was to lay a solid foundation for a great erection.

Had he stuck to his policy and maintained these principles, he would have contributed much, not only to the Japan of his lifetime, but also to its future. But after he destroyed the Toyotomi family and held sway over the whole country his mind underwent a decided change and leant to the selfish policy of keeping the power in his own family as long as possible. As he got older and weaker in body, his nature hardened to such an extent that he stopped at nothing to maintain power in his family. True, the whole nation was under one rule and enjoyed peace, but that peace was bought by sacrificing the progress of the country. Especially did the barring of the country and the prohibition of intercourse with foreign countries bring with it a long train of evils, in that Japan fell out of the current of world progress and missed the chance to annex the whole of the South Seas Islands that should naturally have fallen into her hands for geographical reasons. Of course, Japan made due advance in civilization during the Tokugawa Age, but it was a natural outcome of the feudal system, owing very little to the policy of the Tokugawa Shogunate ; and it is beyond doubt that if the Tokugawa Shogunate had not followed such a selfish policy simply to keep power in their own hands, Japan would have been much more advanced. After the death of Iyeyasu there is nothing to admire in the Tokugawa policy, and the history of the period is made up of stories about the O-oku or Inner Court of the Shogun, and the family troubles of the feudal nobility.

CHAPTER XXXVIII

FINANCIAL BASIS OF THE TOKUGAWA SHOGUNATE

Edo Civilization only an Imitation of the Civilization of the South-West.—The capital, Edo, was founded by the Tokugawa family, but there was nothing original in its civilization. The plan of Edo Castle was drafted by Lord Todo Takatora, under whom were employed the artisans who took part in the constructions of Adzuchi Castle by Nobunaga, and the Osaka Castle by Hideyoshi, or apprentices of those artisans, and Edo men had no particular share in it. When the castle was completed, it was observed of the inner architectures, furnishings, and decoration that everything had the air of Iyeyasu's very economical habits and customs, and there was no such dazzling display of gold and silver as in Osaka Castle. Its massiveness, and the large scale on which it was built, gave it due dignity as the palace of the Shogun; but if there was anything of artistic design in the architecture of Edo Castle it was an imported idea from Kyoto and Osaka, and had nothing characteristic of Edo itself, so that the construction of this building does not make an epoch in the industrial and fine arts as was the case with Adzuchi Castle and Osaka Castle.

Was there anything characteristic about Edo Castle?—If we are driven to point to some characteristic of Edo Castle connecting it with the history of civilization in Japan, we can only answer that the appearance of the castle itself had an historical significance. Material forces were mostly developed in the south-western part of Japan, and consequently ability, industry, learning, arts, and efficiency were all advanced in the south-west and very backward in the east. *Imprimis*, because the race of men who established Japan came first to the south-west; secondly, because the founders of Japan settled the seat of the Government in the south-west; thirdly, because the foreign civilization, first from Korea and China, and afterwards from Portugal and Spain, chiefly entered through the south-west—all of which combined contributed to develop the south-west ahead of the east. Minamoto Yoritomo started his government in the east, and was followed by the Hojo family, but when we come down to Ashikaga times we find that the natural forces led the Ashikaga family to make Kyoto the centre and move the seat of the Government thither. After the fall of Ashikaga, followed by that of Oda Nobunaga, there came Toyotomi Hideyoshi, but even he, who never bothered about precedents, could not do other than make Osaka in the south-west his centre and establish his government there. In the case of Iyeyasu there were some special circumstances that made him lay the foundation of his power in the north-east, much against the general trend of progress, and it seems as if it was by chance that Iyeyasu established the Government of Edo. When he first makes his appearance as the lord of a province belonging to Nobunaga, and fighting in the eastern provinces, he was quite satisfied and proud of his reputation as the best general in the east; and when Hideyoshi became the ruler of the country, although he was at the bottom of his heart keen to step into Hideyoshi's shoes, he was compelled outwardly to submit and was unable to perfect plans for his future. It was an unexpected piece of good luck for him when Hideyoshi handed over to him all the Kwanto provinces after the destruction of the Hojo, and his first idea was to fix his residential castle at Odawara, as the Hojo had done. Hideyoshi suggested that this was a mistake. Odawara, as an important strategical point, might well be held by one of Iyeyasu's generals, but, by Hideyoshi's advice, Iyeyasu should settle at a place named Edo about fifty miles from Odawara, for every one agreed that it had a prosperous future before it. Thus persuaded, Iyeyasu picked on Edo, but he had no other reason at that time, and it is clear he had no idea that he would ever make Edo Castle the centre of administration and rule the whole country therefrom in the near future. Thus accidentally Edo became the centre of administration in circumstances that developed unexpectedly and were not quite anticipated by Iyeyasu.

Completion of Edo Castle led the Nation into a State of National Economy.—Edo Castle had no effect upon civilization and industrial arts, but when the great castle appeared in the wide wilderness of Musashi it caused the growth of various remarkable phenomena. First, from ancient times the centre of military and political power was in the district around Kyoto, and the north-eastern provinces, as a remote country, were held of no account; but with the appearance of Edo Castle the Tokugawa family and their hereditary followers became the centre of a military power based upon the north-eastern provinces, and organized, unified, and developed that military power to a state of such formidable strength that it could fairly match the military strength of all other parts of Japan. Second, as the result of the construction of the castle, the living condition of Japan advanced from the state of local economy to that of national economy. The economic state of the country had been that of the self-support of each province, and though the exchange of commodities, such as the products of Hakata being sent to Kyoto, and hides of Kamakura to the same place, and Mino paper being sold in Omi, was begun in the latter part of the Ashikaga Age, yet its narrow sphere and the scarcity both of variety and quantity in the commodities could not extend the economic field more than to the support of a village community or district. This was gradually enlarged to that of one province, or a few provinces. When Toyotomi Hideyoshi undertook his great foreign enterprise of conquest, opened up communication and transportation ways, unified the country, and his laws had authority to bind every one, the safety of communication and transportation was for the first time achieved, and as the result of minting gold and silver coins the business transactions were greatly facilitated. Further, the thousands of ships built for the expedition stimulated greatly marine transportation, and brought about a movement of commodities. However, the nation then was only beginning to enjoy the peaceful age, and real Japan being so narrow that the name could only be properly applied to the south-western provinces with the centres of Osaka and Kyoto, the economic state of the country was only just on the way to the stage of national economy, and the economic field was still a very narrow and limited one. When the Tokugawa Shogun opened up Edo, constructed the great castle, unified the whole country, and brought about peace with Edo for the centre, the living conditions of Japan were completely altered, and the country advanced and entered fully on the stage of national economy. To give a concrete example: ships from the south-west made Osaka their centre, and though some ships came to the north-east there were very few that reached so far north even as Toba. North of Toba there was no good port, and consequently there was little demand for the movements of commodities, but with the construction of the great Edo Castle, Shimoda in Izu became suddenly a busy port. From its origin Shimoda was important, but the appearance of Edo Castle caused it to advance with giant strides, for four reasons. First, in Nawachi in Izu, and the neighbourhood, gold-mines were opened and brought many merchants. Second, almost all the materials for the construction of the stone walls, ditches, moats, and canals of Edo Castle were brought from Izu, and hundreds of ships plied day and night between Shimoda and Edo. Third, Shimoda port being just the great sea-gate for Edo, the port office of Oura was established, and ships were inspected there at a place where the sea would be overlooked for miles. Fourth, though the communication and transportation between Edo and the south-western provinces went on everywhere by land, yet heavy freight was necessarily carried by ships, and those ships had to pass through Shimoda. For these reasons, then, Shimoda became suddenly a very important harbour in the Tokugawa Age. All the ships coming from the south-west found good anchorage there when they came north of Toba, and could make their way to the north-east, while the ships from the north-east had also the same conveniences and could extend their voyage to the south-west. Thus the two hemispheres of Japan were completely connected and a great economic change was brought about in consequence. Shimoda is fully entitled to claim further description, and we shall give it fully in the chapter entitled "The Port of Shimoda."

GOLD-PRODUCING PROVINCES OF THE EAST ALL CAME UNEXPECTEDLY INTO IYEYASU'S POSSESSION.—The provinces of Kai, Izu, and others that came now in Iyeyasu's possession had always produced a large amount of gold, but this was rapidly increased in the Tokugawa Age. Before this time, the most well-known of the gold- and silver-mines in Japan were: the Iwami silver-mine, discovered in 1440, that enriched the family of Lord Ouchi; the gold- and silver-mines in the Sado Province, discovered in 1541; the Ikuno silver-mine that enriched Lord Yamana's family in the middle of the Ashikaga Age; the Karuisawa silver-mine in the Iwashiro Province, discovered in 1558; the gold-mine in Umagashima which enabled Lord Imagawa's family to mint much gold coin; many mines in the provinces of Kai and Shinano that produced an ample supply of gold for thirty-four years from 1532; the Tada mine in Settsu Province that produced an enormous amount of silver and copper between 1540 and 1550; the Sawamurayama mine in Kaga Province and the Hotatsuzan mine opened up in the year 1583; the silver-mines of Kamioka and Yoshirumi, and the Daiya gold-mine in Hida Province, discovered by men dispatched by Kanamori Nagachika, lord of the province in 1589; and the gold-mines of Shiranē, Komaki in the Rikuchu Province, discovered in 1598. Before Hideyoshi's time nothing was definitely fixed about mining rights, and generally the lords of the provinces owned the mines; but when the great Taiko had developed the centralized authority, not only did he bring such important ports as Nagasaki and Sakai under his direct control but also all gold-mines. It is true vested interests forbade him to do this all at once, but in any case he exacted a certain percentage of the output. From the Iwami silver-mines, for instance, he received 300 large silver coins annually. In the case of Iyeyasu, he was already the lord of Shinano, Kai, Suruga, Musashi, Sagami, Idzu, Kazusa, Shimoosa, Kozuke, and Shimotsuke, and when he discovered the gold-mines in Izu, at the same time the copper-mine of Ashio in Shimotsuke increased its output. In fact, these provinces produced the greater part of the gold in Japan, and his resources of wealth were boundless. Then the mines in the Sado Province, which had been rapidly increasing their output after Sekigahara, and the north-eastern province producing more or less gold, came into the sphere of influence of Edo, which became such a gold-controlling city that Hideyoshi, could he have come to life again, would have been lost in envious wonder.

INFLOW OF GOLD INTO EDO.—Iyeyasu's desire to see the precious metals flowing into Edo caused him to overlook social rank in his eagerness to find competent helpers. A mere teacher of the Nō Dance in Kai, Okubo Choan, was raised to the rank of a noble and entrusted with the management of the coinage. This man was very hard-working and honest, gathered under him skilful miners, and engaged some Portuguese to teach metallurgy and kindred arts, all of which enormously increased the production of gold. But the fact remains that Iyeyasu's control of so many productive mines was pure chance after all, and this chance had very important economic and political results. Around Osaka, and in the south-western provinces of which Osaka was the centre, there was a great deal of silver, as their mines were chiefly silver-mines, and therefore the business was transacted with silver as the standard. When Osaka became the commercial centre the silver standard was naturally set up there too; and though gold flowed into Osaka under Hideyoshi, partly for political reasons and partly because he controlled the greater part of the gold-mines in the whole country, yet a huge amount of the precious metal accumulated in Osaka by Hideyosho was taken and removed to Edo when the Toyotomi family was destroyed by Iyeyasu. All the gold that had flooded into Osaka and Fushimi unnaturally, for political reasons was equally unnaturally taken to Edo by the political power; and this stock of gold in Edo, together with the gold newly produced in the provinces under the direct control of the Tokugawa family, set up in Edo the gold standard, and there were thus two standards in Japan, a silver one in Osaka and a gold one in Edo.

THE TOKUGAWA SHOGUNATE DID NOT TAX THE FEUDAL LORDS. The question naturally arises why the Tokugawa Shogunate did not impose taxes upon the feudal lords; and when we remember the Shogunate was so all-powerful throughout the whole country that the feudal nobility cringed before it, it becomes almost incomprehensible. It was the established policy, since the Fujiwara Age, that the Central Government levied taxes on the people through the local authority; but afterwards, when the high officials and lords in the Central Government began to possess manors in the provinces, such manors, with their powerful backing, would not pay the taxes, which demolished the old land system and paved the way for the local magnates to erect the feudal system. The old political and financial system whereby the Central Government was maintained by the taxes paid by the provinces was shattered, and later, when the Emperor

Godaigo destroyed the Hojo family and restored the sovereignty into the hands of the Imperial Family, he ordered all the provincial lords and governors to pay to the Imperial Court one-twentieth of their income. When the Ashikaga came to power, they set out to gain the hearts of local governors and magnates by reducing the rate of payment to the central authority from one-twentieth to one-fifteenth, though it was restored later to the old rate of one-twentieth. Later, though this rate of payment to the Imperial Court was changed several times according to the rise and fall of the Imperial power, the principle established by Godaigo that the Central Government should be maintained by taxes upon local authorities and provincial lords underwent no change ; and even when the power of the central authority was most weak and feeble, the Ashikaga Shogun imposed upon the provinces such taxes as land-tax and house-duty. When Oda Nobunaga succeeded the Ashikaga his work was done in a hurry, and, as the whole country was not yet unified, he had not enough time to levy the taxes on a definite method, and contented himself with the large sums of gold presented by the grateful recipient of some province, or the gifts of gold and silver made to him on New Year's Day and other holidays. It was in Nobunaga's time, probably, that the Central Government gave up the right to collect taxes regularly. When Hideyoshi followed Nobunaga, many of the feudal lords were his old friends or his seniors, and, in view of the many difficult circumstances, he was satisfied with somehow unifying the whole country, without finding himself able to collect taxes regularly under a definite form and system, but receiving as a kind of present or offering gold and silver from the feudal lords. We have seen that Hideyoshi brought under his direct control Nagasaki and Sakai, and also the gold- and silver-mines in the provinces of Settsu, Sado, and Iwami, and levied a tax upon them ; but these taxes were levied on the possessions of his Central Government, and were quite different from taxes regularly levied upon the feudal lords and local governments. Thus Hideyoshi did no more than Nobunaga ; in fact, he only followed his example, and permanently gave up the right of the Central Government to impose taxes upon the feudal lords. However, Hideyoshi invented some methods in lieu of the regular collection of taxes, which took the form of requisitioning labour and service from the feudal lords, as he did in the construction of Great Buddha Temple, Fushimi and Osaka Castles. The feudal lords had to supply not only the men, but also the money and rice to feed them, and so their expenditure on Hideyoshi's great works was very heavy ; yet the men cost them nothing, for they had only to obey orders, and as for the food, the men had to have that wherever they were. When Iyeyasu in his turn became the master of the whole country, and had all the feudal lords completely under his thumb, he should have built up a permanent system regularly to tax all the feudal lords and restored the right of taxation to the sovereignty, but he did not do so. He just forced his nobles to supply labour and some money when he constructed and repaired the great castles of Edo, Shidzuoka, and Nagoya, and threw away the right of taxation that is the very foundation of a Central Government. On this point the powerful Tokugawa Shogunate was far backward, even in comparison with the feeble government in the latter part of the Ashikaga Age.

REASON WHY THE TOKUGAWA SHOGUNATE IMPOSED NO TAX UPON THE FEUDAL LORDS.—Japanese historians have been loose enough to pass over this great political and economic problem, and have not given due consideration to the reason why the Tokugawa Shogunate did not tax the feudal lords, and if we are to undertake to solve this great problem we must follow the trend of history since the Monarchical Age. When a country is unified and a kingdom is established there is also surely a great hero whose virtue, talent, and valour conquered all the surrounding territories, and whose work, at first done for his household, gradually extended all over the country. This hero has now a double capacity; he is the head of a great clan, and he is the sovereign of the kingdom he has established; and all the properties that he possessed in his old capacity are private properties, afterwards called Royal property or Imperial manors, and all the rights to possess and use and tax these properties belong to him. What he possesses in his new capacity as the sovereign is not the properties themselves, but the rights of employing the properties: that is, the right to receive, in the form of a tax, a certain percentage of the incomes of all the feudal lords and others of the general public under his rule. Japan, in the Monarchical Age, took the Chinese system for its model, and established a Government with eight departments; and though the new system was still rather premature, yet the Imperial Court was advanced from its former state of the head of a large clan to the position of a sovereign, and the great principle adopted that the Government is not to be maintained by the private property of the Royal Family, but by the taxes imposed upon the nation. After the Monarchical Age, the lords of manors became gradually powerful, and the Royal Family, showing a tendency to decline, became anxious, and made every effort to obtain and increase the royal manors in competition with the great lords and local magnates. Thereafter, the Government was not maintained by the taxes imposed upon the local magnates in the provinces, but by the income of the Royal Family. But when the Emperor Godaigo destroyed the Hojo family, he at once restored the old system of taxing the feudal lords to maintain the Central Government, and the Ashikaga Shogunate maintained the same system. The private revenue of the Ashikaga family in Kyoto was no more than 364,500 koku, and, if there was need for more, the Shogunate levied a tax on the feudal lords. Much later, when Toyotomi Hideyoshi became the ruler of the country, he held fiefs worth 2,000,000 koku, besides controlling Nagasaki and Sakai, and many gold- and silver-mines, such as Sado, Iwami, Ikuno, and Tada; and thus, as the head of a large clan, his private revenue was so great that it amounted to about one-ninth of the revenue of all Japan, which was estimated at 18,000,000 koku. It is clear, then, that the Central Government retrograded back to the old method of being maintained by the private property of a great family. Coming to Tokugawa times, we find that the private property belonging to the Tokugawa family brought in for a time a revenue of 2,500,000 koku that was soon increased to 4,000,000 koku, or twice as much as Hideyoshi's. Besides, we have to reckon the taxes of Nagasaki and Sakai, the gold-mines in Sado, Kai, Iwami, Idzu, and elsewhere, and the large forests of Kiso, and so on. All told, the Tokugawa family drew about one-fifth of the entire revenue of Japan, and their wealth was so enormous that they had no necessity to impose, as the sovereign, taxes upon the feudal lords, and run the risk of incurring their dissatisfaction.

AMOUNT OF GOLD AND SILVER TAKEN FROM OSAKA CASTLE BY THE TOKUGAWA.—The greater part of the gold accumulated in Osaka Castle by Hideyoshi was removed by the Tokugawa Shogun after the death of the former. It is recorded that in April 1607, 550 packages of gold and silver were sent from Fushimi to Edo, and 30 packages from Fushimi to Shidzuoka. This was seven years after Sekigahara. After the fall of Hideyori in 1615, Iyeyasu sent Goto Shozaburo Mitsutsugu down to Osaka Castle, and he brought back to Edo 28,060 large gold coins. But it is a tradition that Iyeyasu took from Osaka Castle Fundo gold of the same weight as 1,000 large gold coins, and 400 Takenagashi Fundo gold; and, as it was a well-known fact that there was much Fundo gold in Osaka Castle, afterwards moved to Edo. This quantity of Fundo must be added to the 28,060 large gold coins mentioned above. In 1606 Iyeyasu presented to the second Shogun, Hidetada, 30,000 large gold coins and 13,000 kwamme of silver, and at his death bequeathed him 940,000 ryo of gold, 49,530 kwamme of silver, and 55 ryo in silver coin. If all the amounts be added together, we reach a total of 1,240,000 ryo of gold and 62,531 kwamme of silver. Taking 1 ryo of gold at the rate of 4 momme and 2 bu, we get 5,343,000 momme, which, converted to the money of to-day at the rate of 5 yen for 1 momme, is equal to 26,670,000 yen. Fifty momme of silver was equivalent to 1 ryo of gold at that time, and so 65,230 kwamme of silver was worth 1,304,600 gold ryo. The purchasing power of 1 gold ryo was 2 koku of rice, so what Hidetada received from his father was enough to buy 5,000,000 koku of rice. Rice to-day stands at about 30 yen a koku, so the value of the legacy was stupendous. And yet it did not exhaust the treasures of the Tokugawa Shogunate, as it did not include the gold and silver presented by the feudal lords every year, the proceeds of the sale of the rice grown in the provinces directly controlled by the Shogunate, nor the gold and silver produced in the mines.

TOKUGAWA'S METHOD OF ACCUMULATING GOLD.—The large amounts annually presented by the feudal lords increased the hoard torn from Osaka Castle. In 1605, when Shogun Hidetada visited Kyoto with an army of 170,000 men, Maeda Toshinaga, the great lord of Kaga, and his son, Maeda Toshimitsu, went there to congratulate the new Shogun, and Toshinaga presented him with 5,000 large gold coins and 500 tan of Kaga silk, and Toshimitsu 3,000 large gold coins and 300 tan of the same silk. All the other feudal lords, following the example of the Maeda, made presents to the new Shogun in accordance with the size of their fiefs; and though such large presents are partly accounted for by the auspicious occasion, yet there are numerous examples to show that presents to the Shogun at ordinary times were not small ones. In 1589, when Hideyoshi was laying siege to Odawara Castle, Mori Terumoto of Nagato presented him with a sword and 100 ryo of silver as a New Year present, and the next year he brought 300 ryo of gold as his New Year present, and then 1 sword and 10 large silver coins on the occasion of the autumn holiday the same year. If such presents were typical, the sums that the Tokugawa Shogun received from the feudal lords on New Year's Day and other special holidays must have reached a high figure. In the later years of the Tokugawa Shogunate, the presents from the feudal lords on New Year and other holidays were fixed by the ordinances. The Owari Tokugawa, for instance, made yearly tribute of 50 large silver coins and 20 rolls of silk to the Shogun; swords and gold coins on the autumn holiday; clothes at the beginning of the three seasons, Tango, Juyo, and Seibo; and, further, under the name of temporary presents, gold, silver, and various articles were presented to the Shogun almost every month throughout the year. This example was followed by all the other feudal lords, though there were differences in quantity and quality according to the size of the fief, and the smaller lords presented silver in place of the gold which the large lords offered. We find, then, after the middle of the Tokugawa Age, that the presents and souvenirs offered to the Shogun were fixed by the ordinances, and the feudal lords began to present some well-known products of their own provinces rather than gold and silver; but, at the beginning of the Tokugawa Shogunate, all the lords vied with one another to obtain Iyeyasu's good will by lavishing upon him as much of the precious metals as they could afford, and the sums accruing from this source were really enormous.

In the year 1629, for example, when the third Shogun, Iyemitsu, visited Maeda Toshitsune, Daimyo of Kaga, at his mansion in Edo, Toshitsune presented 300 large gold coins; and the following year, when he visited Shimazu Iehisa, Daimyo of Satsuma, Iehisa presented him with the same sum. In 1617 Shogun Hidetada gave one of his daughters in marriage to Daté Tadamuné, whose father presented 1 sword, 10 suits of silk clothes, 300 large silver coins, and 1 black horse to the Shogun; 1 sword, 200 large silver coins, and 1 horse to the Shogun's heir, Iyemitsu; 200 bundles of floss silk and 100 large silver coins to the Shogun's wife; and 1 sword and 5 large silver coins to the second son of the Shogun, which, with other presents to various members of the family, amounted in silver only to about 1,000 large silver coins. Whenever the Shogun visited a feudal lord, the Shogun's gift was always silver, while the daimyos always gave gold, which was just like a tax to be paid to the Central Government, and was a duty incumbent on all feudal lords. After the middle of the Tokugawa Age, authority was divided between the Shogun and the high lords in the Shogunate, and in proportion to the decline of the power of the Shogun himself, the power of the lord advisers increased, so that it was not the Shogun but the great lords in the Shogunate of whom the feudal lords were afraid; and they began to lavish the precious metals, not on the Shogun, but on his lords, and this was the reason that the presents to the Shogun from the feudal lords were fixed by the ordinances and so much simplified.

GOLD AND SILVER FLOWING INTO THE TOKUGAWA TREASURY FROM THE MINES.—Besides the bullion presented by the feudal lords every year and every season, the Tokugawa Shogun had a great many mines to enrich his treasury. It is said that the mines in the Sado provinces produced during thirty-four years, from 1613 to 1647, 173 kwan and 496 momme of bar gold, 36 kwan and 617 momme of placer gold, 158,704 ryo of koban (small gold coins), and 55,735 kwan and 513 momme of silver. The ten years from 1624 to 1635 were a most productive period, but some of the records are burnt, so we have no figures of the production of gold and silver during 1639, 1640, and 1645, but there is reason to believe that all the mines in the provinces of Sado, Satsuma, Idzu, Buzen, Bungo, Suruga, and Tajima combined, produced every year about 48,000 ryo of gold during the seven years after 1624. The proportion in which the output was divided between the Government and producers was fixed as follows: No tax was imposed upon gold under 1 momme and 2 bu, and the gold above 10 momme was divided equally between the Government and producer.

Gold produced from the Kurano Gold-mine at Aono Mura, Idzu Province, is taxed as follows under the management of the commission, Kohase Kanzaemon in the 16th year of Genroku:—

Placer gold 1 momme and 3 bu to 2 momme and 2 bu, taxed one-fifteenth.
Placer gold 1 momme to 1 momme and 2 bu, no tax.
Placer gold 2 momme and 3 bu to 3 momme and 9 bu, taxed one-tenth.
Placer gold 4 momme to 5 momme and 9 bu, taxed one-fifth.
Placer gold 6 momme to 8 momme, taxed one-third.
Placer gold 8 momme and 5 bu to 10 momme, taxed at the rate of a half share.

Iyeyasu ordered Chinese to import gold into Japan in exchange for silver and copper, and though the cheapness of copper in Japan resulted in a large inflow of gold, the total amount is not known.

IYEYASU'S VIEW OF MONEY.—Iyeyasu had a Spartan boyhood and was familiar with the circumstances of the people. Knowing full well that no kingdom could be maintained without money, he did all he could to accumulate gold, but his views on economics were confused. On the one hand, he hoarded up gold in his treasury to use in time of military emergency, and on the other was afraid that if much money circulated it would raise the price of commodities. His theory seems to have been, the more money in circulation, the higher the prices.

WHAT WAS THE REVENUE OF THE TOKUGAWA FAMILY?—For the reasons and cause given, the first Tokugawa Shogun accumulated a huge amount of gold and silver and hoarded it in his treasury; and with this capital, and the products of his fiefs, namely 4,000,000 koku, there was no necessity for him to impose taxes upon the feudal lords and so to challenge them to rise against him. In fact, the Tokugawa family, with its enormous private revenue, hoarded gold, and took upon itself the responsibility of administering Japan and securing peace and welfare for the nation, without imposing any tax upon the feudal lords—a very bold policy. Of course, the Shogun often requisitioned money and labour from daimyos for such great works as the construction and repair of Edo Castle and the improvements of the rivers and harbours; but apart from that, with the higher standard of living due to prolonged peace and prosperity, administrative expenses naturally rose steadily, and as the Tokugawa family continued to carry on without taxing the feudal lords, an inquiry into their resources over and above the private property and annual presents may be of value. There is no record to show this at the time of the first establishment of the Tokugawa Government, and, broadly speaking, all we can say is that the private properties of the Tokugawa family were somewhat larger than those of the Toyotomi family, and their mines produced more than those which were under the direct control of Hideyoshi. After Iyeyasu became Shogun, the gold-mines of Izu rapidly and enormously increased their output until it equalled that of the Sado mines. Sado, in its turn, under the active supervision of Okubo Choan and his Portuguese and native experts, increased its output in a positively astonishing manner, and these two gold-producing provinces, with their constant supply of the precious metal, put the Tokugawa financially on velvet, and enabled them to bear the whole administration on their shoulders.

ABOLITION AND ESTABLISHMENT OF THE FIEFS OF THE FEUDAL LORDS.—The principle and policy that the Tokugawa Shogunate should impose no tax upon the feudal lords and maintain the Central Government out of the revenue from their own private properties were year after year strengthened. But to maintain them it was indispensable to increase the said private properties, and the first step was to destroy the feudal lords who were too large and formidable, or too weak to be of any service, or at least to reduce their fiefs. In consequence, the rise and fall of the feudal lords under the Tokugawa Government was kaleidoscopic, as will be shown below:—

1. During the fourteen years after Sekigahara in 1600, up to the fall of the Toyotomi family in 1614, when the Tokugawa Shogun confiscated fiefs of 657,400 koku in consequence, the figures are as follows:—

11,000,000 koku, total amount of the fiefs confiscated or lessened.
11,500,000 koku, total amount of the fiefs newly given or increased.

A difference of only 500,000 koku, showing in the early days of the Tokugawa Government the private properties of the Tokugawa family, or Tenryo, were not much increased, save that the Shogun's sons or other relatives were given large fiefs and the wings or the foundation of the family were much extended.

2. During the eighteen years from 1614, in which Toyotomi Hideyori was destroyed by the Tokugawa Shogun, to 1632, when the third Tokugawa Shogun succeeded, the figures make the following record:—

4,630,000 koku, fiefs confiscated.
5,020,000 koku, fiefs newly given or increased.

A difference of about 400,000 koku. For over thirty years after 1616 the value of fiefs newly given, or given in addition, always showed an excess over that of those confiscated or reduced.

3. During the nineteen years from 1632 to 1650 the comparison between the confiscated and the newly granted or increased fiefs was as follows :—

3,999,000 koku, fiefs confiscated.
2,947,000 koku, fiefs newly given or increased.

Showing an excess of more than 1,000,000 in favour of confiscations, or, striking a balance from Iyeyasu's time to Imitsu's, confiscations show an excess of about 100,000 koku over new grants or additions.

4. The comparison between confiscations and new grants for about forty-eight years from 1650 to 1708, Tsunayoshi and Ienobu's time, is as follows :—

4,500,000 koku, fiefs confiscated.
3,137,000 koku, fiefs newly given or increased.

Showing an excess in confiscations of about 1,400,000 koku.

5. The seventh Shogun, Ietsugu, was inaugurated to his office in 1711; the eighth Shogun, Yoshimune, in 1716; and the ninth Shogun, Ieshige, in 1740; and during these forty-five years the comparison between the confiscated and increased fiefs is

600,000 koku, confiscations.
530,000 koku, new grants or additions.

Showing a balance of about 70,000 koku in favour of confiscations.

The total figures give the following result :—

24,689,000 koku, confiscations.
22,884,000 koku, new grants or additions.

Leaving a balance of about 1,900,000 koku in favour of confiscations.

Thus it was towards the year 1700 that the Tokugawa family came into possession of a revenue of about 4,166,751 koku from their private properties, and held it until the fall of the Shogunate at the restoration of Meiji. Finally, the revenue in gold, silver, rice, and cereals derived from their territories every year included 600,630 ryo of gold coins, 3 kwan and 195 momme of bar gold, 38,372 kwamme of silver, 136 kwan and 547 momme of placer silver, 4,154 kwan and 508 momme of copper coins, 744,011 koku of rice, 4,446 koku of wheat, 4,448 koku of barn-yard cereal, and 632 koku of salt. This was the net revenue of the Central Government, except for their expenses in local offices.

Decline and Fall of the Tokugawa Shogunate largely due to the Fact that it did not impose Taxes upon the Feudal Lords. The Tokugawa family possessed these huge fiefs, but such enormous sums in koku were nothing more than the acknowledged value of the land in the modern sense of the word, and, being a rough estimate, the revenue was not definitely fixed, some place paying two-tenths and others three-tenths. In general, however, 35 per cent. of the produce was handed over, so that the total income of the Tokugawa Shogunate was between 1,200,000 koku and 1,470,000 koku; and the methods of paying taxes were miscellaneous, some paying in gold, others in beans, wheat, and in barn-yard cereals, while the feudal lords or commissioners, who were entrusted by the Shogunate with the management of the receipts of the taxes, sold the rice that the farmers brought in as tax payment, and paid in gold or silver. Against the aggregate receipts of the Tokugawa Shogunate we have enormous disbursements. They had to support about 50,000 of the hatamoto (upper class of the samurais directly dependent on the Shogun), defray all the expenses for the Imperial Household and hereditary nobles, and many great temples and shrines over the whole country, and pay for the management of their own lands. In proportion to the progress of the country, the administration had to be more and more extended and busy; but the resources being the same as before, and showing no increase, the Shogunate had no other way but to take out of the Treasury the gold and silver accumulated since the establishment of the line, and fill up the deficit thus, which horrified the officials in the Shogunate, and drove them to invent many sorts of taxes to be imposed upon the feudal lords. But it was too late now to raise money in that way, for the daimyos were by this time well-nigh exhausted too, and had not enough strength to keep pace with the progress of the country. Finally, the Shogunate devised new methods of taxing the wealthy citizens in the large cities, under the name "Myogakin," that is to say, "Thanks Money"; but this being, of course, insufficient to straighten the way of the embarrassed finances of the Shogunate, there came at last the downfall of the Tokugawa Dynasty. In short, the Tokugawa family, relying upon the gold and silver they took out of Osaka Castle, and also produced in such large quantities from the mines in the eastern provinces, would not impose the taxes upon the feudal lords and pacified the country; but this bullion diminishing year by year until all was gone, the Tokugawa Shogunate itself disappeared. How the Shogunate came to lose the gold and silver, and how they tried hard to regain it and failed, and how the long-continued government fell, shall be treated fully in separate chapters.

SCHEELE MEMORIAL LIBRARY
3 6655 00053508 0
DS821 .T25 1930a
Takekoshi, Yosaburo/Economic a

DS 821 .T25 1930a V.1
Takekoshi, Yosaburo, 1865-
The economic aspects of the
history of the civilization

DATE DUE

DS 821 .T25 1930a V.1
Takekoshi, Yosaburo, 1865-
The economic aspects of the
history of the civilization

DATE DUE	BORROWER'S NAME
NOV 27 '01	Anna Spolnicki 0864

Concordia College Library
Bronxville, NY 10708